# *BIOGRAPHIA NAUTICA:*

OR,

# MEMOIRS

OF THOSE

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN,

TO WHOSE

## INTREPIDITY AND CONDUCT

THE

## ENGLISH ARE INDEBTED,

FOR

The VICTORIES of their FLEETS, the INCREASE of their DOMINIONS, the EXTENSION of their COMMERCE,

AND THEIR

## PRE-EMINENCE ON THE OCEAN.

INTERSPERSED WITH

The most material Circumstances of NAVAL HISTORY, from the NORMAN INVASION to the Year 1779.
Embellished with COPPER-PLATES.

By DR. J. CAMPBELL, and JOHN KENT, ESQ.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

ENGLAND IS A LAND WHICH CAN NEVER BE CONQUERED WHILST THE KINGS THEREOF KEEP THE DOMINION OF THE SEAS.
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

# MEMOIRS

OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

## The FIFTH PERIOD.

### NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of JAMES, the FIRST.

LET us now proceed to an account of the naval expedition againſt the Algerines. To what cauſes it may be aſſigned, is yet a point which no hiſtorian hath inconteſtably determined. We learn from ſome authorities, that Gondomar, the ambaſſador from the court of Madrid, having gained the aſcendant over the underſtanding of James, perſuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which ſeldom permitted him to act vigorouſly againſt his own enemies, that it was neceſſary to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain (*a*). By different hiſ-

 torians,

(*a*) Ruſhworth's collections, V. 4. p. 34.—Camden's Annals of the reign of James, the firſt, A. D, 1620.—Wilſon's hiſtory of James, the firſt, p. 726.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 30.

torians, we are informed that this project was of an older date; that the earl of Nottingham, previous to his reſignation of the poſt of lord high-admiral of England, had earneſtly ſollicited the king to engage in preparations for ſuch an enterprize; that Sir Robert Manſel had ſtrongly intimated to Buckingham that it would reflect the higheſt luſtre on his abilities in the naval department, if the expedition took place, at the dawn of his adminiſtration. As this fortunate, and aſpiring favourite too eaſily induced the ſovereign to conſent to the gratification of all his wiſhes, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that, through his influence, the project was carried into execution; notwithſtanding that Sir William Monſon, who had been conſulted, delivered an opinion, ſupported by ſtrong, and clear arguments, that it was raſh, and ill-founded; and that, inſtead of raiſing the reputation of the naval power of the Engliſh, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, as the whole world would obſerve the diſappointment; whereas but few could judge of its real cauſe, or of the injuſtice of meaſuring thereby the maritime ſtrength of Britain (*b*).

On the twelfth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, the armament (*c*) ſet ſail

(*b*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 253.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31.

(*c*) The following is a LIST of the FLEET.

ROYAL NAVY.

| Ships. | Burth. Tons. | Men. | Braſs guns. | Commanders. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The Lion, admiral | 600 | 250 | 40 | Sir Rob. Manſel. |
| Vanguard, vice-miral | 660 | 250 | 40 | Sir Rich. Hawkins. |
| Rainbow, rear-miral | 660 | 250 | 40 | Sir Thomas Button. |

The

ſail from Plymouth, and, on the thirty-firſt, entered the ſtreights of Gibraltar, where the admiral gave orders that the ſick ſhould be diſembarked.

On the ſixteenth of November, and when all perſons had returned on board, the fleet ſet ſail, and came to an anchor in the road of Algiers, and out of the reach

 either

| Ships. | Burth. Tons. | Men. | Braſs Guns. | Commanders. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conſtant Reformation | 660 | 250 | 40 | Captain Arthur Maynwaring. |
| Antelope | 400 | 160 | 34 | Sir Hen. Palmer. |
| Convertine | 500 | 220 | 36 | Captain Thomas Love. |

SHIPS hired from the MERCHANTS.

| Ships. | Burth. Tons. | Men. | Iron Guns. | Commanders. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Golden Phœnix | 300 | 120 | 24 | Captain Samuel Argall. |
| Samuel | 300 | 120 | 22 | Captain Chriſtopher Harris. |
| Marigold | 260 | 100 | 21 | Sir John Fearn. |
| Zouch Phœnix | 280 | 120 | 26 | Captain John Pennington. |
| Barbary | 200 | 80 | 18 | Captain Thomas Porter. |
| Centurion | 200 | 100 | 22 | Sir Francis Tanfield. |
| Primroſe | 180 | 80 | 18 | Sir John Hamden. |
| Hercules | 300 | 120 | 24 | Captain Euſeby Cave. |
| Neptune | 280 | 120 | 21 | Captain Robert Haughton. |
| Merchant-Bonaventure | 260 | 110 | 23 | Captain John Chidley. |
| Reſtore | 130 | 50 | 12 | Captain George Raymond. |
| Marmaduke | 100 | 50 | 12 | Captain Thomas Herbert. |

either of the town, or of the caſtle, the former of which the Engliſh ſaluted, but were not anſwered by a ſingle gun. On the day following, the admiral ſent an officer, with a white flag, on ſhore, in order that he might acquaint the vice-roy with the reaſons which gave occaſion to the arrival of the fleet. Soon afterwards, four Turks returned, and declared that the vice-roy had received orders from the Grand Seignior, to treat the Engliſh with the moſt inviolable reſpect, aud to permit them to diſembark, whenſoever they thought proper, and purchaſe ſuch proviſions as they might want. They, alſo, promiſed that if the admiral would, on the following day, ſend on ſhore a perſon of diſtinction, with the letters from the king of England, ſufficient hoſtages ſhould be given for his ſafety (*d*).

On the twenty-ninth, an Engliſh officer diſembarked, and informed the Turks what pledges were demanded for thoſe perſons who were in readineſs to wait on them with the king's letters. At four in the afternoon, the ſignal-gun was fired from the Lion, and, ſoon afterwards, captain John Roper, attended by ſeveral of the chief perſons belonging to the fleet, proceeded in his barge, for the purpoſe of delivering the royal credentials to the Baſhaw, and the Divan. As he approached the ſhore, he was informed, by a meſſenger, that the principal Turks were abſent, and the hoſtages not ready; but that, on the morrow, all delays ſhould be removed; yet no regard was paid to theſe promiſes.

On

(*d*) During the night, the pirates brought into Algiers, three prizes; a Flemiſh, and two Engliſh veſſels; the one bound from Plymouth; and the other from North-Yarmouth.

On the ſecond of December, Roper, and his company, landed at Algiers, and immediately two inhabitants, of the firſt rank, were ſent as hoſtages to the admiral. On the third, ſix Spaniſh men of war caſt anchor within the harbour, when the commanding officer ſtruck his flag, in honour to the Engliſh. He, next, went on board the Lion, and informed Sir Robert Manſel that he had arrived in purſuit of ſome Turkiſh pirates, who, having engaged, taken and ſet on fire, a Spaniſh ſhip, of the burthen of ſeven hundred tons, reduced to captivity the whole crew, amounting to three hundred perſons. This ſquadron approached nearer to the town, when ſome ſhot were exchanged, but no conſiderable damage enſued from either ſide.

On the fourth, Sir Robert Manſel received an anſwer to the king's letters, from the Divan, and, on the ſixth, the Turks concluded their negociation, by refuſing to diſmiſs the Engliſh officer, who had been firſt ſent to them, unleſs an Engliſh conſul were left at Algiers. On this occaſion, Sir Robert Manſel, who, together with his aſſociates, appears to have acted with a duplicity as ſhameful as that which he was reviling, gave orders that a common ſailor ſhould be ſumptuouſly attired, and diſpatched, with the name of Conſul, to the Divan. This trick ſucceeded; the man was reſpectfully entertained, and, ſoon afterwards, forty Engliſhmen, who had been purpoſely freed from their captivity went on board the fleet, where, agreeably to their inſtructions, they informed the admiral that the Turks would embrace an early opportunity to give him ſatisfaction with reſpect to every other demand which he had made. On the ſeventh, Sir Robert Manſel, ſtill perſiſting in Deceit, ſent letters of inſtruction to the pretended conſul, and bade him

deliver a paper to the Baſhaw, who was reproached, in the bittereſt terms, for the perfidy of his conduct.

On the eighth, and when moſt of the proviſions were expended, the fleet ſet ſail for Majorca, where Sir Robert Manſel intended to remain with it, until the commencement of the enſuing ſpring. On the evening of the twenty-fifth, eight ſail of Turkiſh veſſels approached the fleet, but, on being chaſed, ſteered a different courſe, and, previous to the next morning, were out of ſight.

On the twenty-ſixth, the Engliſh entered the road of Alicant; but were diſappointed in their expectations of receiving a ſupply of proviſions from their own country. On the twenty-ſeventh, ſome ſhips belonging to the fleet ſtood out to ſea, and, after the expiration of two days, returned without ſucceſs, notwithſtanding that they had chaſed a Turkiſh veſſel.

On the twelfth of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-one, an expreſs arrived from Carthagena, incloſing letters diſpatched from England, and bearing date on the fourteenth of the preceding month of December. The contents were that proviſions ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the whole fleet, during ſix months, had been delivered at Malaga. On the twenty-firſt, fifteen Flemings rowed, in their boat, towards the Lion, and, having been permitted to go on board, informed the admiral that, being chaſed, near Cape Martin, by the Turks, they, to preſerve their lives, had left their ſhip. At this period, and during ſome days, ſeveral veſſels were diſpatched in purſuit of the former, but they returned without having been able to deſcry them.

On the twenty-fifth, captain Roper proceeded, with letters, for England; and, on the twenty-ſeventh, all the remainder of the fleet ſet ſail, except the Marmaduke,

maduke, the captain of which, together with the maſter, was ſick on ſhore.

On the twenty-eighth, they fell in with ſeven ſail of Flemiſh men of war, under the command of the Admiral of Zealand. Theſe were a part of a large armament conſiſting of twenty-two ſhips, and divided into ſquadrons, for the purpoſe of cruizing near the ſtreights.

On the ſixteenth of February, and when the fleet was within the bay of Gibraltar, ſupplies arrived from England, in two merchant-ſhips, and two men of war. Theſe laſt were the Mercury, of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons, having, on board, ſixty-five men, mounting twenty braſs guns, and being commanded by captain Pet; the Spy, of the burthen of one hundred, and ſixty tons, and carrying eighteen braſs guns. Her complement amounted to fifty-five men, and her captain was Edward Giles.

Few occurrences are mentioned in the journals from this period, until the twenty-ninth of April, when the fleet arrived in the road of Majorca. From hence, reinforced by three large brigantines, and a polacre, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, all of which had been purchaſed by the admiral, the fleet departed for Algiers. Arriving there, on the twenty-firſt of May, the ſhips were thus ſtationed: the men of war belonging to the royal navy, and the Golden Phœnix, drew up in a north, and ſouth line, the admiral riding in the middle of them, eaſt of the ſouth end of the Mole. Next to the admiral, on the northern ſide, came to an anchor the Reformation, and the Golden Phœnix, the Convertine, on the ſouth ſide, and the Antelope on the north ſide of the Reformation, the vice-admiral innermoſt on the ſouth ſide, and the rear-admiral outermoſt on the north

ſide.

ſide. The remainder of the fleet came to, aſtern of the admirals of their reſpective ſquadrons, and then anchored, with the wind at weſt.

On the day following, ſix of the merchant-ſhips were ordered to ply about to the weſtward, and near to the ſhore, for the purpoſe of preventing any pirates from paſſing between it, and the fleet. Preparations were alſo made for executing, at the ſucceeding night, the deſign of ſetting fire to the ſhips within the Mole. Two Turkiſh prizes, the one of the burthen of an hundred tons, and the other of the burthen of ſixty tons, were filled with dry wood, oakham, pitch, roſin, tar, and various combuſtibles, being, at the ſame time, provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men. Next followed the three brigantines, procured by the admiral, at Alicant. On board of theſe were fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes, for the purpoſe of fixing them to the veſſels of the enemy. A gunlod was alſo prepared, and raiſed by chains, and grappling-irons. It was reſolved that it ſhould be diſcharged into the midſt of the ſhips within the mole, whilſt a boat attended for the purpoſe of bringing off the men who might be concerned in this enterprize. Seven boats, filled with armed men, followed to ſuſtain thoſe belonging to the fire-ſhips, in caſe of a purſuit, at their retreat. theſe, alſo, were ſupplied with fire-works, for the purpoſe of deſtroying the ſhips without the Mole.

As the wind proved unfavourable, the attempt was deferred until the twenty-fourth, when it blew briſkly at ſouth-ſouth-weſt. The ſhips now advanced towards the Mole, but when they had approached within muſket-ſhot of the head, ſo ſtill a calm enſued that it was impoſſible for them to enter. The crews of the boats, and brigantines, perceiving that they were diſco-

diſcovered by the brightneſs of the moon, which was then at full, and hearing the alarm that was given to the town, by the ſentinels poſted on the ramparts, determined to proceed, and the rather, becauſe a Chriſtian ſlave, who ſwam from Algiers, informed them that the Turks, not ſuſpecting an attack, had left their ſhips almoſt intirely unguarded. Their endeavours were, notwithſtanding, fruitleſs, as the wind was yet too gentle either to nouriſh, or diſperſe their fire-works.

In this ſervice, only ſix men were killed, before the place. Five were ſo dangerouſly wounded that they expired ſoon after their return, and thirteen were ſlightly hurt. This number cannot be deemed conſiderable, if it be remarked that the attempt was made under the walls of the town, from which place the ordnance, and muſquets were diſcharged continally againſt them. The only damage which they ſuſtained was during their retreat, previous to which they owed their ſecurity to their ſituation, as they had entered within the mole before the alarm was given to the town, and the ſhips which were ſtationed between it, and the boats, defended them from the fire of the enemy. Thus ended an expedition as unfortunate, as it was diſhonourable.

On the twenty-fifth, the Engliſh weighed anchor, and ſtood off to ſea, when four ſail of pirates, in ſpite of the endeavours of the latter to intercept them, ſtered their courſe by the weſtermoſt point of land, and entered within the harbour. On the twenty-eighth, the Bonaventure, and the Hercules ran a pirate aſhore. On board of this veſſel were an hundred, and thirty Turks, together with eleven Chriſtian Captives. All were drowned, except twelve Turks, who, with difficulty, ſwam to land.

On

On the thirtieth the fleet again entered the bay, and anchored within the diſtance of three miles from the town. On the day following, the Engliſh received information from two Genoeſe ſlaves, who had eſcaped from Algiers, that, on the night of their departure, ſeven of the beſt ſhips belonging to that place had entered the Mole, which would probably have fallen into their hands. They added that all future attempts of this nature muſt prove ineffectual, as the Turks, in order to prevent the entrance of veſſels, had placed a boom acroſs the Mole, whilſt their ſhips within it were filled with armed men, and, without, three gallies, and fifteen boats, were ſtationed before the boom, to guard it.

Notwithſtanding theſe advices, the Engliſh continued in the road, until the fourth of June, during which time their cruizers took, and brought in a veſſel, on her paſſage from Leghorn, to Algiers, and laden with Venice cloth, and many valuable commodities, excluſive of two thouſand pounds, in money. From this event, we meet with no material tranſaction, and it will be ſufficient to add that the ſhips returned to England, previous to the concluſion of the month.

This ill-concerted enterprize is obſerved to have had no other effect than that of expoſing the Engliſh commerce to the depredations of the Algerines, who committed more injuries than they received, notwithſtanding that two fleets (feeble indeed in their operations,) were afterwards ſent out againſt them, the one under the command of the lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh. On theſe undertakings, a naval hiſtorian (*e*) hath made ſome ſevere, but juſt remarks, and particularly complains that, although the whole nation was grievouſly offended,

(*e*) Sir William Monſon.

fended, as will always be the caſe, during ſuch miſcarriages, yet they were never ſoftened either by any candid inveſtigation of the point, or any ſpirited attempt to redreſs the evils which reſulted from it; a proceeding which irritated them beyond meaſure, and contributed in a high degree, to excite that violence which was felt afterwards, amidſt the horrors of a civil war (*f*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, the Eaſt-India company fitted out four new ſhips; the London, of the burthen of eight hundred tons; the Hart, of the burthen of five hundred tons; the Roebuck, of the burthen of three hundred tons; and the Eagle, of the burthen of two hundred, and eighty tons. All theſe, in the month of February, ſet ſail, under the command of captain Andrew Shilling, from Tilbury, and proceeded on their courſe together, until they approached the ſhores of Dabul, where they ſeparated for different voyages, but, ſoon afterward, rejoining, prepared for an attack againſt the Portugueſe, who lay in wait for the purpoſe, at leaſt, of hindering, if not deſtroying the commercial Intercourſe of the Engliſh, with the Perſians. On their Paſſage to Jaſquez, the intended ſcene of action, they intercepted, engaged and took a Portugueſe veſſel, laden with dates, and raiſins, and having on board a number of Arabian horſes deſigned to be tranſported from Muſcat, to Chaul.

As

(*f*) The particulars relative to this expedition are taken from Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 2. p. 881.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 369.—An account publiſhed by Authority, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-one.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 31, 32, 33.—and Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 459, 460, 461, 462.

As the Engliſh advanced towards the Portugueſe fleet, they perceived that it conſiſted of four galleons, two galliots, and ten frigates, which laſt were ſtationed, with ſupplies of men, and ammunition, at a ſhort diſtance, and near the eaſtern extremity of Jaſques road. An engagement ſoon enſued, and laſted, without intermiſſion, during nine hours, when, as the night advanced, all hoſtilities ceaſed. For the ſpace of the four ſucceeding days, the Engliſh remained unmoleſted, and landed the merchandize, and money, belonging to the Eaſt-India company. At length, the enemy reinforced by men, and ammunition, from Ormus, had the reſolution to approach nearer, and were ſaluted with a broadſide, which gave occaſion to a battle that was maintained with equal obſtinacy, by each party, during a conſiderable time, when the Portugueſe cut the cables of their ſhips, and availing themſelves of their frigates, which took them in tow, retreated to a ſecurer diſtance. The greateſt loſs endured by the Engliſh was the death of their admiral, who was ſo ſeverely wounded, that he expired on his paſſage to the ſhore. They afterwards, took two Portugueſe prizes, one of which was valuably freighted. In April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-one, the ſhips ſeparated, and proceeded on different voyages (*g*).

About this period, a colony was planted at New-Plymouth, in New-England, being the firſt eſtabliſhment in that country. One chief occaſion of this event was the ſituation of Mr. Robinſon, and Mr. Brewſter, independent miniſters, and ſeveral Engliſh Families,

(*g*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 203.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 723—728.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p 463.

lies, who, in order to avoid a perſecution on account of their religious principles, had retired into Holland, where the toleration with which they were favoured was not ſufficiently powerful to ſcreen them from a multitude of hardſhips. Concluding that, in America, they ſhould not only enjoy a greater liberty of conſcience, but become enabled to make ampler proviſions for their families, they applied through the interceſſion of the ſecretary, Sir Robert Naunton, to king James, who declared that they ſhould be protected in every lawful enterprize which they might think proper to undertake, in that quarter of the globe.

Accordingly, Mr. Brewſter, (for Mr. Robinſon did not live to proceed upon the voyage,) entered into a treaty with the company for an extenſive tract of land, in the ſouth-weſtern parts of New-England, and embarking, with his aſſociates, at Delft, directed his courſe to Southampton, from whence, after having been joined by another ſhip, on board of which were ſeveral nonconformiſts, he departed for America.

At the commencement of November, theſe adventurers arrived at Cape Cod, the moſt remarkable point of New-England (*h*), and caſt anchor in the bay, which was capable of containing a thouſand ſail, and ſurrounded by ſhores, where the various produce of the earth was diſperſed in great abundance.

On

(*h*) It was their intention to have ſeated themſelves near Hudſon's River; but their Dutch pilot had been bribed by his countrymen to ſteer their veſſel more to the Northward, and not to touch at that part of the continent of which they themſelves intended to take poſſeſſion. This they afterwards effected; but, in the ſequel, were diſpoſſeſſed by the Engliſh, who called the country New-York.

On the eleventh of November, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, and, previous to their landing, they drew up, and ſigned an inſtrument, in which they declared themſelves to be ſubjects of the crown of England, joining in a body-politic, and ſolemnly engaging ſubmiſſion to the laws that ſhould from time to time, be enacted for the benefit of the colony. When theſe forms were concluded, they choſe Mr. John Carver to be their governour.

They, next, ſent out parties, in order that they might examine the ſituation of the country, and deliver in a report concerning the moſt proper ſpot for the eſtabliſhment of a colony. At their return, the whole company were ſo ſatisfied with the reſult of their obſervations, that they reſolved to proceed, as ſoon as poſſible, to the place which had been the moſt approved. Accordingly, on the twenty-third of December, they viſited, and fixed upon an eminence on the main land, where, formerly, corn had grown, and which, at that time, was watered by many ſprings. Near it, and in view from an adjacent hill where the Engliſh intended to erect a fort, was a capacious bay, and within it were Rhode, and Elizabeth iſlands. No time was now loſt; a neceſſary number of edifices were conſtructed; but, in order that as few as poſſible might ſerve, the coloniſts divided themſelves into nineteen families, who, after an aſſiduous toil, during three months, had intirely laid the foundations of a town.

The land immediately adjoining to this ſpot was uninhabited; a circumſtance which (according to the information of a ſavage, who arrived amongſt the Engliſh, with offers of amity from the next adjacent peopled country,) was owing to a plague which raged until the mortality had become univerſal.

As

as the coloniſts were ſettled far to the northward of the territory for which they had engaged, they wanted an authority to confirm them in their poſſeſſions; and therefore, it was agreed, to chuſe, until they ſhould be impowered to proceed legally, by a charter from the king, a ſet of rulers, who were to govern them as nearly conſonant as poſſible to the laws of England.

In the following year, this plantation, which was reinforced by thirty-five men, from England, and ſupplied with all neceſſaries, received the name of New-Plymouth, in New England. Soon afterwards, one of the Indian princes declared war; and this event ſuggeſted to the Engliſh the neceſſity of erecting forts, in order to ſecure themſelves againſt the invaſions of their enemies. From this place, were gradually made the drafts for the other diſtricts of the country; and on ſo ſlight a foundation aroſe that province which, until a late melancholy period, was equally remarkable for its proſperity, and its commerce.

The king afterwards confirmed the poſſeſſion to theſe coloniſts by a patent, and (reſerving the ſovereignty to the crown of England,) thereby enabled them to elect a governour, council, and a general court, in the manner of a parliament, who ſhould have a full power of adminiſtration, and execution, in all legal caſes whatſoever (*i*)

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, captain Roger North, the brother of the lord Dudley North, having procured a patent (not-



(*i*) Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 230.—Britiſh empire in America, V. 1. p. 28.—Introduction to a collection of voyages, p. 56.—Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 852.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1843.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, folio. p. 463, 464.

withſtanding that one granted to captain Harcourt was ſtill in force,) and eſtabliſhed a kind of company, prepared for a voyage to the river of Amazons, chiefly for the purpoſe of ſettling on the adjacent land, and making a return of ſuch commodities as it afforded.

On the thirtieth of April, he ſet ſail from Plymouth, accompanied by an hundred, and twenty gentlemen, excluſive of paſſengers, and the crews belonging to a ſhip, a pinnace, and two ſhallops. In the courſe of ſeven weeks, theſe adventurers approached the mouth of the river, and, having ſailed, ſeveral hundred leagues, along the ſhore, were ſo fortunate as to diſcover a fertile country, the inhabitants of which were courteous in their manners. Having concluded his commercial negociations, captain North left the majority of his company upon the ſpot, and returned to England with ſuch a large cargo of valuable merchandize as ſeemed an earneſt of eaſe, and opulence, during the remainder of his life; but the infatuated James, overpowered by the artful inſinuations of Gondomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, impriſoned this celebrated adventurer, and detained his goods until they were damaged, and unfit for ſale. This act of oppreſſion retarded the continuance of his project, notwithſtanding that ſeveral of his company remained in the country of the Amazons, during a conſiderable time (*k*).

We ſhall conclude the relation of the naval events of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, with a brief account of an engagement between the Margaret and John, an Engliſh ſhip, mounting eight guns, and of the burthen of one hundred, and ſixty

(*k*) Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, App. p. 40.—— Lediard's naval hiſtory, folio. V. 2. p. 465.

ſixty tons, and two Spaniſh men of war, each of the burthen of three hundred tons, and carrying ſixteen braſs cannons.

The Margaret and John, commanded by captain Cheſter, was proceeding to Virginia, at once ſo full of paſſengers, and deeply laden, as to be judged apparently unfit for the purpoſes of engaging. Near the iſland of Dominica, this veſſel was intercepted, and attacked by two Spaniſh ſhips, at a time when war had not been declared againſt the Engliſh, but ſo gallantly did the latter, although often boarded by the enemy, ſtand on their defence, during the ſpace of ſix hours, that the Spaniſh ſhips received ſuch conſiderable damage, and loſt ſuch numbers of their crews, that they could not, without difficulty, bear away from their opponents. On the day following, and when their veſſels had been refitted, the Spaniards ſailed near the Engliſh, but dreading the conſequences which might reſult from a renewal of the fight, permitted them to purſue their voyage (*l*), (*m*).



(*l*) Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1780.—Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, p. 128.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 465.

(*m*) The following is a continuation of the liſt of ſupplies ſent to Virginia, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-one; and one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-two.

| | Ships. | Burthen. Tons. | Perſons. | Cattle. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1621, May. | The Eleanor | 30 | 10 | |
| July. | George | 180 | 120 | |
| | Charles | 120 | 80 | |
| | Marmaduke | 100 | 80 | |
| | Temperance | 80 | 50 | |
| Auguſt. | Warwick | 160 | 100 | |
| | Tiger | 40 | 40 | |

Towards the concluſion of the month of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-one, the Jacob, of Briſtol, a ſhip of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, was overpowered, and taken, after a ſevere engagement, by a Corſair, belonging to Algiers. The Turks took out of this prize all the crew excepting four perſons, and ſent on board of her thirteen of their own men, one of which was appointed captain, and directed to ſet ſail, in her, for Algiers.

On the fifth night from their departure, a violent ſtorm aroſe, and the four Engliſhmen, to whom the dread of ſlavery appeared more terrible than death, availed themſelves of the confuſion which this event occaſioned, in order to regain their liberty. Obſerving

| | Ships. | Burthen. Tons. | Perſons. | Cattle. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1621, Auguſt. | Sea-Flower | 140 | 120 | |
| | Flying-Hart | 200 | 60 | 40 |
| Novemb. | Diſcovery | 60 | 20 | |
| | Bona Nova | 200 | 50 | |
| | Hopewell | 60 | 20 | |
| 1622, April. | Godſpeed | 150 | 100 | |
| | Gift of God | 140 | 100 | |
| | Primroſe | 80 | 60 | |
| | Charity | 80 | 30 | |
| | Bonaventure | 50 | 10 | |
| May. | White Lion | 180 | 40 | 40 |
| | Furtherance | 180 | 80 | |
| | Mary & John | 160 | 80 | |
| | James | 120 | 80 | |

Supplies ſent by the company to the Sommers Iſlands.

| | Ships. | Burthen. Tons. | Perſons. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1622, April. | Joſeph | 150 | 100 |
| July. | James | 150 | 80 |
| Auguſt. | Concord | 180 | 70 |

ing that the captain was aſſiſting his companions to ſtrike the ſails, they ruſhed, ſuddenly, upon him, and puſhed him overboard. Having ſeized a rope, the end of which lay floating on the ocean, he approached the ſhip's ſide, and was on the point of climbing up, when he received a blow, in conſequence of which he fell backwards, and, thus rendered unable to regain his hold, ſoon periſhed amidſt the waves. The other Turks, engaged in attention to their duty, were ſtrangers to the calamity which befel their captain, nor ſuſpected an inſurrection from the Engliſh, until they obſerved that they were armed with cutlaſſes, which they had ſeized out of the cabbin belonging to the maſter. After a feeble oppoſition, two of the pirates were ſlain; a third jumped overboard, and was drowned, whilſt the remaining nine fled, for ſhelter, below the hatchways, and were immediately confined. Thus ſucceſsful, the Engliſh directed their courſe to Saint Lucar, in Spain, where the Turks were ſold to ſome of the principal inhabitants, and languiſhed, afterwards, under that ſlavery which they had deſigned for others (*n*).

On the firſt of November, and in the ſame year, the Nicholas, of Plymouth, a ſhip of the burthen of forty tons, and commanded by John Rawlins, departed for the ſtreights in company with the Bonaventure, of the ſame port, and of the burthen of ſeventy tons.

On the eighteenth, the Engliſh arrived within ſight of Gibraltar, and diſcovered five ſhips in full ſail towards them. In a ſhort time, they came along ſide, hoiſted Turkiſh colours, and attacked, and took the Nicholas, and the Bonaventure. The laſt veſſel was



(*n*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 370.—Lediard's naval hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 466.

the prize of the admiral, who put on ſhore twelve of her crew, together with ſeveral Engliſhmen who had been made captives during a previous engagement. The vice-admiral, who took the Nicholas, directed that Rawlins, and five of his aſſociates, ſhould be brought on board of his ſhip, and that three Engliſhmen, and a boy, ſhould remain in the prize, under the guard of thirteen Turks. Towards the cloſe of the ſucceeding night, a dreadful tempeſt ſeparated the vice-admiral ſhip from the Nicholas. On the twenty-ſecond, the former, having Rawlins on board, entered the harbour of Algiers; and, on the twenty-ſixth, the latter arrived within the road, when the priſoners were all conducted to the Baſhaw, who choſe the moſt robuſt, and healthy perſons amongſt the Engliſhmen, and gave orders that the reſt ſhould be ſold, in the public market-place.

As Rawlins had loſt the uſe of one hand, he was purchaſed by the captain, who took him, at a low price, and, ſoon afterwards, on account of his infirmity, ſold, together with two of the crew belonging to the Nicholas, for a ſmall ſum, to one John Goodall, an Engliſh Renegado, who, with his aſſociates, had purchaſed the Exchange, of Briſtol, a ſhip formerly taken by the pirates, but then lying, unrigged, within the Mole, and not ſufficiently manned for the purpoſes of a voyage.

On the ſeventh of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty two, the Exchange, which now mounted twelve guns, was intirely equipped, and departed on a cruize. On board, were ſixty-three Turkiſh Moors, nine Engliſh ſlaves; and one Frenchman, and four Hollanders, who were free. To ſerve as gunners, the captain had procured two ſoldiers,

diers, the one an Engliſh, and the other a Dutch renegado.

Rawlins, to whom the loſs of liberty was rendered doubly painful by the reflection that he had become the ſlave of one who drew his firſt breath within the land of Freedom, and ſhould have diſdained the thought of holding a fellow-ſubject in captivity, determined to avail himſelf of the firſt favourable opportunity to break looſe from bondage. For this purpoſe, he had ſecretly procured ropes, iron crows, and all neceſſary implements, in order to cloſe up the ſcuttles, gratings, and cabbins, and to ſecure the captain, and all his company. It was likewiſe agreed amongſt his aſſiſtants, that, at a ſignal given, the Engliſh, being maſters of the gun-room, ſhould either blow their enemies up at once, or deſtroy them, as they iſſued from their cabbins. Rawlins, cautiouſly, and by degrees, diſcovered his intentions to the four Hollanders, who not only expreſſed their determination to join him, but brought over to his party the renegadoes, their countrymen, whilſt the Engliſh prevailed alſo on the renegadoes of their nation to cooperate in the enterprize.

During the time that theſe plans were in agitation, Rawlins perſuaded the captain, who had already paſſed the mouth of the ſtreights, to ſteer his courſe northwards. On the ſixteenth of February, the pirates ſeized a bark belonging to Torbay, and laden with ſalt. On board of this prize, (which had been cleared of all the crew, except a mate, and two mariners,) were placed ten Turks, together with the Engliſh, and the two Dutch renegadoes, who had promiſed to aſſiſt in the execution of the plot. Before they quitted the ſhip, Rawlins embraced an opportunity of aſſuring them that he ſhould make his attempt, either during

that, or the ſucceeding night. He likewiſe informed them what ſignal would be given immediately previous to the opening of the enterprize, and ſtrongly recommended to them that they ſhould ſet every ſail, and ſteer towards the Engliſh coaſt.

On the following morning, the prize was out of ſight, and the captain of the Exchange, inflamed with rage at the conduct of thoſe whom he had appointed to take care of her, inſinuated that it was his determination to return immediately to Algiers. Rawlins was now convinced of the neceſſity of improving the preſent moment. He, therefore, informed the captain that much water was in the hold, but that it did not reach the pumps, becauſe the ſhip had too deep a lading near the head. Deceived by this report, the latter gave orders that four guns ſhould be removed towards the ſtern, and accordingly, two were placed in front of the binnacle, and two in the ſteerage. Rawlins, having procured as much powder as was neceſſary to prime the pieces, repreſented to the captain the expediency that, in order to right the ſhip, all hands ſhould be employed at the pump. During this operation, he procured two lighted matches, and leſt they ſhould be diſcovered, ſecreted one within a can, and the other between two ſpoons. Soon afterwards, he diſcharged a gun, by the ſhot from which the binnacle was broken all to pieces. At this report, the Engliſh immediately aſſembled, and cleared the hold of the Moors, and Turks, who had been left below. The captain, and his adherents, now endeavoured to ſeize the Engliſh who were ſtationed between the decks; but ſo gallant, and effectual was their reſiſtance, that ſeveral of the former were killed by the diſcharge of muſquets, through the gratings, and the ſurvivors cried out for mercy. They were directed by their conquer-

conquerors to go down ſingly into the hold, where (ſo criminally ungovernable was the rage of Rawlins, and his aſſociates!) many were maſſacred, and the moſt intimidated, to avoid ſharing the ſame fate, plunged at once into the ocean. Out of forty-five, no more than ſix were ſaved. Amongſt theſe was the captain, who, together with his companions, was conveyed by Rawlins, and his brave adherents, to Plymouth, where they arrived, on the fifteenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-two.

The Torbay bark arrived ſafely at Penzance, in Cornwall, and either ſo artful were the Engliſh, or ſuch was the ignorance of the Turks, that the latter were perſuaded that the veſſel was ſailing towards Algiers, until the day that they approached the ſhore. At this period, they attempted to reſiſt, but were overpowered, and confined underneath the gratings. When the Engliſh had caſt anchor, the Turks were landed, and afterwards ſent, as priſoners, to Exeter (*o*).

During the courſe of this year, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who had ſuperintended the adminiſtration of affairs in New-England, reflecting on the extent of the bounds which had been fixed to the plantations in thoſe parts, and the ſlow progreſs of all enterprizes for the eſtabliſhment of colonies, ſuggeſted to Sir William Alexander, a member of the privy council, ſecretary of ſtate for the kingdom of Scotland, and, afterwards, Earl of Stirling, the expediency, and advantage of introduring another ſettlement in that country. Accordingly, a patent was obtained, and a ſhip ſailed, with coloniſts, for Nova Scotia, which place was to be holden by Sir William, of the crown of Scot-

(*o*) Harris's Coll. Part. 1 p. 370.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 466, 467, 468.

Scotland, and governed by the laws peculiar to that kingdom.

The veſſel, which had proceeded too late from England, was forced to winter at Newfoundland. At the commencement of the enſuing ſpring, the coloniſts renewed their voyage, and, having, on their arrival at the deſtined port, fixed on a ſpot proper for a ſettlement, returned to England, fully reſolved to reviſit the place at the beginning of the next year, and carry thither whatſoever might be neceſſary for the execution of their enterprizes.

Yet the affairs of this plantation were not proſperous; and, although ſeveral ſhips reſorted thither from England, for the purpoſe of exchanging merchandize; yet neither the Engliſh, nor the Scotch, were able to introduce a ſettlement, and the French availing themſelves of this circumſtance, took poſſeſſion of the country, and erected fortifications at Port-Royal, on the northern ſide of Funda Bay, and in forty-five degrees of north latitude. It is needleſs to acquaint the reader that this place was retaken by the Engliſh, and, afterwards, recovered by the French, who held it during ſome time (*p*).

We now proceed to a continuance of the relation of the affairs of Virginia. The rapid increaſe of population, and the long, and uninterrupted peace which, from the Æra of the marriage between Rolfe, and Pocahontas, had been obſerved by the Indians, and the coloniſts, proved the means of ſuggeſting to the laſt, ideas of ſecurity as fatal as they were groundleſs. Accuſtomed to mix with the Engliſh at their entertainments.

(*p*) Harris's Coll. Part 1. p. 859.—Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 20.—Purchas's Pilgrims, V. 4. p. 1871.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 468.

tainments, to join in all their occupations, to enter their houſes at diſcretion, to ſleep with them under the ſame roof, and to examine, and uſe the various implements which they had brought from Europe, the Indians were not, at any period, ſtrangers to their purſuits, and knew, almoſt without the trouble of inquiry, whether they were at home, or in the woods, in bodies, or diſperſed, in a ſituation of defence, or totally unguarded. Grown expert in the management of fire-arms, they not only ſuppoſed themſelves ſufficiently formidable to contend againſt the coloniſts, but ſecretly wiſhed for an opportunity to perpetrate the moſt violent and barbarous hoſtilities.

A melancholy event ſoon gave occaſion to the indulgence of their wiſhes. An Indian, who had murdered his maſter, an European, was ſhot by two boys, the ſervants of the deceaſed. The whole race of Savages, fired with revenge, now determined to engage in a general maſſacre of the Engliſh, and, for the execution of their purpoſes, had fixed on the forenoon of the twenty-ſecond of March, a time when the objects of their barbarity, working in their plantations, would be at once defenceleſs, and diſperſed. This dreadful enterprize was to extend, in the ſame inſtant, to all the ſeveral ſettlements, excepting that which was ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore.

In the preceding afternoon, the ſavages, the more effectually to colour their deſigns, preſented the Engliſh with deer, turkies, fiſh, and fruits, but borrowed their canoes, in which they croſſed the river, for the purpoſe of adviſing with a neighbouring race of Indians, concerning the propereſt meaſures for the accompliſhment of their execrable conſpiracy. On the morning of the maſſacre, they mixed, unarmed, amongſt the coloniſts, partook of their repaſts, and

pre-

preſerved every feigned appearance of freedom, and of friendſhip. When the time approached for the perpetration of their deſign, they gradually withdrew, but, on a ſudden, returned with hatches, axes, and fire-arms, and, ruſhing upon the Engliſh, without regard to either ſex, or age, deſtroyed all who fell within their power. Some who made a brave, and early reſiſtance, had the good fortune to eſcape.

In the liſt taken of the Chriſtians who were murdered, during the courſe of that morning, the number amounted to three hundred, and forty-ſeven, moſt of whom died of wounds given with their own inſtruments, and working tools. The maſſacre would have been more general, but that the plot was providentially diſcovered, during the night, which preceded the execution of it, by a faithful Indian to his maſter, Mr. Pace. To this timely information, James-Town, and the neighbouring ſettlements, were indebted for their ſafety. The Engliſh were now become ſo exaſperated againſt the ſavages that they prepared for open war, nor did they abſtain from the commiſſion of the moſt violent hoſtilities, until the nations concerned in the deteſted maſſacre had been totally extirpated (*q*).

The calamities by which Virginia was afflicted ſo terrified the majority of the ſurviving coloniſts, that a multitude of families retired haſtily to the coaſts of Carolina, and ſettled in the province of Mallica, near the head of the river of May, where they performed the offices of miſſionaries amongſt the Mallicans, and the Apalachites, whoſe ſovereign they are recorded to have baptized. Such was the occaſion of the firſt Engliſh ſettlement, in theſe parts, but it was not until a later

(*q*) Smith's general Hiſtory of Virginia, p. 144.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 468, 469.

a later period that a regular ſyſtem, either of polity, or of commerce, was introduced amongſt the coloniſts (*r*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-three, happened the dreadful maſſacre, at Amboyna. Of this, we ſhall preſent the reader with a full, and impartial relation, becauſe (to borrow the language of a naval writer (*s*),) it gave birth to that hatred which the Engliſh had conceived againſt the Dutch; an hatred long in its duration, and fatal in its effects. By a treaty concluded between Great Britain, and the United Provinces, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen, it was ſtipulated that the Dutch ſhould enjoy two thirds, and the Engliſh one of the trade carried on at Amboyna. In purſuance of this agreement, factories were not only erected in that iſland, but in other places. The Dutch, who beheld with envy, and malevolence, the conveniencies of their ſituation, and the progreſs of their commerce, were determined inſtantly to purſue ſuch meaſures as ſhould effect the extirpation of the Engliſh. Accordingly, under pretence that a conſpiracy was forming, they ſeized the chief perſons in the factory, and, by torture, wrung from them a confeſſion of crimes which they never had committed. This abandoned proceſs was followed by the execution of a great number of the Engliſh; but the Dutch, under the ſpecious ſhew of clemency, agreed to diſcharge the reſt. They, notwithſtanding, entered forcibly into poſſeſſion of all the other factories belonging to the Engliſh, on the iſlands which produced ſpice, and thus monopolized

(*r*) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 329.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2 Folio. p. 469.

(*s*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 34.

polized that valuable article of commerce. That theſe miſerable victims to the avarice, and barbarity of their perſecutors, were abſolutely innocent, ſeemed evident from circumſtances that could not be conteſted. The Engliſh had only few houſes wherein their factories were eſtabliſhed; but the Dutch had rendered themſelves, by the conſtruction of ſtrong fortreſſes, too powerful to be reſiſted. The number of the Engliſh did not exceed twenty. In the caſtle belonging to the Dutch, were two hundred ſoldiers; and, within the harbour, rode eight large ſhips of war. At the place of execution, the priſoners proteſted ſolemnly that they were not guilty of the crimes which had been alledged againſt them, and, would have taken the ſacrament on the truth of their aſſertions, but that the Dutch prevented them from receiving it (*t*).

To place this abominable tranſaction in the cleareſt point of view, we ſhall, firſt, tranſcribe an account which hath been delivered by a profeſſed advocate for the Hollanders (*u*), and next, inſert, with ſome neceſſary alterations, a narrative of proceedings, taken from the depoſitions of ſix Engliſh factors, whereof four were condemned, and pardoned, and the remaining two acquitted, at Amboyna. All of theſe were at their return, examined upon oath, in the Engliſh court of Admiralty.

"The iſland of Amboyna was, during a long time, "the ſubject of diſpute between the Dutch, and the "Engliſh. The Eaſt-India company, who had made "them-

(*t*) See a Pamphlet entitled "A true relation of the unjuſt, cruel, and barbarous proceedings againſt the Engliſh, at Amboyna," publiſhed by authority. 1624. Quarto.

(*u*) M. Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. V. 1. p. 129,—Coke's Detection of the Court, and ſtate of England, p. 96. 97.

" themſelves the maſters of it, entered into treaty
" with the Engliſh, for the purpoſe of driving out the
" Portugueſe, and Spaniards; and by one of its arti-
" cles, they agreed to furniſh ten ſhips of war to
" facilitate the execution of the enterprize. When
" the neceſſary preparations for this armament were
" neglected, the king of Ternate, taking an advantage
" of the weakneſs which this omiſſion had occaſion-
" ed, agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms with the Spani-
" ards, and, forming an alliance with the king of Ti-
" dore, the declared enemy of the Dutch, attacked the
" ſeveral iſlands dependant on Amboyna. Having re-
" duced them, he determined to direct his hoſtilities
" againſt the citadel, and in this deſign, the Engliſh
" are reported to have been concerned, and detected by
" a Japaneſe. The governour heard from all quar-
" ters that the Engliſh had taken poſſeſſion of the cita-
" del. Aſtoniſhed at theſe reports, which were, not-
" withſtanding, falſe, he took meaſures for his de-
" fence, and gave orders that the Japaneſe ſhould be
" apprehended, and brought before him. This man
" confeſſed that the Engliſh were engaged in a conſpi-
" racy againſt the governor; that, during the ab-
" ſence of this officer, the citadel was to be ſeized,
" and that the Japaneſe had promiſed to aſſiſt in the
" execution of the deſign. The governour immedi-
" ately arreſted every individual who was charged with
" having entered into the conſpiracy. The Engliſh
" confeſſed that their factor had obliged them to ſwear,
" upon the goſpel, that they never would reveal the
" ſecret. They, notwithſtanding, violated their oaths,
" and ſigned their confeſſions, which, by ſome of
" the criminals, were made freely, whilſt the reſt
" felt themſelves conſtrained thereto, by the violence
" of the torture. They were all executed, and this
" tranſ-

" tranſaction is uſually called the maſſacre of Amboy-
" na. The Engliſh have always maintained that the
" crime was purely imaginary, and only made uſe of
" as a pretext to ſacrifice ſome of their fellow ſubjects
" to the vengeance of a governour; and, therefore,
" they continued to demand ſatisfaction for this loſs
" from the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twen-
" ty-three, to the year one thouſand, ſix hundred,
" and ſeventy-two, when, ſuch was the indifferent
" ſtate of their affairs, that they were glad to relin-
" quiſh their complaints."

We now proceed to the ſecond narrative. " At the
" commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hun-
" dred, and twenty-three, a moſt cruel ſcene was acted
" at Amboyna, one of the Sindæ iſlands, lying near
" the Moluccas, in the Eaſt-Indies. A treaty had
" been concluded in the year, one thouſand, ſix hun-
" dred, and nineteen, between England, and the United
" Provinces, by which it was determined that, in con-
" ſideration of the ſevere loſſes, and enormous ex-
" pences incurred by the Dutch, in turning the chan-
" nel of trade in the iſlands of the Moluccas, Banda,
" and Amboyna, from the Spaniards, and Portugueſe,
" they ſhould enjoy two thirds of that commerce,
" whilſt the Engliſh might keep poſſeſſion of the re-
" maining third."

" In purſuance of this agreement, Engliſh factories
" were eſtabliſhed at the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboy-
" na, the laſt of which is the principal place in the
" Eaſt-Indies, where grow the mace, nutmegs, cin-
" namon, and cloves. Scarcely had the Engliſh been
" ſettled at theſe iſlands, during two years, when the
" Dutch, in order to deprive them of their ſhare in
" the ſpice-trade, pretended that they had engaged
" with the natives in a conſpiracy, and that they had

" formed

" formed a deſign of ſeizing the citadel, and forcing " all the garriſon, together with every ſubject of the " United States to depart immediately for Europe. This " charge will be deemed the more abſurd, when it is " reflected that only twenty Engliſh reſided at Amboyna, " and that the Dutch had, under their command, a mi- " litary force conſiſting of two hundred ſoldiers, and, " likewiſe, eight powerful ſhips, at anchor within the " harbour. It is, here, neceſſary to premiſe that, on " the eleventh of February, a Japaneſe, who, during " the night, was walking on the rampart at Amboyna, " propoſed to the Dutch ſentinel ſome queſtions con- " cerning the ſtrength of the caſtle, and the garriſon " within it. His inquiries, ſo far from being criminal, " were not improper, as he wiſhed to underſtand the " courſe of the military watches, and the ſtrength of " that aid which he might expect, in caſe of any ſud- " den attack in that quarter where, as a ſoldier, he " was accuſtomed to ſerve the Dutch. Theſe barbari- " ans, who had long waited for a pretence to perſecute " the Engliſh, availed themſelves of this opportunity, " apprehended the Japaneſe, and by inflicting on him " the ſevereſt tortures, compelled him to declare that " he, together with a number of his countrymen, had " been engaged by all the Engliſh to aſſiſt in the intend- " ed reduction of the citadel. Soon afterwards, " others of the Japaneſe were impriſoned, ſtretched " upon the rack, and compelled to give ſuch evidences " as the Dutch thought fit to dictate. A Portugueſe, " the guardian of the ſlaves belonging to the citadel, " was alſo interrogated at the ſame time."

" During the examination, which laſted nearly four " days, the Engliſh went freely to the caſtle, and re- " ceived intelligence of theſe alarming meaſures, yet, " being conſcious of their innocence, they made no

" attempt to ſave themſelves by flight. At this pe
" riod, Abel Price, the ſurgeon to the Engliſh factory,
" being impriſoned in the caſtle, for having attempt-
" ed, during a fit of intoxication, to ſet fire to an
" edifice, inhabited by the Dutch, was informed that
" the Japaneſe, who were brought before him, lan-
" guiſhing under the effects of the cruelties which
" they had endured, confeſſed that the Engliſh had en-
" gaged in a conſpiracy, for the purpoſe of taking poſ-
" ſeſſion, by violence, of the caſtle; and he was alſo
" threatened with puniſhments equally ſevere, unleſs
" he made depoſitions to the ſame effect as thoſe
" which had been given by the Japaneſe. At firſt, he
" perſiſted not only in declarations of his own inno-
" cence, but affirmed that his aſſociates were free from
" their imputed guilt. On the fifteenth of February,
" and when the torture was inflicted, his reſolution
" failed. He confeſſed to every queſtion that was
" aſked."

" Captain Towerſon, and the reſt of the Engliſh re-
" ſiding within the town, were now ſent for, and all,
" except one, attended on the governour. He ſpoke in
" general terms concerning the accuſation which was
" lodged againſt them, and then gave orders for their
" impriſonment, until the day of trial. The Eng-
" liſhman who had abſented himſelf, was next arreſted,
" at his own dwelling. His merchandize, together
" with that of his aſſociates, was taken into cuſtody,
" by inventory; and all the cheſts, boxes, books,
" writings, and other articles, were carefully ſecured.
" Captain Towerſon was committed a cloſe priſoner to
" his chamber, and ſtrictly watched by a guard of
" Dutch ſoldiers. Emanuel Thompſon was detained
" within the caſtle; and John Beaumont, Edward Col-
" lins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramſay, Timothy
" Johnſon,

" Johnſon, John Fardo, and Robert Brown, the re-
" maining ſeven, were ſent on board of the Dutch ſhips,
" and immediately put in irons. On the ſame day, the
" governour diſpatched an armed party to the two
" leſſer factories in the ſame iſland, and gave orders
" for the opprehenſion of Colſton, Clarke, and Sharrock,
" at Kitto; and of Coſlins, Webber and Sadler, at Lari-
" ca. Theſe, on the ſixteenth, were brought, priſoners,
" to the caſtle. At the ſame time, three Engliſhmen
" were ſeized at Cambello, and three more at Loho,
" two ſmall factories. On the twentieth, they arrived,
" in chains, at Amboyna."

" As, in order to ſhorten their excruciating tor-
" ments, the Japaneſe, and others declared their
" knowledge of incidents which never exiſted, it
" was imagined that the Engliſh, if expoſed to the ſame
" cruelties, would unanimouſly confeſs that they had
" been guilty of the crimes alledged againſt them.
" Accordingly, their inhuman perſecutors proceeded to
" inflict the torture. Each devoted victim was firſt
" obliged to ſuſpend himſelf by his hands, from the
" top of a large, and lofty door. In this poſition,
" he was faſtened by two Staples of Iron, when his
" arms were ſtretched out to an extent as great as
" could poſſibly be attained. His legs were next
" raiſed to the heighth of two feet, and diſtended, with
" equal violence, to a ſimilar, and parallel diſtance.
" A cloth was now bound about his neck, and face,
" ſo cloſely that no water could glide down the outer
" ſide of it. Drops of water were then poured gently
" on his head, until the whole quantity which had
" fallen roſe within the foldings of the cloth ſome-
" what higher than his head. During this dreadful
" ſituation, it was impoſſible that he could draw
" breath, and not ſuck in the water, which, ſtill trick-

" ling down, forced the inward parts, guſhed from his
" noſe, ears, and eyes, and, at length, threw him in-
" to fainting fits. At this juncture, he was let down,
" and ſuffered to diſcharge the water from his ſto-
" mach. When only ſlightly recovered, he again
" endured the ſame tormenting operations; and theſe
" were repeated until his eyes had ſtarted from their
" ſockets, and his body became diſtended to an enor-
" mous ſize. If, ſtill, his fortitude could riſe ſuperior
" to ſuch exceſs of agony, and he diſdained to pur-
" chaſe a relief from it, by unjuſtly loading either his
" countrymen, or himſelf with accuſations, he was
" again drawn to bear anguiſh of a ſeverer kind.
" Lighted candles were placed underneath his arm-
" pits, his elbows, the ſoles of the feet, and the
" palms of the hands. When the flame was extin-
" guiſhed, by the melting matter dropping from the
" fleſh, the candles were again lighted; nor did the
" barbarians admit a diſcontinuance of this horrid
" proceſs, until the parts were burned nearly to the
" bone. Leading queſtions were now put to the diſ-
" tracted ſufferer, and ſuch interpretations were given
" to his anſwers as rendered them adequate to the
" moſt ample confeſſion of his guilt. He was now
" conveyed to a dark dungeon, where he remained,
" during five days, a miſerable, and loathſome object,
" naked, debarred from the attendance of a ſurgeon,
" to dreſs his wounds, and ſcarcely ſupplied with nou-
" riſhment ſufficient for the preſervation of his life.
" Theſe execrable perſecutors appear to have been
" ſkilled in all the wild varieties of cruelty; and we
" learn from the melancholy hiſtory of the wretched
" victims, that when their toes, and fingers had
" been ſlit, and their breaſts deeply lanced, the wounded
" parts were filled with gunpowder, and ſet on fire."

" Amongſt

" Amongſt the Engliſh, Coſlins, Johnſon, Clark, and " Thompſon, endured the various tortures to the laſt " extremity, and until they were ſeduced into a con- " feſſion of guilt which they had never practiſed, en- " couraged, or diſcovered. Brown, Collins, Wetherell, " Fardo, and others, were diſarmed, at the expiration " of an hour, of that Chriſtian fortitude with which " they had ſupported the exceſs of agony; and bore " teſtimony to the abſurdeſt falſities. The reſt, at " once intimidated by the ſufferings of their aſſoci- " ates, delivered an evidence as agreeable to the wiſhes " of their judges, as it was wide from truth. Yet, " the majority, at the time of their examination, whe- " ther before, or after the forced confeſſion of a deſign " to ſeize the caſtle, proteſted that they were innocent, " and affirmed that by delivering depoſitions againſt " others, they had ſacrificed all honeſty, and friend- " ſhip, to their private feelings. When Colſon, Grigs, " and Fardo, were brought forward, in order that they " might confront Towerſon, who ſolemnly aſſerted that " he was guiltleſs, they fell on their knees, and, after " having prayed to the SUPREME BEING for the par- " don of their ſins, declared that their whole evidence " was falſe, and given only to eſcape from that terri- " ble, but undeſerved puniſhment which had been in- " flicted on their companions. Yet, in the next mo- " ment, when theſe affrighted wretches were threaten- " ed with the torture, they renewed their affirma- " tions to all their former pretended confeſſions."

" It is, however, neceſſary to remark that all the " Engliſh who were ſentenced to be executed (*x*), did,



(*x*) Some, through the intereſt of their Dutch friends, received a pardon; and others, in conſequence of the ſame mediation, were acquitted.

" from that period, ſolemnly aſſert, on their hopes of " pardon, and ſalvation, that they, and thoſe devoted " individuals whom they had accuſed, were not guilty " of the crimes for which they were to ſuffer. Thus, " at the end of this ſchedule, captain Towerſon writes; " (' I am not guilty of that which is laid to my charge, " and for which I am condemned to die.') Grigs, " who had accuſed Towerſon, inſerted within his ta- " ble-book, the following memorandum, which was " ſigned by himſelf, and by Beaumont, Price, and " Brown: (' By extreme torture, we have been con- " ſtrained to utter what we never meant; and we take " it upon our deaths, that we periſh guiltleſs of the " accuſation which hath been laid to our charge.') " the words of Colſon are, (' On my ſalvation, and, " as I hope for redemption through JESUS CHRIST, " I am clear of that conſpiracy for which I am to die, " neither do I know that any Engliſhman is the leaſt con- " cerned in it.') In one of his tablets, alſo, is the " following declaration, ſigned with his own name: " (' I have confeſſed that which, (as I hope for ever- " laſting mercy, is falſe; and I was compelled, for " fear of torment, to give an unjuſt evidence againſt " captain Towerſon, who (I do moſt ſolemnly declare, " as I hope, hereafter, to meet with pardon for my " ſins,) is as ignorant of this conſpiracy as a child " unborn.') All theſe writings were preſerved; but " other atteſtations, to the ſame purport, (and, parti- " cularly, that of captain Towerſon, who was obſerved " to make ſeveral minutes, during his impriſonment,) " were ſuppreſſed by the Dutch."

" On the twenty-ſixth of February, all the Engliſh " under ſentence of death, except Towerſon, and " Thompſon, were led into the hall belonging to the " caſtle, and directed to prepare for execution. Im-

" mediately

"mediately on their appearance, the Japaneſe cried "out; ('O, ye Engliſh! when did we ever eat, or talk "with you?') To which they anſwered; ('Why "then have you accuſed us?') Theſe artleſs ſavages "then diſcovered their tortured bodies, and, with a "peculiar eloquence, exclaimed, ('Ah! if a ſtone "had been thus burning amidſt the flames, would it "not have changed its nature! How much ſooner "then muſt we change our nature, who are but fleſh, "and blood.') When the Dutch miniſters viſited the "ten Engliſhmen who were ſtanding in the hall, they "exhorted them, as the remainder of their lives "would neceſſarily be ſhort, to make a full, and true "confeſſion. Still theſe unhappy victims perſiſted "in their innocence, and deſired that they might re-"ceive the ſacrament, as a confirmation of their pro-"feſſions, and as a ſeal of the pardon of their ſins; "but this favour was refuſed. When the preacher "obſerved to the Engliſh that the clearer they were "from guilt, the greater would be their reward, "Colſon delivered to him his purſe, and beſought him "to exhort the governour to repent of that bloody "tragedy, in which he, and his aſſociates had been "the unrelenting actors. At this moment, the Eng-"liſh declared that the words which Colſon had laſt ut-"tered coincided with their own ſentiments. When "Fardo charged all his countrymen, as they ſhould an-"ſwer for their ſincerity, at the judgment-ſeat of the "ALMIGHTY, to confeſs truly, and for the ſatisfac-"tion of the world, whether they were innocent; "Colſon anſwered; ('If I be guilty of it, more, or "leſs, let me never be a partaker of the joys of hea-"ven.') It was now that the others cried out "('Amen! for me, GOOD LORD!') They next re-"queſted forgiveneſs of each other, on account of

" thoſe falſe accuſations which had been extorted from " them, either by the dread of puniſhment, or the " horrible ſeveſity with which it was inflicted. Each " freely pardoned his aſſociate; for no individual was " falſely accuſed, but he himſelf had falſely accuſed an- " other. The following night was ſpent, by the Eng- " liſh, in prayer, in ſinging of pſalms, and adminiſ- " tering comfort to each other, whilſt the Dutch " guards, with the moſt brutal mockery, and inſo- " lence, would have preſented them with full cups of " wine, out of which they bade them drink, and giv- " ing a looſe to merriment, and intoxication, ſet their " miſeries at defiance."

" On the twenty-ſeventh of February, being the " day appointed for the execution, the condemned " perſons firſt requeſted John Powle, and, afterwards, " all who had been either acquitted, or pardoned, to " bear witneſs to their friends in England, of their " innocency, and that they were abſolutely murdered " by the Dutch; for the pardon of whom they ſhould " pray to GOD, and truſted that HE would vouchſafe " to extend his mercy to their ſouls."

" When the Engliſh had been conducted to the place " of execution, (not by the neareſt, and common " way, but in proceſſion around the town,) they " ſeverally declared on oath that they were free from " their imputed guilt, and then chearfully ſubmitted " to the laſt, and fatal puniſhment. The perſons exe- " cuted were Mr. Towerſon, agent to the Engliſh, at " Amboyna; Colſon, Thompſon, Johnſon, Wetherell, " Clark, Grigs, Fardo, Price, and Brown. With theſe, " ſuffered one Perez, a native of Portugal, who ſwore " upon the croſs, that he was innocent; and, likewiſe, " nine Japaneſe, who ſolemnly exculpated themſelves, " amidſt all the ceremonies preſcribed by their reli-

" gion,

" gion, and implored heaven to forgive their proſecu-
" tors."

" On the day following, the new Dutch general
" ſent Beaumont, Sharrock, and Webber, the four who
" had been pardoned, to different factories. Even
" the Hollanders did not relinquiſh their oppreſſions,
" but forcibly took poſſeſſion of the Engliſh ſettle-
" ments at Seran, Pooleroon, and the other neighbour-
" ing iſlands. Thus, did they become almoſt entirely
" enabled to monopolize the ſpice-trade, in thoſe
" Parts."

We ſhall remark, nearly in the words of a naval writer (*y*), (to whoſe reſearches we are ſo frequently indebted,) that it is indeed ſtrange that, conſidering the maritime ſtrength of the Engliſh at the time when they received this inſult, and the quick ſenſe which they have always entertained of any national affront, no proper ſatisfaction was procured, nor any vigorous meaſures entered into, for the purpoſe of exacting it. But the wonder will, in a great meaſure, ceaſe, when we reflect on the ſtate of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged, during many years, in a tedious, baſe, and diſguſting negociation, for the accompliſhment of a marriage between his ſon Charles, and a princeſs of the royal family of Spain. To the chimerical advantages which he propoſed to reap from this connexion, had he ſacrificed the intereſts of his houſe, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people. Yet his endeavours were unſucceſsful; and he was, at length, compelled to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of preparing for the commencement of hoſtilities; a ſituation from which he had always been much, and criminally averſe, but, particularly, at the cloſe of his

(*y*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 37.

his life, and reign. Such was the poſture of affairs, when the bloody ſcene was acted, at Amboyna; and therefore, although it had excited a general ſpirit of reſentment, and occaſioned ſevere expoſtulations with the republic, yet the attention of the crown to the propoſed war, with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the neceſſity that the Dutch ſhould be cautiouſly applied to, at ſo critical a juncture, prevented the Engliſh court from proceeding farther than remonſtrances, whilſt the United States preſerved excluſively a lucrative, and important branch of commerce.

The hiſtorian adds that he hath taken the more pains to decide the point, becauſe it is full proof of a truth which ought never to be forgotten; domeſtic diſſentions are particularly fatal to the Engliſh, as a trading nation; and it is impoſſible for them to maintain their commerce in a flouriſhing condition, if they do, not, at leaſt, enjoy peace, and with it, unanimity at home, howſoever unfavourable their affairs may prove abroad (z).

On the ſeventeenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-three, Charles, prince of Wales, attended by the earl of Buckingham, ſet ſail for Spain, on a viſit to the Infanta. The fleet which, on this occaſion, was equipped to be his convoy, conſiſted of eight men of war, and two pinnaces, under the command of the earl of Rutland. The only advantage which reſulted from this ſhort voyage was a faint, but juſt idea which the prince was enabled to conceive of maritime affairs. An inquiry concerning the tranſactions at the court of Madrid, is foreign to our ſubject. Be it ſufficient to remark that, on the ninth of September, Charles took leave of the Infanta, and

(z) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 38.

and diſembarked, towards the concluſion of the month, at the iſles of Scilly.

Notwithſtanding that it is difficult to aſcertain the time when the Engliſh firſt ſettled at Barbadoes, yet, as the event was previous to the demiſe of James, it cannot be improper to place it towards the concluſion of this reign. That the iſland had been viſited by the Engliſh at a period which preceded the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, appears from an act, paſſed, during the courſe of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſixty-ſix, in the aſſembly of Barbadoes, for the better aſcertaining of the laws of that iſland. Herein, it is obſerved that all acts confirmed by any governour and councellour, preſident, and council, by virtue of any commiſſion from James, or Charles, the Firſt, &c. &c.

Thus far it is certain; that about the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-four, a ſhip, belonging to Sir William Curteen, and, on her paſſage from Fernambuco, in Braſil, was driven, by ſtreſs of weather, on this coaſt, which had been mentioned, by Ligon, as the moſt windwardly iſland of the Caribbes, Tobago only excepted (*a*).

That the ſhip touched at this iſland, about the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred and twenty-four, may be concluded (to borrow the opinion of a naval writer (*b*),) for the following reaſons. It is evident that no Engliſhman could ſail to Brazil, but under the protection of the Dutch Weſt-India company the Spaniards, and Portugueſe, having made it an invariable rule

(*a*) Tobago is obſerved to lie in eleven degrees, and ſixteen minutes of north latitude; and is above a degree nearer to the line than Barbadoes.

(*b*) Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 473.

rule to inflict death on ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould adventure amongſt them, on that part of the continent.

Although the Dutch Weſt-India company, after the expiration of the truce between Philip, the third, king of Spain, and the crown of Portugal, began, by permiſſion of the States-General, to trade thither, yet they never ſent any fleet, until the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-four, previous to which period, it cannot be imagined that the Engliſh would have ventured to Braſil, the Dutch not having eſtabliſhed any ſettlement; and as king James died, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, it is natural to conclude that, during the courſe of the preceding year, the ſhip belonging to Sir William Curteen, arrived at Barbadoes.

Whether Sir William was on board, or what rank, excluſive of knighthood, he held in life, are points which cannot be determined. Ligon hath only obſerved that a veſſel, belonging to Sir William Curteen, was driven near the coaſt, and caſt anchor before it. The crew landed, and, during ſome time, examined the ſituation of the place, which was incumbered with wood, where no animal could be diſcovered, except hogs, that had been left there by the Portugueſe, from whom the iſland received its name (*c*).

On their return home, the Engliſh delivered a full, and favourable report of the diſcoveries which they had made; and ſoon afterwards, ſeveral noblemen, and others made preparation for the eſtabliſhment of a colony on the iſland. Men were now ſent thither in veſſels, freighted with proviſions, and working tools, for the purpoſe of cutting down the woods, clearing

(*c*) *Los Barbados*; a Portugueſe Term, and probably alluſive to the barbarity of the inhabitants.

clearing the ground, and forwarding the various arts of agriculture.

Amongſt the ſeveral adventurers, William, Earl of Pembroke, was the chief. Under his patronage, the colony was eſtabliſhed, and a captain Cannon, whom he had recommended, preſided over it with the rank of governour. The firſt planters were, notwithſtanding, obliged to abandon their ſettlements, or hold them of the earl of Carliſle, who obtained a grant of the iſland from the crown (*d*).

At this period, alſo, preparations were made, at the expence of Mr. Ralph Marifield, and his aſſociates, for the eſtabliſhment of a colony, at the iſland of Saint Chriſtopher. It was determined that this enterprize ſhould be conducted by captain Warner, a perſon of ſtrict integrity, active paſſions, and extenſive knowledge. On the twenty-eighth of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-four, he approached the place, attended only by fifteen perſons; William Teſted, John Rhodes, Robert Bims, William Benifield, Serjeant Jones, Mr. Ware, William Ryle, Rowland Graſſcock, Mr. Bond, Mr. Langley, Mr. Weaver, Edward Warner, (the ſon of the captain,) Serjeant Aplon, a ſailor, and a Cook.

At their arrival, they found three Frenchmen, who, at firſt, not only oppoſed the Engliſh, but endeavoured to perſuade the Indians to take arms againſt them. In a ſhot time, all parties became reconciled, and lived together. At length, the Engliſh conſtructed a fort, raiſed houſes, and planted fruits. At the commencement of September, their crop of tobacco bore a plentiful

(*d*) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 2.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, V. 2. Folio. p. 473, 474.

tiful appearance; but, on the nineteenth of the month, it was deſtroyed, during the violence of a hurricane. For this ſpace of time, Warner, and his aſſociates ſubſiſted on fiſh, Caſſado Bread, potatoes, plantains, pines, guanoes, and turtles.

On the eighteenth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, captain Jefferſon, and three paſſengers, arrived in the Hopewell, of London, which was freighted with thoſe ſlight articles of commerce that were the moſt likely to captivate the attention of the Indians. The Engliſh now reaped a large crop of tobacco; and, with it, captain Warner returned to England, leaving on the iſland his aſſociates, at that period, deſerted by the French, who formed a ſettlement apart from all the reſt (*e*).

In the ſpring of this year, the king fell ſick of a tertian ague, and when the flattering courtiers, recurring to the proverb, obſerved that, during that Seaſon, the diſeaſe was health for a monarch, he, calmly, and with a ſmile, replied that, by the expreſſion, was underſtood a young monarch. When rendered feeble by the repetition of his fits, he prepared for death with a religious fortitude, and, on the twenty-ſeventh of March, expired, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the fifty-ninth year of his age. The character of a prince who was pacific even to a degree of Puſillanimity, would appear foreign to the ſubject of this work; yet, in juſtice to his memory, it is neceſſary to remark, and prove that he was at once the zealous patron of the navy, and the liberal encourager of commerce.

It

(*e*) Collection of voyages, V. 2. p. 361.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 474.

It is on record (*f*) that during the reign of this prince, nine ſhips were added to the royal navy. An accurate hiſtorian (*g*) hath concluded that the liſt muſt be defective, becauſe no mention is made of the largeſt veſſel, built at this period; and built alſo in conſequence of an expreſs order from the ſovereign. As the account is equally authentic, and exact, it may be proper that we ſhould preſent it to the reader.

"In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten, "the king built a moſt goodly ſhip for war, the keel "whereof was one hundred, and fourteen feet long; "and the croſs-beam was forty-four feet, in length. "She will carry ſixty-four pieces of great ordnance, "and is of the burthen of fourteen hundred tons. "This royal ſhip is double built, and is moſt ſumptu- "ouſly adorned, within, and without, with all manner "of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, be- "ing, in all reſpects, the greateſt, and goodlieſt ſhip, "that ever was built in England. This glorious ſhip, "the king gave unto his ſon, Henry, prince of Wales. "On the twenty-fourth of September, the king, the "queen,

(*f*) A LIST of SHIPS built, in conſequence of an order from KING JAMES, the Firſt*.

| SHIPS. | MEN in HARBOUR. | MEN at SEA. |
|---|---|---|
| The Reformation | 9 | 250 |
| Happy Entrance | 7 | 160 |
| Garland | 7 | 160 |
| Saint George | 9 | 250 |
| Mary Roſe | 6 | 120 |
| Triumph | 12 | 300 |
| Swiftſure | 9 | 250 |
| Bonaventure | 7 | 160 |
| Saint Andrew | 9 | 250 |

* Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 277.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 43.

"queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and "the lady Elizabeth, with many great lords, went "unto Woolwich, to ſee it launched, but, becauſe of "the narrowneſs of the dock, it could not then be "launched; whereupon the prince came, the next "morning, by three o'clock, and then, at the launch-"ing thereof, the prince named it after his own dig-"nity, and call it The Prince. The great work-"maſter in building of this ſhip, was maſter Phineas "Pet, ſome time maſter of arts, of Emanuel College, "in Cambridge (*h*).

From the ſame authority (*i*), we learn that the king went on board of a large Eaſt-India ſhip, of the burthen of twelve hundred tons, which was built in England, and appears to have been the firſt veſſel of that ſize, launched within the kingdom. James called it The Trade's Increaſe, and gave, alſo, to a pinnace, of the burthen of two hundred, and fifty tons, which was built at the ſame time, the name of the Pepper-Corn. This circumſtance is confirmed by the following paſſage, from a contemporary writer (*k*). "Our Eaſt-"India merchants have lately built a goodly ſhip, of "the burthen of more than twelve hundred tons, to "the launching whereof the king, and prince were "invited, and had a bountiful banquet. The king "graced Sir Thomas Smith, the governour, with a "chain, in the manner of a collar, of more value "than two hundred pounds, with his picture hanging "at it, and put it about his Neck, with his own hands, "naming the great ſhip, The Trade's increaſe; and the "Prince, a pinnace, of the burthen of two hundred, "and

(*h*) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 996.—Camden's Annals of the reign of James, A. D. 1610.

(*i*) Stowe's Annals, p. 994.

(*k*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 3. p. 118.

"and fifty tons, (built to wait upon her,) The Pepper-"Corn."

Theſe circumſtances alone would indicate how aſſiduouſly the king attended to the maintenance of a reſpectable marine eſtabliſhment. Let it be added (that we may place his conduct on theſe occaſions, in the faireſt point of view,) that the new ſhips were builded in the courſe of five years, preceding the year, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-three; and that fifty thouſand pounds were annually ſet apart for the expences of the fleet, excluſive of the value of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds in timber, which was granted, every year, from the royal foreſts (*l*). Whenſoever the exigencies of the ſtate required that ſuch a meaſure ſhould be embraced, the veſſels belonging to the merchants were inſtantly converted into ſhips of war. Thus, it is apparent that throughout a reign when peace was anxiouſly cultivated, and uninterruptedly preſerved, the Engliſh fleet became formidable in the Eyes of all Europe; and even James, the paſſive James had effected the eſtabliſhment of a formidable maritime equipment, and, with pleaſure, aſſured his parliament, that the navy had not, at any preceding period, been in ſo excellent a condition (*m*).

A diſcerning naval writer (*n*) obſerves that although he cannot exactly aſcertain the additions which were made to the royal fleet, by this prince, yet, from an inſpection of ſome authentic calculations, he will venture to affirm that the ſhips of war, belonging to Elizabeth at the time of her deceaſe might include ſomewhat more than ſixteen thouſand tons; and that, during the reign of James, they amounted to more



(*l*) Parl. Journ. 11. Mar. 1623.
(*m*) Parl. Hiſt. V. 6. p. 93.
(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 44.

than twenty thouſand tons (o). To this account, we ſhall ſubjoin that the navy of England, which was a terror to its enemies, when Elizabeth filled the throne, amounted (excluſive of pinnaces,) to thirty-three ſhips (p), the largeſt of which was not equal to a fourth rate man of war, in the preſent Æra (q), (r).

It may, in this place, be neceſſary to obſerve, from a reſpectable authority (s), that, under the public ſpirited adminiſtration of Elizabeth, the Engliſh firſt acquired a competent idea of the benefits of an extenſive commerce, and appeared determined to take upon themſelves the management of their own trade, which, until that Æra, had reſted almoſt excluſively in the hands of foreigners. During the continuance of the war with Spain, the commercial conduct of the merchants was unexceptionable. In ſo true a ſpirit of patriotiſm, did they proſecute their private advantage, that it proved likewiſe, of public utility, by increaſing the number of ſeamen, and of powerful veſſels, belong-

(o) This calculation is taken from a manuſcript containing notes on Hackluyt's voyages.

(p) Coke's Inſtitut. B. 4. C. 1.—Conſultation in parliament for the navy.

(q) Sir Walter Raleigh (in whoſe opinion no ſhips of war ſhould ever have been built larger than of the burthen of ſix hundred tons,) obſerves, in his diſcourſe concerning the invention of ſhipping, that the fleet, during the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Elizabeth, conſiſted only of thirteen ſhips, which were afterwards augmented by eleven. Mr. Hume remarks that Sir Walter probably reckoned ſome to be pinnaces, which Coke called ſhips.

(r) James alſo granted a commiſſion of inquiry, for the reformation of abuſes in the navy, the proceedings upon which are ſtill preſerved.—M. S. in Bibl. Cott. Vitellius. E. 8.

(s) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 39.

belonging to the kingdom. After the acceſſion of James, and the eſtabliſhment of peace, this rational line of action was removed for one more novel, and ſurprizing. The Engliſh traders were conſcious of the great advantage which reſulted from the uſe of large, and ſtout ſhips, but inſtead of building ſuch, deemed it ſufficient to put cargoes on board of thoſe belonging to their neighbours, and that, becauſe, in conſequence of this method, the expence was rendered, in a ſmall degree, leſs burdenſome. Thus did the Engliſh ſhipping decay, in proportion as the trade increaſed; until, the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifteen, this abſurd policy was attended by ſuch alarming conſequences, that the port of London did not poſſeſs even veſſels of the burthen of two hundred tons. The Trinity Houſe now, preſented a petition to the king, ſetting forth the matters of fact, and the dreadful effects which muſt enſue with regard to the naval power of the ſtate, through the decay of ſeamen, and praying that he would put into execution ſome old, and wholeſome laws, which were calculated for the redreſs of this evil; ſuggeſting, at the ſame time, the example of the ſtate of Venice, that, on a like occaſion, had prohibited their ſubjects from tranſporting any goods, in foreign bottoms. At this particular period the merchants unanimouſly oppoſed the Trinity Houſe, and, as their intereſt was more firmly eſtabliſhed at the court, prevailed againſt it. Yet, previous to the expiration of the year, opinions began to change, and theſe merchants convinced of their error, ſet their hands to the Petitions of the mariners. An extraordinary circumſtance produced this fortunate effect. Two ſhips, each of the burthen of three hundred tons, and the property of Dutch merchants, reſiding at London, entered the river Thames, laden with Currants,

and cotton. The eyes of all the Engliſh traders were immediately opened. They now perceived that in conſequence of their wilful errors, they had returned to the very point from which they ſet out, and that if ſome bold, and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, the Engliſh commerce would be gradually driven again by Aliens, on foreign bottoms. They inſtantly drew up a repreſentation of this evil, and preſented it to the king, in council. A proclamation was now iſſued, which forbad any native of the kingdom, either to export, or import goods, unleſs they were in Engliſh bottoms (*t*).

When men become habituated to a courſe of induſtry, the reſulting benefits will make them perſiſt in a determination not to wander from it, and even the difficulties which, at firſt, oppoſe them, will, at length, turn to their advantage. Thus when the Engliſh merchants had conſtructed, and furniſhed with artillery, and all neceſſary ſtores, a convenient number of large ſhips within their own ports, they found themſelves in a condition to launch into many trades which were before unthought of; and, although, during ſome time, they were expoſed to the depredations of the Algerines, and other pirates of Barbary, yet, in the end, they roſe ſuperior to theſe misfortunes, and embraced the reſolution of building ſtill larger veſſels, and of adding to the crews, and ſtores of thoſe which were of ſmaller burthen. So fortunate were the conſequences of this proceeding, in the ſpace of ſeven years, that, whereas ſhips of the burthen of one hundred tons were reckoned extremely large veſſels, and were generally builded, and brought from beyond the ſeas, ſo now, there

(*t*) Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 328.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 40.

there were ſeveral merchantmen, of the burthen of three, four, or five hundred tons, belonging to different ports, and more than an hundred ſhips, each of above the burthen of two hundred tons, belonging to Newcaſtle, alone; all builded at home, and better built than they could poſſibly have been elſewhere. Previous to the death of king James, the Engliſh trade was ſo far increaſed, that (if we can rely on the ſentiments of the diſcerning Sir William Monſon,) Great Britain, was very little, if at all inferior, in maritime force, to the ſtates of Holland (*u*).

In the courſe of this inquiry relative to the ſtate of commerce, during the reign of James, we muſt again avail ourſelves of the indefatigable reſearches of a late celebrated hiſtorian (*x*), who remarks that the parliament entered continually into grievous lamentations concerning the decay of trade, and the increaſe of popery: ſuch violent propenſities have men to murmur at the preſent times, and harbour diſcontent againſt their fortune, and condition. Theſe popular complaints made a deep impreſſion upon the king, who, notwithſtanding, was unable to account for that want of money, which had been ſo much exaggerated (*y*). Judiciouſly is it affirmed (*z*) that a more ſenſible augmentation of the advantages which diſtinguiſh a flouriſhing people did not exiſt at any period prior to the reign of James, the firſt. The peace which he maintained proved favourable to the intereſts of com-



(*u*) Stowe's Annals, p. 994.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 329—550.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 41.

(*x*) Mr. Hume.

(*y*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 413.

(*z*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

merce; his natural temper led him to the cultivation of the gentler arts; and, as trade remained yet in its infancy, all additions to it muſt have been the more evident to thoſe who were not blinded by melancholy prejudices (*a*).

In Juſtice to an hiſtorian (*b*) who, on moſt occaſions, is too candid to engage in miſrepreſentations, we ſhall ſelect two paſſages in ſupport of the naval, and commercial proſperity of this Æra. "The great "bleſſings of GOD, through increaſe of wealth, in "the common ſubjects of this land, and eſpecially "upon the citizens of London, are ſuch, within the "memory of man, and, chiefly, within theſe few "years of peace, that unleſs there were now due men-"tion of ſome ſort made thereof, it would, in time "to come be held incredible."—"Amongſt the mani-"fold tokens and ſigns of the infinite bleſſings of "ALMIGHTY GOD, beſtowed upon this kingdom, "by the wonderous, and merciful eſtabliſhment of "peace within ourſelves, and the full benefit of con-"cord with all Chriſtian nations, and others: of all "which graces let no man dare to preſume that he "can ſpeak too much; whereof, in truth, there can "never be enough ſaid; neither was there ever any "people leſs conſiderate, and leſs thankful than at this "time, being not willing to endure the memory of "their preſent happineſs, as well as in the univerſal "increaſe of commerce, and traffic, throughout the "kingdom, great building of royal ſhips, and of veſ-"ſels by private merchants, the Re-peopling of cities, "towns, and villages, beſide the diſcernible, and "ſudden increaſe of fair, and coſtly buildings, as well "within

(*a*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 180.

(*b*) Stowe.

" within the city of London, as the ſuburbs thereof, " and eſpecially within theſe twelve years."

A performance (*c*) which carries with it a ſtrong appearance of authenticity, fixes all the mariners employed in the ſervice of the merchants, at the number of ten thouſand perſons. Sir Thomas Overbury (*d*) obſerves that the Dutch poſſeſſed three times more ſhipping than the Engliſh, but that their veſſels were of inferior burthen to thoſe of the latter. We have already remarked that Sir William Monſon (*e*) ſuppoſed the naval power of the Engliſh to be ſcarcely inferior to that of the ſtates of Holland. Let it now be added that a diſcerning inveſtigator (*f*) concludes this to be an exaggerated declaration. The Dutch, at this Æra, traded to England with ſix hundred ſhips. The Engliſh traded to Holland with only ſixty ſhips (*g*).

It hath been remarked (*h*) that the catalogue of manufactures for which the Engliſh were eminent, during the reign of James, would appear exceedingly contemptible in compariſon of thoſe which flouriſh amongſt them, at the preſent period. The generality of the more elaborate, and curious arts, were only cultivated abroad, and particularly in Italy; ſhipping, and the founding of iron cannon were the ſole arts in which the Engliſh excelled. They ſeem indeed to have poſſeſſed alone the ſecret of the latter; and great



(*c*) " The Trade's Increaſe." Harleyan Miſc. V. 3.

(*d*) " Remarks on his travels." Harl. Miſc. V. 2. p. 349.

(*e*) Naval Tracts, p. 329, 350.

(*f*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 181.

(*g*) Raleigh's Remains.

(*h*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 181.

complaints were made, at the meeting of every parliament, againſt the exportation of Engliſh ordnance.

Nine tenths of the commerce of the kingdom conſiſted in woollen-goods (*i*) : wool was, notwithſtanding, allowed to be exported until the nineteenth year of the reign of James. The exportation of it was then forbidden by proclamation ; yet the edict was never ſtrictly executed. Moſt of the cloth was exported raw, and was dyed, and dreſſed by the Dutch, who (as it is pretended,) gained, annually, by this manufacture, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds (*k*). An illuſtrious hiſtorian (*l*) makes the loſs incurred by the nation amount to four hundred thouſand pounds. He remarks that about eighty thouſand undreſſed cloths were exported yearly, and computes, without mentioning other articles, that the national loſs, by kerſies, bordered on a hundred thouſand pounds, a year (*m*). An edict iſſued by the king, and forbidding the exportation of cloth, in its raw ſtate, had ſucceeded ſo ill, during one year, in conſequence of the refuſal of the Dutch to buy the dreſſed cloth, that great murmurs aroſe againſt it. The meaſure was retracted by the king, and complained of by the nation, as impolitic to a criminal exceſs. It is allowed that it appears to have been premature (*n*).

At ſo low an eſtimation, even within the kingdom, was the fine Engliſh cloth, that James was reduced to the neceſſity of ſeeking expedients, by which he might en-

(*i*) Parl. Journ. 26th May, 1621.

(*k*) Ibid. 20th May, 1614.

(*l*) Sir Walter Raleigh's obſervations.

(*m*) Mr. Hume imagined that the account of two hundred thouſand cloths, exported yearly during the reign of Elizabeth, appeared to be exaggerated.

(*n*) Hume's hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 182.

engage the people of faſhion to wear it (*o*). The manufacture of fine linen was totally unknown within the nation (*p*).

The company of merchant-adventurers, poſſeſſed, in virtue of their patent, the ſole commerce of woollen goods, notwithſtanding that they formed the ſtaple commodity of the nation. An attempt was made, during the reign of Elizabeth, to lay open this important trade, and, for a time, had been attended with bad conſequences, by a conſpiracy of the merchant-adventurers, not to make any purchaſes of cloth. The queen, therefore, immediately reſtored their patent (*q*).

Juſtly is it obſerved (*r*), that a groundleſs fear of the like accident enſlaved the nation to thoſe excluſive companies which ſo much confined every branch of commerce, and of induſtry. The parliament, notwithſtanding, annulled, in the third year of the reign of James, the patent of the Spaniſh company; and the trade to Spain, which was, at firſt, extremely inſignificant, ſoon became the moſt conſiderable in the kingdom. The hiſtorian (*s*) adds that it is ſtrange that they were not thence encouraged to aboliſh all the other companies, and that they went no farther than obliging them to enlarge their bottom, and to facilitate the admiſſion of new adventurers.

In the Year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-two, the king erected a board of trade. One of the reaſons aſſigned in the commiſſion is the neceſſity of intro-

(*o*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 415.
(*p*) Id. Ibid.
(*q*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 182.
(*r*) Ibid.
(*s*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 183.

introducing a remedy to the low price of wool, which begat complaints of the decay of the woollen manufactory (*t*). Mr. Hume deems it more probable that this fall of prices proceeded from the increaſe of wool; and, (after having obſerved that the king likewiſe recommends it to the commiſſioners, to inquire, and examine whether a greater freedom of trade, and an exemption from the reſtraint of excluſive companies, would not be beneficial,) adds that men were then fettered by their own prejudices, and that James was juſtly afraid of embracing a bold meaſure, the conſequences of which might be uncertain. The digeſting of a navigation-act, ſimilar in its nature to that famous act which was executed, afterwards, by the Republican parliament, is likewiſe recommended to the commiſſioners. With too much reaſon, it is obſerved that the arbitrary powers which, during that Epoch, were commonly aſſumed by the privy-council, appeared evidently throughout the whole tenour of their commiſſion (*u*).

The ſilk manufacture was not eſtabliſhed in England. In conſequence of an order from the king, mulberry-trees were planted, and ſilk-worms introduced. To the ſucceſs of ſuch meaſures, the climate proved unfavourable. The plantations of hops, in England, had increaſed conſiderably during this reign (*x*).

Of the diſcovery of Greenland, the eſtabliſhment of the whale-fiſhery, and the incorporation of a company for the purpoſe of exploring a north-weſt paſſage, we have already treated. The late ſpirited at-

(*t*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 410.
(*u*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 183.
(*x*) Stowe.

attempts to render this laſt enterprize leſs fruitleſs, appear almoſt to have weakened the neceſſity of introducing a beautiful, and juſt remark: "In ſuch noble "projects, Deſpair ought never to be admitted, until "the abſolute impoſſibility of ſucceſs, can be fully "aſcertained (*y*)."

The exports of England, from Chriſtmas, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twelve, to Chriſtmas, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirteen, are computed at two millions, four hundred, and eighty-ſeven thouſand, four hundred, and thirty-five pounds. The imports are computed at two millions, one hundred, and forty-one thouſand, one hundred, and fifty-one pounds: The balance in favour of England was three hundred, and forty-ſix thouſand, two hundred, and eighty-four pounds (*z*). In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-two, the exports were computed at two millions, three hundred, and twenty thouſand, four hundred, and thirty-ſix pounds. The imports were computed at two millions, ſix hundred, and nineteen thouſand, three hundred, and fifteen pounds. The balance againſt England was two hundred, and ninety-eight thouſand, eight hundred, and ſeventy-nine pounds (*a*). The coinage of England from the year, one thouſand five hundred, and ninety-nine, to the year, one thouſand ſix hundred, and nineteen, amounted to four millions, ſeven hundred, and ſeventy-nine thouſand, three hundred, and fourteen pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence (*b*). Hence, it appears that, in the main, the balance was conſiderably in favour of the kingdom. As the annu-

(*y*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 184.

(*z*) Miſſelden's Circle of Commerce, p. 121.

(*a*) Id. Ibid.

(*b*) Happy future State of England, p. 78.

annual imports, and exports, roſe together nearly five millions, and the cuſtoms never yielded ſo much as two hundred thouſand pounds, a year, of which tonnage made a part; it ſeems that the new rates affixed by James, did not, on the whole, amount to one ſhilling in the pound, and, conſequently, were ſtill inferior to the intention of the original grant of parliament. The Eaſt-India company uſually carried out a third of their cargo, in commodities (*c*). The trade to Turkey was one of the moſt advantageous to the nation (*d*). In this reign, alſo, copper half-pence, and farthings were coined (*e*). Tradeſmen in general had carried on their retail buſineſs, chiefly by means of leaden tokens. The ſmall ſilver penny was ſoon loſt, and, at this period, was no where to be found (*f*).

The amount of the royal revenue, as it ſtood in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeventeen, is thus ſtated (*g*); of crown lands, eighty thouſand pounds a year. By cuſtoms, and new impoſitions, nearly an hundred, and ninety thouſand pounds, annually. By wards, and other various branches of the revenue, excluſive of purveyance, an hundred, and eighty thouſand pounds, a year. The whole amounted to four hundred, and fifty thouſand pounds. In the ſame account, the ordinary diſburſements of the king are mentioned as exceeding this ſum, by thirty-ſix thouſand pounds (*h*). All the extraordinary ſums which

(*c*) Mann's Diſcourſe on the Eaſt-India Trade, p. 16.

(*d*) Ibid. p 17.

(*e*) Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce.

(*f*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix, p. 186.

(*g*) Abſtract, or brief Declaration of his majeſty's Revenue, with the aſſignations, and defalcations upon the ſame.

(*h*) The exceſs was formerly greater, as appears from the account, by the earl of Saliſbury.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. Appendix, p. 171.

which James had raiſed by ſubſidies, loans, ſale of the title of baronet, money paid by the States, and by the king of France, together with benevolences, were, in the whole, about two millions, and two hundred thouſand pounds, of which the ſale of lands afforded ſeven hundred, and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds. The extraordinary diſburſements of the king amounted to two millions, excluſive of more than four hundred thouſand pounds, which were given in preſents. On the whole (to uſe the language of a celebrated writer,) a ſufficient reaſon appears, partly from unneceſſary expences, and, partly, from the want of a rigid œconomy, why the king, even early in his reign, was deeply involved in debt, and felt it very difficult to ſupport the government (*i*).

Farmers, and not commiſſioners, were appointed to levy the cuſtoms, On this occaſion, Mr. Hume remarks that it ſeemed indeed, requiſite that the former method ſhould always be tried before the latter; although a preferable one. He adds that when mens own intereſt is concerned, they fall upon an hundred expedients to prevent frauds in the merchants; and theſe the public may afterwards imitate in eſtabliſhing proper rules for its officers.

The cuſtoms were ſuppoſed to amount to five per cent. of the value, and were levied upon exports, as well as imports. The impoſition upon exports, is affirmed to have amounted, on ſome few occaſions, in conſequence of additions made by James, to twenty-five per cent. This practice, ſo detrimental to induſtry, ſtill prevails in France, Spain, and many countries of Europe. In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and

(*i*) Hume's Hiſtory of England. V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.

and four, the cuſtoms yielded, annually, one hundred, and twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds. Towards the concluſion of this reign, they roſe to an hundred, and ſixty thouſand pounds (*k*). According to ſome calculations, they amounted to an hundred, and ninety thouſand pounds.

Intereſt, during this reign, was at ten per cent. until the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-four, when it was reduced to eight per cent. This high intereſt hath been conſidered as an indication of the great profits, and of the ſmall progreſs of commerce (*l*).

The extraordinary ſupplies granted by parliament, during the whole reign, did not amount to more than ſix hundred, and thirty thouſand pounds, which, divided for twenty-one years, make thirty thouſand pounds a year. In this account, no mention is inſerted of the ſupplies amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, which were given to the king by his laſt parliament. Theſe were paid to their own commiſſioners, and the expences of a Spaniſh war, are juſtly obſerved to have been much more than ſufficient to exhauſt them (*m*).

Subſidies, and fifteenths, have been frequently mentioned by hiſtorians; but neither the amount of theſe taxes, nor the method of levying them, have been well explained. Mr. Hume, from whom this remark is taken, obſerves that it appears that the fifteenths formerly correſponded to the name, and were that proportionable part of the moveables (*n*). But a valuation

(*k*) Parl. Journ. 21 May, 1604.—31 May 1621.
(*l*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. 8vo. Appendix, p. 172.
(*m*) Ibid.
(*n*) Coke's Inſt. B. 4. C. 1. of Fifteenths, Quinzins.

tion having been made in the reign of Edward, the third, that valuation was always adhered to, and each town paid, unalterably, a particular ſum, which the inhabitants themſelves aſſeſſed upon their fellow-citizens. The ſame tax was called, in corporate towns, a tenth; becauſe that, there, it was, at firſt, a tenth of the moveables. The whole amount of a tenth, and fifteenth, throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth (as it is often more conciſely called,) was about twenty-nine thouſand pounds (*o*). The amount of a ſubſidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth year of the reign of Elizabeth, a ſubſidy amounted to an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. In the fortieth year, it was not above twenty-eight thouſand pounds (*p*). It afterwards fell to ſeventy thouſand pounds, and was continually decreaſing (*q*). Mr. Hume adds that the reaſon is eaſily collected from the method of levying it. It appears from the ſubſidy-bills (*r*) that one ſubſidy was given for four ſhillings in the pound, on land, and two ſhillings, and eight pence on moveables throughout the counties; a conſiderable tax, had it been ſtrictly levied. But this was only the ancient ſtate of a ſubſidy. During the reign of James, there was not paid the twentieth part of that ſum. The tax was ſo far perſonal, that a man paid only in the county where he lived, although he ſhould poſſeſs eſtates in other countries, and the aſſeſſors formed a looſe eſtimation of his property, and rated him accordingly. To preſerve, however, ſome rule in the eſtimation, it ſeems to have been the practice to keep an eye

(*o*) Coke's Inſt. B. 4. C. 1. Subſidies temporary.
(*p*) Parl. Journ. 11 July, 1610.
(*q*) Coke's Inſtit. B. 4. C. 1. Subſidies temporary.
(*r*) See the Statutes at large.

eye to former aſſeſſments, and to rate every man, according as his anceſtors, or men of ſuch an eſtimated property were accuſtomed to pay. This was a ſufficient reaſon, why ſubſidies could not increaſe, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money, and the riſe of rents. But there was an evident reaſon, why they continually decreaſed. The favour, as is natural to ſuppoſe, ran always againſt the crown; eſpecially during the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, when ſubſidies became numerous, and frequent, and the ſums levied were conſiderable, compared to former ſupplies. The aſſeſſors, although accuſtomed to pay a regard to ancient eſtimations, were not bound to obſerve any ſuch rule; but might rate a-new any perſon, according to his preſent income. When rents fell, or parts of an eſtate were ſold off, the proprietor was ſure to repreſent theſe loſſes, and obtain a diminution of his ſubſidy; but where rents roſe, or new lands were purchaſed, he kept his own ſecret, and paid no more than formerly. The advantage, therefore, of every change, was taken againſt the crown; and the crown could obtain the advantage of none. To render the matter worſe, the alterations which happened in property, during this age, were, in general, unfavourable to the crown. The ſmall proprietors, or the twenty-pound-men went continually to decay; and when their eſtates were ſwallowed up by a greater, the new purchaſer did not increaſe his ſubſidy. So looſe (obſerves our author,) is the whole method of rating ſubſidies, that the wonder was not how the tax ſhould continually diminiſh; but how it yielded any revenue at all. It became at laſt ſo unequal, and uncertain, that the parliament was obliged to change it into a land-tax (*s*).

The

(*s*) Hume's Hiſtory of Eng. 8vo. V. 6. p. 175. Appendix.

The price of corn, and of other neceſſaries of life, during the reign of James, is remarked (*t*) to have been no lower, or rather to have riſen higher, than at preſent. In conſequence of a proclamation iſſued by the king, and eſtabliſhing public magazines, whenſoever wheat fell below thirty-two ſhillings, a quarter, rye below eighteen ſhillings, and barley below ſixteen ſhillings, the commiſſioners were impowered to purchaſe corn for the magazines (*u*). Such prices, at that period, muſt be conſidered as low, yet, by the preſent eſtimation, they would rather paſs for high. In this reign, the uſual bread of the poor was made of barley (*x*). The beſt wool was generally at thirty-three ſhillings, a tod. Lately, it was not above two thirds of that value; although it is to be preſumed that our exports in woollen goods are ſomewhat increaſed. So rapid alſo hath been the progreſs of arts, and induſtry, that the finer manufactures have rather diminiſhed in price, notwithſtanding the great increaſe of money. In one of the plays, written by Shakeſpeare, the hoſteſs aſſures Falſtaff that the ſhirts which ſhe had purchaſed for him were of Holland, and at the price of eight ſhillings, a yard; a great price, at this day, even ſuppoſing what is not probable, that the beſt Holland, at that time, was equal in goodneſs to the beſt that can now be purchaſed. In like manner, a yard of velvet, towards the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, was valued at twenty-two ſhillings (*y*). It may be inferred that cattle bore a high price, as well



(*t*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 175. Appendix.

(*u*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 526.—21 Jac. 6. C. 28.

(*x*) Ibid. V. 20. p. 157.

(*y*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix.—See a compendium, or dialogue inſerted in the Memoirs of Wool, chap. 23.

as corn, from the obſervation (z) that Henry prince of Wales, made an allowance of nearly a groat, a pound, throughout the year, for all the beef, and mutton uſed within his family. It alſo deſerves conſideration, that the general turn of that age, which no law could prevent, was the converting of arable land into paſture; a certain proof that the latter was found more profitable, and conſequently that the butcher's-meat, as well as bread, was rather higher than at preſent (a). From the regulation of the market, with regard to poultry, and ſome other articles, at an early period, in the reign of Charles, the firſt, it appears that the prices were high. A Turkey cock was ſold for four-ſhillings, and ſix pence; a Turkey hen for three ſhillings; a pheaſant cock for ſix ſhillings; a pheaſant hen for five ſhillings; a partridge for one ſhilling; a gooſe for two ſhillings; a capon for two ſhillings and ſix pence; a pullet for one ſhilling, and ſixpence; a rabbit for eight pence, and a dozen of pigeons for ſix ſhillings (b). The hiſtorian adds that it muſt be remarked that, during the preſent Æra, London is more than thrice as populous as it was in the reign of James the firſt; a circumſtance which much increaſes the price of poultry, and of all articles which cannot be conveniently brought from a diſtance; not to mention, that theſe regulations by authority are always calculated to diminiſh, but never to increaſe the

(z) Birch's Life of Henry, Prince of Wales, p. 449.

(a) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 176. Appendix.

(b) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 19. p. 511.—Mr. Hume juſtly obſerves that we may judge of the great grievance of purveyance by this circumſtance, that the Purveyors often gave but ſixpence for a dozen of Pigeons, and two pence for a fowl.—See Parl. Journ. 25 May, 1626.

the market-prices. The contractors for victualling the navy were allowed, by government, eight pence, a day, for the diet of each man, when within the harbour, and ſeven pence halfpenny, a day, when at ſea (*c*); which would ſuffice at preſent. This ſubject is concluded with an obſervation that the chief difference in expence between that age, and the preſent, conſiſts in the imaginary wants of men, which have ſince extremely multiplied. Theſe are the principal reaſons why the revenue of James would go farther than the ſame money in our time, although the difference is not near ſo great as is uſually imagined (*d*).

Concerning the eſtabliſhment of colonies, we have already treated, and, therefore, in this place, reſume the ſubject, merely to introduce an obſervation which, at the period when it fell from one of the moſt diſcerning of our hiſtorians (*e*), made a deep impreſſion, and was perhaps more than generally attended to; but its fallacy is now demonſtrated in a ſeries of events which the few lovers of their country who yet remain untainted by the corruption of ſurrounding parties, muſt contemplate with equal horror, and deſpair.

"Speculative reaſoners raiſed many objections, "during the reign of James, to the eſtabliſhment of "remote colonies, and foretold that after draining "their mother-country of inhabitants, they would "ſoon ſhake off her yoke, and erect an independent



(*c*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 441.

(*d*) It is proper that we ſhould inform the Reader that theſe remarks were written by Mr. Hume, in the year, one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty-five; and that, in this ſhort period, the prices have riſen more than during the preceding hundred, and fifty years.

(*e*) Mr. Hume. Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188. Appendix.

"government in America; but time hath ſhewn that "the views entertained by thoſe who encouraged ſuch "generous undertakings, were more juſt, and ſolid. "A mild government, and a great naval force have "preſerved, and may ſtill preſerve, during ſome time, "the dominion of England over her colonies. And "ſuch advantages have commerce, and navigation "reaped from theſe eſtabliſhments, that more than "a fourth of the Engliſh ſhipping is, at preſent *(f)*, "computed to be employed in carrying on the traffic "with the American ſettlements."

To the remark that agriculture was anciently very imperfect in England, Mr. Hume judiciouſly adds that the ſudden tranſitions which have been ſo often mentioned by hiſtorians, from the loweſt to the higheſt price of grain, and the prodigious inequality of its value, at different years, are ſufficient proofs that the produce depended intirely on the ſeaſons, and that art had as yet done nothing to fence againſt the inclemency of the heavens. He ſubjoins that, during the reign of James, conſiderable improvements were made, as in moſt arts, ſo in this, the moſt beneficial of any. A numerous catalogue might be formed of books, and pamphlets, treating of huſbandry, which were written about this time. It is obſerved that the nation was, notwithſtanding, ſtill depending on foreigners for daily bread; and although its exportation of grain now forms a conſiderable branch of its commerce, in ſpite of its probable increaſe of people, there was, in that period, a regular importation from the Baltic, as well as from France; and, if it ever ſtopped, the bad conſequences were ſenſibly felt by the nation. Sir Walter Raleigh

(*f*) This remark was written about the year, one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and fifty-five.

Raleigh computes that two millions went out, at one time, for corn. It was not until the fifth year of the reign of Elizabeth that the exportation of corn had been allowed in England; and Camden obſerves that agriculture, from that moment, received new life, and vigour (*g*).

Relatively to the coinage, we ſhall remark that by an indenture of the ſecond year of the reign of James, the firſt, a pound-weight of gold, of twenty-two carats, fine, and of two carats, alloy, was coined into thirty-ſeven pounds, and four ſhillings, by tale; namely, into unites, paſſing for twenty ſhillings; double crowns, at ten ſhillings; Britain crowns, at five ſhillings; thiſtle crowns, at four ſhillings; and half crowns, at two ſhillings, and ſix pence, each. A pound weight of ſilver, of the ſame ſtandard, was coined into ſixty-two ſhillings, by tale; namely, into ſhillings, ſixpences, two-pences, pence, half-pence, crowns, and half-crowns. In the third year of this reign, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, and of twenty-three carats, three grains, and a half, fine, was coined into forty pounds, and ten ſhillings, by tale; namely, into roſe-rials, at thirty ſhillings, a piece; ſpur-rials, at fifteen ſhillings, a piece; and angels, at ten ſhillings, a piece. In the ninth year of this reign, a proclamation was iſſued, directing that gold ſhould be raiſed, at the rate of two ſhillings, in every twenty ſhillings. On the ſucceeding year, a pound weight of the old ſtandard-gold was coined into forty-four pounds, by tale; namely, roſe-rials, ſpur-rials, and angels. A pound weight of gold, of twenty-



(*g*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 188, 189. Appendix.

two carats, fine, was coined into forty pounds, eighteen ſhillings, and four pence; namely, into unites, at twenty-two ſhillings; double-crowns, at eleven ſhillings; Britain crowns, at five ſhillings, and ſixpence; thiſtle-crowns, at four ſhillings, and four pence, three farthings; or half Britiſh crowns, at two ſhillings, and nine pence, a piece (*h*).

(*h*) Rapin's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 8. p. 305, &c. &c.

# MEMOIRS

OF

# Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

WERE we to trace the conduct of this eccentric hero through every ſtriking circumſtance in which a fearleſs diſpoſition, extenſive talents, an active perſeverance, great virtues, and ſome fatally-directed vices induced him to engage, we ſhould enter into a field much wider than that which hath been already taken for the diſcuſſion of occurrences connected with the nature of our hiſtory. Let it ſuffice, therefore, that we preſent the reader with a brief detail of thoſe particular tranſactions which lay claim to his attention.

The celebrated ſubject of this memoir was the ſon of Sir Walter Raleigh, baronet, of Fardel, in the county of Devon, by his third, and laſt wife, Catherine, the daughter of Sir Philip Champernon, of Modbury, and the relict of Otho Gilbert, eſquire, of Compton (*a*). Thus, was he alſo the uterine brother of



(*a*) Modbury, and Compton, are both ſituated in Devonſhire.

thoſe illuſtrious knights, Sir John, Sir Humphrey, and Sir Adrian Gilbert; a circumſtance at leaſt as honourable as his deſcent from a family coœval with the conqueſt (*b*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and fifty-two Mr. Raleigh, being poſſeſſed of a long leaſe, reſided at Hayes, a farm ſituated in the pariſh of Budley, and in that part of Devonſhire which borders eaſtward upon the ſea, and lies at a ſmall diſtance from the place where the river Ottery diſcharges itſelf into the Britiſh channel. Here, and at this period his family was augmented by the birth of Walter, who, when he had paſſed the earlieſt days of life, in acquiring a competent knowledge of the elements of literature, was ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, and admitted into Oriel college, where, in the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty eight, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a proficiency in learning, far beyond his age (*c*).

After a ſhort reſidence at this place, he travelled into France (*d*), accompanied by ſeveral young, and enterprizing volunteers, of honourable families, who bore arms in defence of the proteſtants, during that period, amounting to twenty-five thouſand fighting men, and encamped near Limoſin, under the admiral Coligny, and the prince of Condé (*e*). In this kingdom, Ra-

Reigh

(*b*) Camden's Britannia, in Devon.—John Prince's Worthies of Devon. fol. 1701. p. 531.—Viſitations of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſet, MS. A. D. 1623.—Viſitation of Devonſhire, by William Hervey, eſquire, Clarencieux, MS. in the Herald's office.—Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, p. 4, 5, 6.

(*c*) Wood's Athen. Oxon. V. 1. Col. 345.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 46.

(*d*) About the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſixty-nine.

(*e*) Camden's Annals, A. D. 1560.—J. De Serres. anno 1569.—Jac. Auguſt. Thuani Hiſtoriarum ſui Temporis, tom. 2. folio. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

leigh ſerved for a conſiderable ſpace of time, improving his military knowledge, and gaining, by the prudence and intrepidity of his conduct, the reputation of an accompliſhed ſoldier. To what an excellence he had arrived in the firſt inſtance, is evident from thoſe judicious obſervations, which are ſtill extant, and relate to the civil wars of France, under the reign of Charles, the ninth, a tyrant whoſe ferocious diſpoſition was equalled only by his bigotry, and diſſimulation. Such was Raleigh, when conſidered as a military writer; and that he, with equal valour, and diſcretion, reduced to practice the theory of martial Science, hath been atteſted by thoſe officers who fought near to him in the field of battle. We learn that he followed the wars, under the banners of the Hugonots, during the ſpace of five years, and next, paſſed into the Netherlands, where he acted as a volunteer againſt the Spaniards (*f*). Theſe countries were, in the ſixteenth century, the ſcenes, and ſchools of heroiſm. Hither, every gallant youth, who had embraced the profeſſion of a ſoldier, haſtened to acquire honour, by the expoſure of his perſon, in the heat of action. To the generality of adventurers, the intervals of reſt from an engagement were more fatal than the foes whom they attacked. A licentiouſneſs of manners, too prevalent in camps, had introduced a baneful corruption, and the milder virtues (without the influence of which human nature muſt ſink into diſgrace,) were become the averſion of a ſet of men who deemed the wild ſallies of a ferocious diſpoſition to be the trueſt characteriſtics of a perfect ſoldier. Amidſt this deluded multitude, Raleigh remained ſuperior to ſeduc-

(*f*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47.

ſeduction, and turning to advantage every incident connected with a military ſervice in a foreign country, became at once ſo much the inquiſitive philoſopher, the poliſhed gentleman, and the well-inſtructed officer, that on his return to England, he was conſidered as a man ſcarcely equalled either with regard to preſent endowments, or the ſanguine hopes which he had raiſed in his acquaintance concerning the future application of exalted talents (*g*).

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ſeventy-eight, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, the brother-in-law of Raleigh, obtained from Elizabeth a patent, by virtue of which he was impowered to eſtabliſh a colony within ſome northern diſtricts of America, which were not poſſeſſed by any prince who had engaged in treaties of alliance with the crown of England. The particulars connected with this enterprize have been already preſented (*h*) to the reader; and it is, in this place, ſufficient to obſerve that Raleigh, who had accompanied his brave, but unfortunate relation, returned to his native country, in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-nine.

We, next, trace our illuſtrious adventurer bearing arms under the preſident of Munſter (*i*). At a ſucceeding period (*k*), he ſerved as an officer, amongſt the troops commanded by Thomas, earl of Ormond, a near

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47.

(*h*) See from the twenty-fifth to the forty-ſeventh page of the third volume of this work.—Conſult, alſo, Howell's Letters, V. 2. No. 54.—Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 164.—173.—Holingſhed, V. 2. p. 1369.—Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 13.—Hooker's Dedication, prefixed to the Tranſlation, and Continuation of the Iriſh Chronicles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 47, 48.

(*i*) A. D. 1580.

(*k*) A. D. 1581.

a near relation to Elizabeth, but more ennobled by his virtues, and, particularly, that firm adherence to his duty which enabled him to turn, with a generous diſdain, from temptations of greater prevalence than any to which others in ſuch exalted ſtations had ever been expoſed. The Spaniards, headed by San Joſepo, an Italian, had conſtructed, and fortified a caſtle, called Del Ore, at Smerwick, in the county of Kerry. Of this hold, an attempt was made to diſpoſſeſs them, by Arthur, lord Grey, the newly-appointed deputy, a ferocious tyrant, and implacable in his hatred againſt the Iriſh, whom he now treated with the moſt unrelenting barbarity, under pretence that he could not more effectually adhere to his inſtructions for the ſpeedy, and ſucceſsful termination of the war. When Ormond was obliged to retreat to Rathkeal, Grey, attended by a body of forces, amounting to eight hundred men, advanced from Dublin, whilſt, in order to ſupport his hoſtile operations, the Engliſh admiral, Sir William Winter, proceeded, with his fleet, to Smerwick. Previous to the attack, the troops within the garriſon were ſummoned to ſurrender. They replied that they would ſtand on their defence, and endeavour, with force of arms, to obey the mandates of the pope, deſtroy heretics, and compel the ſurviving natives to acknowledge the authority of their maſter Philip, whom the church of Rome had formally inveſted with the ſovereignty of Ireland. This anſwer, leſs rational, than bold, was followed by a furious ſally, during which the Spaniards were violently repulſed. On the day following, Sir William Winter erected a battery of cannon between the fortreſs and the ſhore, whilſt, on the land-ſide, the lord Grey drew up his artillery, at an advantageous diſtance, for the purpoſe of annoying the beſieged, who, when again preſſed to yield,

yield, and rely upon the mercy of the Engliſh, declared that they not only ſhould repel hoſtilities, but endeavour to extend the progreſs of their arms. The attack was now commenced, and Joſepo, the commander of the fort, convinced of the inefficacy of reſiſtance, yet diſſenting from the opinion of his aſſociates, intreated for permiſſion to capitulate. Grey anſwered that to traitors no conceſſions could be granted; and the enemy driven to the moſt terrible extremities, implored for mercy, and ſubmitted. It is with equal abhorrence, and concern, that we purſue the ſequel of this relation. Raleigh, the enlightened, the celebrated Raleigh was appointed to ſuperintend the perpetration of cruelties which would have diſgraced a ſavage. The laurels reaped by this intrepid ſoldier, during the reduction of the fortreſs, were, afterwards, beſmeared with blood. Forgetful of his honour, he accepted of an ignominious office, and coolly, when all contention had ſubſided, aſſiſted in the ſlaughter of the garriſon. Too juſtly was it aſſerted, in the preſence of Elizabeth, that the lord deputy, and his officers, had tyrannized with ſuch barbarity, that little remained in Ireland for her to reign over but carcaſſes, and aſhes (*l*).

In vindication of theſe ſevere proceedings, it hath been urged that the vanquiſhed were ſo numerous, daring, and ungovernable, that an attempt to confine them

(*l*) Stowe, p. 688.—Camden, p. 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339.—Hooker's Supplement to the Iriſh Chronicle, Folio p. 171.—O Sull. Hiſt. Cath.—Leland's Hiſtory of Ireland, B. 4. C. 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 48, 49.—Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 368.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 233, 234—See alſo the 199th 200th and 201ſt pages of the ſecond volume of this work.—Oldys's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio, p. 16.

them within a priſon muſt have been too precarious a method, whilſt their conquerors were under the neceſſity of precluding them from the power of a ſecond, and more effectual reſiſtance; that a total extirpation of ſuch enemies, was the only firm ſecurity on which the Engliſh could rely; that in the very moment previous to the order for the execution of the Spaniards, who had ſurrendered, the lord deputy received advice of the near approach of one thouſand, and five hundred of the rebellious Iriſh; that no veſſels were in readineſs to convey the foreigners to their native land; and that the ſoldiers in the ſervice of the victorious party, declared that they would turn their arms againſt their own chiefs, if reſtrained from the full liberty of plundering the fort. It was not in the power of ſuch apologies to ſcreen the Engliſh either from the execration of their adverſaries, or the cenſures of the world. All Europe conſidered this maſſacre with horror; but the catholics, in particular, exclaimed againſt it, as the moſt cruel, and flagitious infringement of a ſolemn oath, by which Grey had taught the Spaniards to expect the liberty of departing ſecure from inſult, and with the honours of war.

The great law of candour, which no hiſtorian ſhould ever venture to tranſgreſs, will not ſuffer us, in this place, to conceal a teſtimony, that was intended to palliate the barbarity of the lord deputy, and his aſſociates. How effectually it may operate as an exculpation of the guilt ſuppoſed to have been incurred by Raleigh, is, without a comment, ſubmitted to the judgment of the reader. A celebrated writer, who was ſecretary (*m*) to Grey, and near the ſcene of action,

(*m*) Edmond Spencer.—View of the ſtate of Ireland, V. 6. p. 1611. 12mo.

tion, hath tranſmitted to poſterity the following account.

"When firſt their ſecretary Seignior Jeffrey, an "Italian, was ſent to treat with the lord deputy, for "grace, he was flatly refuſed it. And afterwards, "when their colonel, named Don Sebaſtian, came "forth to intreat that they might depart with their "arms, like ſoldiers, and, at leaſt, be ſpared their "lives, according to the cuſtom of war, and the "law of nations, the requeſt was ſtrongly denied "to him, and he was told by the lord deputy, that "they could not juſtly plead either the cuſtom of war, "or the law of nations; for that they were not any "lawful enemies; and if they were, he inſiſted upon "their ſhewing by what commiſſion they came thi-"ther, into the dominions of another prince, to "war. When they ſaid they had no commiſſion "to produce, but were only adventurers that came to "ſeek fortune abroad, and to ſerve in wars amongſt "the Iriſh, who deſired to entertain them, it was then "anſwered that the Iriſh, ſuch as the earl (and John,) "of Deſmond, with the reſt, were no lawful enemies, "but rebels, and traitors; and therefore they "who came to ſuccour them, were no better than "rogues, and runnagades, and eſpecially when com-"ing without a licence, or commiſſion from their own "king; wherefore it would be diſhonourable for him, "in the name of his queen, to condition, or make "any terms with ſuch raſcalls. So he left it to their "choice, whether they would yield or not. Then "the ſaid colonel did abſolutely yield himſelf, and the "fort, with all therein, craving only mercy, which "it was not thought good to ſhew them."

We learn that Raleigh performed other ſervices in Ireland, a minute relation of which is foreign to our-

pur-

purpoſe. Theſe were ſo favourably repreſented by his Friends, in England, that, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty one, he was appointed, under a joint commiſſion, one of the governors of Munſter. His conduct, during the execution of this office, gave the higheſt ſatisfaction to the queen, who rewarded him with a grant of a large eſtate ſituated in the country which he had ſubdued (*n*).

Soon after his return to England, he attracted the notice of his ſovereign, by one of thoſe acts of gallantry which were not only natural to him, but formed a principal ingredient of his character. Whilſt Elizabeth was engaged in taking her frequent exerciſe on foot, ſhe approached a ſpot of ground, the ſurface of which had been ſtrewn with rubbiſh. Unwilling to ſoil her ſhoes, ſhe ſtopped ſhort, and ſeemed averſe from going forward, when Raleigh, who had obſerved her, at a diſtance, ran up, and throwing off his velvet cloak, (a part of the faſhionable habit which he wore,) fell reſpectfully on his knees, and extended it acroſs the path. The queen trod gently over it, and, at the ſame time, diſcovered her approbation of this politeneſs, with a gracious ſmile. Encouraged by a condeſcenſion which appeared the earneſt of his better fortune, he reſorted daily to the court. When he perceived that Elizabeth ſtill honoured him with her attention, he wrote on the pane of a glaſs window, which was obvious to her eye,

"Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall,"

and, ſoon afterwards, obſerved that his royal miſtreſs had added

"If thine heart fail thee, climb not at all (*o*)."

It

(*n*) Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia, p. 28, 29.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. V. 2. p. 50.

(*o*) Fuller's Worthies of England, Folio. 1662, in Devon. —Walpole's Royal, and noble Authors. Article Elizabeth. V. 1. p. 31.

It is juſtly obſerved that, howſoever romantic theſe paſſages may appear, the graveſt hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to admit them. The experienced reader who knows how often an unexpected compliment, or artificial bait for favour, will catch it ſooner than the moſt ſubſtantial ſervices, would, perhaps, doubt whether ſuch incidents are to be called acceſſaries, ſo much as principals in worldly promotions; but eſteem thoſe circumſtances as the moſt inſtructive in the lives of great men which diſplay the footſteps of their advancement, and how they firſt fell into the track of diſtinction. The acquiſition of glory hath been compared to that of riches. The profound myſtery lies in procuring the prime ſtock; an ordinary prudence will increaſe it (*p*).

When the duke of Anjou, who, in the character of a lover, had reſided during three months, at the court of Elizabeth, departed, in order to aſſume the government of the Netherlands, the Queen expreſsly commanded that Raleigh ſhould attend him. When our Hero returned from this ſervice, he was intruſted with letters, addreſſed by the prince of Orange, to the queen. (*q*) Shortly afterwards, he fixed his reſidence within the court; and was patronized even by contending Stateſmen, who ſeemed rejoiced to prove how true a Judgment they could form of merit (*r*). In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-three, he was concerned in the ſecond attempt of his brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert, whoſe miſerable end hath been already

(*p*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Folio. p. 19.

(*q*) Leiceſter's Commonwealth, p. 37.—Aulic Coquin. p. 90.—Sir Walter Raleigh's invention of Shipping, in his ſelect eſſays, p. 36.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 51.

(*r*) Shirley's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 19.—Lloyd's State Worthies, p. 487.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2 p. 50.

ready mentioned (s). The concern with which Raleigh received the news of this calamity, howſoever violent, did not prevent him from cheriſhing the popular zeal for the progreſs of colonization; and equally eager to gratify his own wiſhes, and keep alive the ſpirit of diſcoveries, he drew up a memorial of the advantages likely to reſult from an endeavour to explore thoſe regions which were ſituated to the Northward of America, and preſented it at the council-board. Such was the ſucceſs of this meaſure, that the queen granted him her letters-patent, of which it may be neceſſary to preſent the reader with a copy.

"ELIZABETH, &c. To all people greeting. Know ye that out of our eſpecial grace, we grant to our truſty, and well-beloved ſervant, Walter Raleigh, eſquire, his heirs, and aſſigns, the free liberty to diſcover ſuch remote heathen, and barbarous lands, not actually poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian prince, nor inhabited by Chriſtian people, as to him, or them ſhall ſeem good, to hold the ſame, with all prerogatives, commodities, juriſdictions, royalties, privileges, by ſea, and land, as we by letters-patent may grant, or any of our progenitors have granted; with licence to inhabit, or remain, build, and fortify, at the diſcretion of the ſaid Walter Raleigh, his heirs, &c. the ſtatutes, or acts againſt fugitives, or ſuch as depart this realm unprejudiced, notwithſtanding. We likewiſe grant him, or them, full power to take, or lead ſuch of our ſubjects as ſhall willingly accompany him, or them; alſo to employ, and uſe ſufficient ſhipping, and furniture for tranſportations, and navigations in that behalf; ſo that none of thoſe perſons be ſuch as are reſtrained by us, or our heirs, or ſucceſſors. Farther, that the ſaid



(s) See from the thirty-fourth, to the forty-fourth page of the third volume of this work.

Walter Raleigh, and his heirs ſhall enjoy for ever, all the ſoil of ſuch land ſo to be diſcovered, and of all ſuch cities, caſtles, or towns, in the ſame, with the right and royalties, as well marine, as other, within the ſaid land, or ſeas adjoining, with full power to diſpoſe thereof in fee-ſimple, or otherwiſe, according to the laws of England, at his, and their will, to any perſon within the allegiance of us, or of our heirs, reſerving always to us, for all ſervices, duties, and demands, the fifth part of all the ore of gold, and ſilver there obtained after ſuch diſcovery. All which lands, and countries ſhall be for ever holden by the ſaid Walter Raleigh, his heirs, &c. by homage, the ſaid payment reſerved only for all ſervices. We likewiſe grant to the ſaid Raleigh, and his heirs, licence for their defence, to repel by land, or ſea, all perſons that ſhall without his, or their liking, attempt to inhabit the ſame countries, or within two hundred leagues of the places in them, where he, or they, within ſix years to come, ſhall make their dwellings, if not before inhabited by the ſubjects of any Chriſtian prince, in amity with us. Giving alſo power to him, or them, to take thoſe perſons, with their ſhips, and goods, and keep them as lawful prize, who, without his, or their licence, ſhall be found trafficking within the limits aforeſaid (our ſubjects, and others, in amity with us, only excepted). And as well for uniting in more perfect league, ſuch countries with our realms of England, and Ireland, as for the encouragement of men to theſe enterprizes, we declare that all ſuch countries ſo poſſeſſed ſhall be of our allegiance. And we grant unto the ſaid Walter Raleigh, his heirs, and unto all, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be entered into ſome court of record, within our realm of England, and to their heirs who, with the aſſent of the ſaid Walter Raleigh,

his

his heirs, &c. ſhall, in his journies for diſcoveries, or conqueſt, hereafter travel ſuch lands that they, and every of them, being either born within our ſaid realms of England, or of Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and who ſhall hereafter be inhabitants of any of the lands aforeſaid, ſhall have all the privilege of free denizens, and perſons, natives of England, in ſuch ample manner as if they were born, and perſonally reſident in our ſaid realm of England, any law, &c. notwithſtanding. And, farther, for the ſafety of all that ſhall adventure themſelves, we grant the ſaid Walter Raleigh, and his heirs, full power, and authority within the ſaid lands, in the way thither, and from thence, to correct, puniſh, pardon, and govern, by their good diſcretions, and policies, as well in cauſes, capital, as criminal, as civil, both marine and other, all our ſubjects who ſo adventure themſelves, and ſhall inhabit the territories aforeſaid, or ſhall abide within two hundred leagues, of any ſuch places, where he, or they ſhall inhabit, within ſixty years next enſuing, according to ſuch ſtatutes, as ſhall be, by him, or them eſtabliſhed, ſo that the ſaid ſtatutes, or laws conform as near as conveniently may be, with thoſe of England, and do not oppugn the chriſtian faith, or any way withdraw the people of thoſe lands, from our allegiance. We alſo grant full power to our truſty and well-beloved counſellor, Sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, our high-treaſurer of England, and to the lord-treaſurer for us, and our heirs, and to the privy-council of us, and our heirs, or any four, or more of them, that he, or they, under their hands, or ſeals, authorize the ſaid Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, by themſelves, or officers, to tranſport out of England, and Ireland, any of their

goods with other commodities as to the ſaid lord-treaſurer, or the ſaid privy-council ſhall be thought convenient, for the better relief, and ſupport of the ſaid Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, any act notwithſtanding. Provided always, that if the ſaid Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, or any other, by his or their licence, ſhall rob, or ſpoil, by ſea or land, or do any unlawful hoſtility to any of our ſubjects, or thoſe of kings, or ſtates, in perfect league, and unity with us, we ſhall, upon juſt complaint, make proclamation that the ſaid Walter Raleigh, or his heirs, ſhall, within the terms to be limited, make full ſatisfaction; ſo that we, and thoſe who complain may be fully contented; and that if he, or they make not ſuch ſatisfaction, within ſuch time, it ſhall be lawful for us to put him, or them, out of their allegiance, and, from that time, for all princes, or others to purſue with hoſtility, as not to be avouched, or defended by us, although any mention of the yearly value of the premiſes, or any part thereof, or of any other grant by us, or our predeceſſors, to the ſaid Walter Raleigh, before this time made, be not expreſſed, or any other proviſion, or reſtraint, to the contrary notwithſtanding. In witneſs whereof, we have cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, at Weſtminſter, on the twenty-fifth of March, in the twenty-ſixth year of our reign (*t*)."

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Raleigh equipped, at his own expence, two ſmall veſſels, and appointed to the command of them the captains Philip Amadas, and Arthur Barlow, who on the twenty-ſeventh of the following month of April, ſet ſail from the weſt of England, for the coaſt of North-America, where they

(*t*) Hackluyt's voyages, V. 3. p. 243.

they arrived ſafely, at the commencement of July, and took poſſeſſion of that rich country, named afterwards Virginia (*u*).

At this period, Raleigh, in conjunction with Sir William Courtenay, was choſen by the freeholders to repreſent the county of Devon. During the firſt ſeſſions of his attendance in the houſe of commons, a bill paſſed in confirmation of his patent for the diſcovery of foreign countries (*x*); and, ſoon afterwards, he was advanced, by Elizabeth, to the dignity of knighthood. In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-five, he fitted out a ſecond fleet, for Virginia, which returned with a Spaniſh prize, valued at an immenſe ſum (*y*). He was alſo concerned in the preparations for the voyage of captain Davis, who attempted the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage. On this account it was that a promontory in the ſtreights, named after that adventurer, received the appellation of Mount-Raleigh (*z*). The politic Elizabeth thought fit to countenance theſe public-ſpirited, and expenſive projects. Pleaſed with the adventrous diſpoſition of our hero, ſhe inveſted him with the power to licenſe the vending of wines, throughout the kingdom, and alſo conferred on him a ſeigniory in Ireland, conſiſting of twelve thouſand acres, which he planted, at his own expence, preſerving them during a long period, and until he ſold them to



(*u*) Not by Raleigh, but Elizabeth.—Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio. p. 25.

(*x*) Brown Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria, V. 2. p. 254.

(*y*) See from the 319th to the 321ſt page of the third volume of this work.

(*z*) See from the 70th to the 79th page of the third volume of this work.

Richard Boyle, the firſt earl of Corke (*a*). Encouraged by the munificence of his ſovereign, he now fitted out a third fleet, for Virginia, and alſo two barks to cruize on the Spaniards, near the Azores, the captains of which were ſo ſucceſsful that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes, near the ſcene of action (*b*). This illuſtrious adventurer, not more proſperous in his naval enterprizes, than in the fruits of his aſſiduous attendance on Elizabeth, was, towards the concluſion of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſix, raiſed to the poſts of Seneſchal of the duchies of Cornwall, and of lord warden of the ſtannaries in Devonſhire, and Cornwall. It hath been remarked that theſe preferments, although not ſuperior to his merit, expoſed him to the malice of thoſe undeſerving individuals, who deſpaired of attaining, by their intrigues, to the like advantages (*c*):

In the year one thouſand, five hundred, and eighty-ſeven, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped, at his own charge, a fourth fleet, and, ſoon afterwards, (*d*) provided a fifth, both of which were deſtined for Virginia. Concerning theſe voyages, let it be ſufficient to obſerve that they were not ſucceſsful, although the adventurers were men of unqueſtionable reſolution, and eſtabliſhed reputation.

The conduct of our hero, during the memorable period when all the naval, and military power of Spain was collected for the deſtruction of the Engliſh, hath

(*a*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio. p. 26.—Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 389.—391. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(*b*) Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 120.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 52.

(*d*) A. D. 1588.

hath been already mentioned (*e*). We ſhall here add that he was a member of the council commanded to deviſe the moſt effectual means of repelling an invaſion, and that the operations which he ſuggeſted were the reſult of great naval experience, deep policy, and a conſummate knowledge of the fitteſt application of thoſe inſular advantages peculiar to the Engliſh. As the remarks of Raleigh refer particularly to the engagement with the Armada, and muſt convince the reader that, during an Æra when the progreſs of the nautical arts was neither rapid, nor enlightened, this illuſtrious ſeaman ſurpaſſed, in a knowledge of the marine, the generality of his contemporaries, we ſhall inſert a paſſage from his hiſtory of the world (*f*).

"Certainly he that will happily perform a fight at "ſea, muſt be ſkilful in making choice of veſſels "to fight in. He muſt believe that there is more be- "longing to a good man of war, upon the waters, than "a great daring; and he muſt know that there is a "great deal of difference between fighting looſe, or at "large, and grappling. The guns of a ſlow ſhip "pierce as well, and make as great holes as thoſe in a "ſwift ſhip. To clap ſhips together, without con- "ſideration, belongs rather to a madman than to a "man of War; for, by ſuch ignorant bravery was "Peter Stroſſie loſt at the Azores, when he fought "againſt the marquis of Santa-Croce. In like ſort, had "lord Charles Howard, admiral of England, been "loſt in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and "eighty-eight, if he had not been better adviſed than "a great many malignant fools were, who found

 "fault

(*e*) See from the 232d to the 305th page of the third volume of this work.

(*f*) B. 5. C. 1. Sect. 6.

" fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an
" army aboard of them, and he had none. They
" had more ſhips than he had, and of a higher build-
" ing, and charging, ſo that, had he entangled him-
" ſelf with thoſe great, and powerful veſſels, he had
" much endangered the kingdom of England. For,
" twenty men, upon the defence, are equal to an hun-
" dred that board, and enter; whereas, then, con-
" trariwiſe the Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty
" of ours, to defend themſelves withal. But our ad-
" miral knew his advantage, and held it, which,
" had he not done, he had not been worthy to have
" held his head. Here, to ſpeak of ſea-fights, I
" ſay that a fleet of twenty ſhips, all good ſailors,
" and good ſhips, have the advantage in the open ſea,
" of an hundred as good ſhips, but of ſlower ſailing.
" For if the fleet of an hundred ſail keep themſelves
" in a cloſe ſquadron, the twenty ſhips in any angle
" ſhall force them to give ground, and to fall back
" upon their own next fellows, of which ſo many as
" entangle are made unſerviceable, or loſt. Force
" them they may eaſily, becauſe twenty ſhips which
" give themſelves ſcope, after they have given one-
" broadſide of artillery, by clapping into the wind,
" and ſtaying, may give them the other, and ſo the
" twenty ſhips batter them in pieces, with a perpetual
" volley; whereas thoſe that fight in a troop, have no
" room to turn, and can always uſe but one, and the
" ſame beaten ſide. If the fleet of an hundred ſail
" give themſelves any diſtance, then ſhall the leſſer
" fleet prevail, either againſt thoſe that are arrear,
" and hindermoſt, or againſt thoſe that by advantage
" of over ſailing their fellows, keep the wind; and,
" if upon a lee-ſhore, the ſhips next the wind will
" be conſtrained to fall back into their own ſquadron;

" and

" and then it is all to nothing that the whole fleet muſt " ſuffer ſhipwreck, or render itſelf. That ſuch an " advantage may be taken upon a fleet of equal ſpeed, " it hath been well enough conceived in old time; as " by that oration of Hermocrates, in Thucydides, which " he made to the Syracuſians, when the Athenians in- " vaded them, it may be eaſily obſerved."

Concerning the ſuperfluity of great ordnances, in the royal navy, this diſcerning inveſtigator remarks that " Many times, there is no proportion of ſhot, " and powder allowed, rateably to that quantity of " great ordnance, as was ſeen in the ſea-battle, with " the Spaniards, in the year, one thouſand, five hun- " dred, and eighty-eight, when it ſo nearly concerned " the defence, and preſervation of the kingdom. So " as then many of thoſe great guns, wanting powder, " and ſhot, ſtood but as cyphers, and ſcare-crows, " not unlike to the Eaſtlering hulks, who were wont " to plant great red port-holes, in their broadſides, " where they carried no ordnance at all (*g*)."

At this period, the queen granted to Sir Walter Raleigh ſome additional emoluments reſulting from the wine-office, and, ſoon afterwards, he made an aſſignment of all his right, and intereſt, in the colony of Virginia to ſome merchants of the port of London. We next obſerve him buſied in preparations to aſſiſt Don Antonio, of Portugal, to recover his dominions. It is here unneceſſary to enlarge on the particulars of the expedition (*h*) which followed, and we ſhall only remark that our hero, on this occaſion, intercepted, and took ſeveral hulks, belonging to the Hanſe Towns, for

(*g*) Raleigh's obſervations on the royal navy, 8vo. 1650. p. 26.

(*h*) See the 129th page of the third volume of this work.

for which ſervice, the queen preſented him with a chain of gold (*i*). In the following year, he made a voyage to Ireland, and towards the concluſion of it, formed the deſign of attacking the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies, of ſeizing the plate-fleet, and of plundering Panama. The reader already knows the chief circumſtances relating to this enterprize (*k*). Be it ſufficient, in this place, to inform him that the Madre de Dios, a carrack taken by Sir John Burroughs, one of the commanders of the Engliſh fleet (*l*), "was in "burthen no leſs than ſixteen hundred tons, whereof "nine hundred were merchandize; ſhe carried thirty-"two pieces of braſs ordnance, and betwixt ſix and "ſeven hundred paſſengers; ſhe was built with decks, "ſeven ſtories, one main orlope (*m*), three cloſe "decks, one forecaſtle, and a ſpare deck of two "floors a-piece. According to the obſervations of "Mr. Adams, an excellent geometrician, ſhe was, "in length, from the beak-head to the ſtern, one "hundred and ſixty-five feet; in breadth, near forty-"ſeven feet; the length of her keel was an hundred "feet; of the main-maſt, an hundred, and twenty-"one fleet; the circuit at the partners, was nearly "eleven feet, and her main-yard, an hundred, and "ſix feet. Her lading conſiſted of ſpices, drugs, "ſilks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth made of the "rind of trees, ivory, porcelain, and ebony, ex-"cluſive of pearl, muſk, civet, Amber-greaſe, and "many other commodities of inferior value. The "Cargeſon freighted ten of our ſhips for London, "and

(*i*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio, p. 50.
(*k*) See the 281ſt page of the third volume of this work.
(*l*) See the 212th page of the ſame volume.
(*m*) Platform.

" and was by moderate computation, valued at an " hundred, and fifty thouſand pounds, ſterling (*n*)." How anxious Raleigh, and his aſſociate Sir John Hawkins were that the prize might be conducted home in ſafety, is evident from the following letter addreſſed by them, to the lord admiral.

" We have conferred together about the Eaſt-India " ſhip to be brought to Plymouth, by Sir John Bur- " roughs; and, in our opinions, ſhe can be no leſs " worth than five hundred thouſand pounds; being a " ſhip of ſo great burthen, and laden with ſuch rich " commodities as it appeareth that ſhe is; wherefore " we have conſidered that the Spaniſh men of war, " lying upon the coaſt of Bretagne, hearing of ſo great " a prize taken from the king, or the merchants of " the country; and envying that ſuch a benefit ſhould " grow to us, to their hindrance, and diſhonour, will " endeavour by all poſſible means, being diſtant but " a day, or a night's ſailing, either to recover the " ſhip again, or to burn her, and all her lading, rather " than ſhe ſhall be delivered here; ſeeing that the " places of defence where the ſhip may remain, are " not able to reſiſt their power. In our opinion, " therefore, we think fit, and do pray your lordſhip, " that the three ſhips of her majeſty's, which are ap- " pointed to keep the narrow ſeas may, by your lord- " ſhip's letter, and directions, be appointed to ſail " to the weſtward, and there alſo to guard the Indian " ſhip, for a time, until the Garland, and ſome of the " ſame fleet be returned, whoſe arrival cannot be any " long

(*n*) True Reporte of the honourable ſervice at ſea, performed by Sir John Burroughs, lieutenant-general of the fleet, prepared by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, lord Warden, &c.—Hackluyt, V. 2. Part 2. p. 194.

"long time expected; or until ſome order may be "taken for the unlading, or keeping of her otherwiſe; "which we pray your lordſhip may be done with "ſome expedition. And ſo we humbly take our "leave."

On this occaſion, the proprietors, and captors were deprived of the greater part of thoſe ſhares which they claimed, and naturally expected. A celebrated naval writer (*o*) hath remarked that the queen's adventure, in this voyage, conſiſted only of two ſhips, the ſmalleſt of which was at the taking of the carrack. Of this title, joined to her royal authority, ſhe ſo effectually availed herſelf, that the individuals who had engaged in the enterprize were obliged to ſubmit themſelves to her pleaſure, and thus ſuffered by extortions. This circumſtance is a melancholy proof that the authority of the ſovereign was not, in that deſpotic Æra, controulable by law. Raleigh, with great humility, and earneſtneſs, intreated, but ineffectually, the covetous Elizabeth to accept of an hundred thouſand pounds, in lieu of all demands; and he obſerved that the preſent, which the proprietors were willing to make her, of eighty thouſand pounds, was the greateſt that ever prince had received from a ſubject (*p*).

It hath been obſerved that whilſt Sir Walter Raleigh remained at home, his great genius diſplayed itſelf in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free ſtate. He ſhone in the ſenate, as a patriot, and the remains of his ſpeeches leave us in doubt whether we ought to admire moſt his force of eloquence, or the extent of his underſtanding. Of learned men, he was the avowed patron, and all public undertakings were promoted by his encouragement; a ſanction which carried

(*o*) Sir William Monſon, p. 181.
(*p*) Strype, V. 4. p. 128, 129.

carried with it a greater weight, as, at this Æra, he was one of the declared favourites of the queen (*q*).

During his abode within the court, Raleigh prevailed too powerfully in ſeducing the affections of one of the ladies of honour to Elizabeth. The fair object of his addreſſes was the daughter of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton. Diſgrace ſucceeded to the gratification of their love; and when the pregnancy of the unhappy female had advanced too far to be concealed, ſhe was driven from the palace, whilſt her admirer, notwithſtanding that he had repaired the injury by giving her his hand, in marriage, became equally expoſed to the diſpleaſure of his ſovereign (*r*). At this juncture, and in order that he might be reſtored to favour, Raleigh addreſſed a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, who was undoubtedly requeſted to inform the queen of its contents. As they prove to what baſe, and ridiculous exceſſes the arts of flattery were carried even by one of the moſt ſpirited, and accompliſhed heroes of his time, and preſent us, alſo, with a ſtriking picture of the vanity of Elizabeth, who, at the age of ſixty, could be delighted with ſuch an abject ſtrain of gallantry, it cannot be improper to inſert them.

"My heart was never broke until this day, that I "hear that the queen goes away ſo far off, whom I "have followed ſo many years, with ſo great love, "and deſire, in ſo many journies, and am now left "behind her, in a dark priſon, all alone. While ſhe "was yet near at hand that I might hear of her, once "in two, or three days, my ſorrows were the leſs; "but

(*q*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 58.—— D'Ewes, p. 478. 484. 488. 490.—Hayward Townſhend's Hiſtorical collections, folio, p. 65.—Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia.—Lloyd's State Worthies.

(*r*) Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, V. 1. p. 79.

" but even now my heart is caſt into the depth of all " miſery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like " Alexander; hunting like Diana; walking like Venus; " the gentle wind blowing her fair hair, about her " pure cheeks, like a nymph; ſometimes ſitting in the " ſhade, like a goddeſs; ſometimes ſinging like an " angel; ſometimes playing like Orpheus. Behold the " ſorrow of this world! Once amiſs hath bereaved me " of all. O glory! that only ſhineth in misfortune, " what is become of thy aſſurance? All wounds have " ſcars but that of fantaſie; all affections their re- " lenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge " of friendſhip, but adverſity? Or when is grace wit- " neſſed but in offences? There were no divinity, " but by reaſon of compaſſion; for revenges are " brutiſh, and mortal. All thoſe times paſt, the " loves, the ſighs, the ſorrows, the deſires, cannot " they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one " drop of gall be hid in ſo great heaps of ſweetneſs? " I may then conclude, Spes, et Fortuna, Valete. She " is gone, in whom I truſted, and of me hath not one " thought of mercy, nor any reſpect of that which " was. Do with me now, therefore, what you liſt. " I am more weary of life, than they are deſirous that " I ſhould periſh; which, if it had been for her, as it " is by her, I had been too happily born (*s*)."

It was during this retirement that Raleigh meditated the diſcovery of Guiana, and drew up inſtructions for captain Whiddon, an officer of great experience, whom he ſent to ſurvey the coaſt, and who returned with a favourable report of the riches of the country, and the poſſibility of ſubduing it. From this moment, Sir Walter reſolved to undertake the voyage, and, accordingly, fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips, partly at his own

(*s*) Murden, p. 657.

own expence, and partly by the pecuniary aſſiſtance of the lord high-admiral Howard, and of Sir Robert Cecil (*t*).

On the ſixth of February, in the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, he ſailed from Plymouth, and on the twenty-ſecond of March, arrived at the iſland of Trinidado. Here, he eaſily reduced the ſmall city of Saint Joſeph, and took priſoner, Antonio Boreo, the Spaniſh governour, who fully deſcribed to him the neighbouring continent, and the trade to thoſe parts which had not hitherto been explored by any adventurers from England. On this information, he quitted the ſhip at Trinidado, and, attended by an hundred men, proceeded in ſeveral ſmall barks, during a courſe of four hundred miles, up the river Oronoque, in ſearch of Guiana. Carrapana, and other petty princes of the country, reſigned, through his hands, their ſovereignties to Elizabeth. Yet ſuch was the intenſe heat of the weather, and the violence of the rains, that he was compelled to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as cruſhed by the rage, and power of his enemies. When the inhabitants of Cumana refuſed to pay the ſtipulated ranſom for their town, he reduced it to aſhes; and, having next levelled Saint Mary's, and Rio de la Hacha, to the ground, returned, with all his valuable acquiſitions, to England. A naval writer (*u*) hath remarked that, concerning the whole of his proceeding, the manner of his entering within this hidden country, and making a farther progreſs in the ſpace of a month, than the Spaniards had done in half a century; of the nature of the ſoil, and the certainty of finding many, and rich mines of gold, Sir Walter hath left us ſo fair, ſo

(*t*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 59.
(*u*) Ibid. V. 2. p. 60.

ſo copious, and ſo well written a relation, that if his ſubſequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a ſhade over ſo bright a proſpect, we could ſcarcely render a reaſon why Guiana ſhould not, at this period, have been as thoroughly known, and, as completely ſettled by the Engliſh, as Virginia. With due deference to the judgment of this hiſtorian, and all proper veneration for the name of Raleigh, it would, in our opinion, be difficult to avoid ſubſcribing to the aſſertion that, at his return, he publiſhed an account of Guiana, full of the groſſeſt, and moſt palpable lies that ever were attempted to be impoſed on the credulity of mankind (*x*). Not leſs improbable than the fables of this celebrated adventurer is the atteſtation of a foreign author (*y*), who, in his deſcription of Manoa, the capital of the empire of Guiana, obſerves that every veſſel within the palace was either of gold, or of ſilver; that in the royal wardrobe were hollow ſtatues of gold, which ſeemed giants; and that there were figures of the ſame metal, in full proportion, repreſenting all the beaſts, birds, trees, and herbs that the earth brings forth, and all the fiſhes that the ſea, or waters of his kingdom breed. Finally, there was nothing in his country, whereof he had not the counterfeit in gold.

As we have ventured to diſpute the veracity of the account relative to the riches diſcovered within the empire of Guiana, it ſeems neceſſary, in point of candour, that we ſhould lay ſome remarks, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, before the reader, whoſe opinion ſhould not be biaſſed, even by a ſuppreſſion of confident aſſertions. "Becauſe there have been divers "Opi-

(*x*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 377.
(*y*) Fran. Lopez de Gomara. Hiſt gen. de las Ind. Cap. 120.

" opinions conceived of the gold ore brought from " Guiana; and becauſe an alderman of London, and " an officer of her majeſty's mint, have reported that " it is of no value, I have thought good, by the ad- " dition of theſe lines, to give anſwer as well to that " malicious ſlander, as to other objections. It is true " that whilſt we were at the iſland of Trinidado, I was " informed by an Indian that not far from the port, " where we anchored, there were found certain mi- " neral ſtones, which they eſteemed to be gold, and " were confirmed in their opinion, becauſe they had " ſeen both Engliſhmen, and Frenchmen gather, and " load vaſt quantities of it. Upon this probability, " I ſent forty men, and gave orders that each of them " ſhould bring a ſtone of that mine, to make an eſſay " of the goodneſs of it, which being done, I aſſured " them at their return, that it was marcaſite, and of no " value; notwithſtanding which, ſeveral truſting more " to their own opinion than my knowledge, kept of " that marcaſite, and have made eſſay of it ſince my " return, at ſeveral places. In Guiana, I never ſaw " marcaſite; but all the rocks and mountains, all " the ſtones in the plains, woods, and by the ſides of " the river are, in effect, throughout ſhining, and " ſeem to be vaſtly rich, which being proved to be no " marcaſite, are the true ſigns of rich minerals, but " are no other than el madre del oro, (or the mother " of gold,) as the Spaniards call it, or, as others call it, " the ſcum of gold. My company brought alſo of " divers ſorts of theſe in England, every one taking " the moſt beautiful to be the beſt, which is not al- " ways a rule. For my part, I did not contradict " any man's deſire, or opinion, and ſhould have al- " lowed them very little liberty, if I had denied them " the pleaſure of ſatisfying themſelves in this point;

" but I was convinced that gold muſt be found either " in grains, ſeparate from the ſtone, as it is in moſt " of the rivers of Guiana, or elſe in a kind of hard " ſtone which we call the white ſpar, or flint, which " I endeavoured to break, by all the means I could, " becauſe there appeared, on the outſide ſome ſmall " grains of gold; and, in a clift, after much diffi- " culty, with our daggers, and the head of an axe, " we got out a ſmall quantity of it. Of this kind of " white ſtone, in which gold engenders, we ſaw many " hills, and rocks, in every part of Guiana, through " which we travelled; and of this, there have been " many trials made. In London, it was firſt eſſayed " by Mr. Weſtwood, a refiner, in Wood-ſtreet; and it " held after the rate of twelve or thirteen thouſand " pounds a ton. There was ſome of it again tried by " Mr. Palmer, comptroller of the mint; and Mr. " Dimmock, in goldſmiths-hall, and it held twenty-ſix " thouſand, and nine hundred pounds, a ton. There " was alſo, at the ſame time, and by the ſame per- " ſons, a trial made of the duſt of the ſame mine, " which held eight pounds, and ſix ounces weight of " gold, in the hundred. There was, likewiſe, at the " ſame time, a trial of an image of copper, made in " Guiana, which held a third part of gold; beſides " ſeveral trials, made in the country, and by others, " in London. But, becauſe there came bad with the " good, and, belike, the ſaid alderman was not pre- " ſented with the beſt, he was pleaſed to lay a ſcandal " upon all the reſt, and to diſparage the enterprize, " to the utmoſt of his power. It has alſo been con- " cluded by many that, if there had been any ſuch " ore in Guiana, and I had diſcovered it, I ſhould " have brought home a greater quantity; but, firſt " I was not bound to ſatisfy any body of the quanti-

" ty,

"ty, excepting thoſe who were adventurers, if any "ſtore had been returned; but it is very true that had "all their mountains been of maſſy gold, it was im- "poſſible for us to have made any longer ſtay to have "wrought it; and whoſoever hath ſeen with what "ſtrength of ſtone the beſt gold ore is encompaſſed, "will not think it eaſy to be had out in heaps, eſpe- "cially by us, who had neither men, inſtruments, or "time to perform it."

In the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-five, Sir Walter Raleigh equipped, at his own charge, two veſſels, named the Delight, and the Diſcoverer, the command of which was given to captain Kemys, who ſailed in them to Guiana, for the double purpoſe of proſecuting his diſcoveries, and of affording the promiſed ſuccour to the Indians, during that period, engaged in war againſt the Spaniards, who oppoſed them with ſuch unrelenting ſeverity, as betrayed an intention, not only to ſubdue, but totally to extirpate them. Kemeys, at his return to England, publiſhed an account of his expedition (*z*). A naval writer (*a*) on whom, (perhaps only when with too much enthuſiaſm, he extols the conduct of his heroes,) we cannot abſolutely rely, obſerves that it might have converted to the ſentiments of Sir Walter Raleigh, reſpecting the empire of Guiana, all whom either invincible ignorance, or over-weening prejudice had not deſtined to remain infidels.

We have already entered (*b*) ſo minutely into the particulars connected with the celebrated expedition to Cadiz, where the conduct, and intrepidity of Sir



(*z*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 683.

(*a*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 61.

(*b*) See from the 329th to the 389th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

Walter Raleigh were glorioufly conſpicuous, that it becomes needleſs to reſume the ſubject. Let us proceed therefore, to obſerve that, at his return, our illuſtrious adventurer applied with ardour to the renewal of his attempt for the effectual eſtabliſhment of a commercial intercourſe with the people of Guiana. Thither at the commencement of the year, one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-ſeven, he diſpatched the Watt, a large, and well-provided pinnace, under the command of captain Leonard Berrie, who, on his arrival, in the month of March, was admitted to a friendly and communicative converſation, with the inhabitants of the coaſt, who revealed all circumſtances, within their knowledge, which bore the leaſt relation to the ſtate, and opulence of the higher country. This expedition (from which Berrie returned to Plymouth on the twenty-eighth of the following month of June) hath been conſidered (*c*) as an indubitable proof of two facts; firſt, that Sir Walter himſelf was in earneſt with regard to this diſcovery; otherwiſe there can be no cauſe alleged, why, having ſo many matters of importance upon his hands, he ſhould buſy himſelf in an undertaking of this kind; ſecondly, that no hopes could, on ſuch an occaſion, be better founded than his own, ſince the account which hath been given of the voyage, is not liable to any juſt objections (*d*). It is not to the preceding remark, that the compiler of this work can implicitly aſſent; but he reſerves, for another place, a review of thoſe materials, by which he hath been taught to form a different opinion.

The next important public ſervice, during which we trace the active intrepidity of Raleigh, is the expedition

(*c*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 68.
(*d*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 692.

pedition to the Azores, an event of which a copious relation hath been already given (*e*). In the following year, he was again a member of the houſe of commons, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his patriotiſm, and by his ſervice to the crown; a line of conduct which is too juſtly obſerved to have been in later periods, deemed abſolutely inconſiſtent (*f*). Availing himſelf of a firm intereſt with Elizabeth, he procured an exoneration of ſome intolerable impoſitions, and, by his importance in the ſenate, facilitated the advancement of the ſupplies. Indulgences were likewiſe obtained through his interference, for the tinners, in Cornwall, and to theſe, as to all the poor, he approved himſelf a rational, and ſpeedy advocate. In the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-nine, he was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, the rapid equipment of which was regarded by the powers of Europe, with equal apprehenſion, and ſurprize (*g*). Although he did not enjoy this honour longer than the ſpace of a ſingle month, yet it muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of that favourable opinion which was conceived of him by Elizabeth, ſince, during that period, ſhe had equal reaſon to dread domeſtic troubles, and invaſions from abroad. In the year, one thouſand, and ſix hundred, he accompanied the lord Cobham, into Holland; and, after having been admitted to a conference with prince Maurice, of Naſſau, returned to England, where the queen advanced him to the government of the iſle of Jerſey, but reſerved, from the annual profits of that employment, three hundred pounds,



(*e*) See from the 398th to the 422d page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*f*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 70.

(*g*) See the 425th, 426th, and 427th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

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(*c*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 68.
(*d*) Hackluyt, V. 3. p. 692.

pedition to the Azores, an event of which a copious relation hath been already given (*e*). In the following year, he was again a member of the houſe of commons, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his patriotiſm, and by his ſervice to the crown; a line of conduct which is too juſtly obſerved to have been in later periods, deemed abſolutely inconſiſtent (*f*). Availing himſelf of a firm intereſt with Elizabeth, he procured an exoneration of ſome intolerable impoſitions, and, by his importance in the ſenate, facilitated the advancement of the ſupplies. Indulgences were likewiſe obtained through his interference, for the tinners, in Cornwall, and to theſe, as to all the poor, he approved himſelf a rational, and ſpeedy advocate. In the year one thouſand, five hundred, and ninety-nine, he was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, the rapid equipment of which was regarded by the powers of Europe, with equal apprehenſion, and ſurprize (*g*). Although he did not enjoy this honour longer than the ſpace of a ſingle month, yet it muſt be conſidered as a ſtriking proof of that favourable opinion which was conceived of him by Elizabeth, ſince, during that period, ſhe had equal reaſon to dread domeſtic troubles, and invaſions from abroad. In the year, one thouſand, and ſix hundred, he accompanied the lord Cobham, into Holland; and, after having been admitted to a conference with prince Maurice, of Naſſau, returned to England, where the queen advanced him to the government of the iſle of Jerſey, but reſerved, from the annual profits of that employment, three hundred pounds,



(*e*) See from the 398th to the 422d page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*f*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 70.

(*g*) See the 425th, 426th, and 427th page of the ſecond volume of this work.

to be diſpoſed of in ſuch a manner as ſhe ſhould deem the moſt fitting (*h*).

We next obſerve Sir Walter Raleigh engaged, with others, in quelling the inſurrection of the earl of Eſſex, the enemy whom he moſt hated, and whoſe life he ſought for by thoſe flagitious arts which are but little ſhort of murder. The variance that broke out between theſe jealous candidates for martial fame, in conſequence of the action at the iſland of Fayal (*i*), gave riſe to animoſities which were buried only in the grave. We might be taxed with wandering far beyond the neceſſary limits of this work, did we enter into a minute relation of the ridiculous, but not leſs aggravating devices, by which ſuch violent, and ambitious rivals, endeavoured, at one moment (*k*) to excite the compaſſion, and, at another moment (*l*), to engroſs the admiration of the queen. Be it ſufficient to introduce ſome obvious reflections on the partial narrative of a celebrated writer (*m*), who, like a multitude of hiſtorians, to exalt the fame of Raleigh, hath depreſſed the character of Eſſex. After having remarked that Sir Chriſtopher Blunt propoſed to the latter, the aſſaſſination of the former, he adds, that it was judged impracticable. What concluſion can be drawn from theſe words, except that Eſſex only objected to the intention of deſtroying Raleigh, becauſe it muſt have

(*h*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(*i*) See the 405th, and 406th pages of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*k*) Birth's Memoirs, p. 444, 445.——Sydney's Papers, V. 2. p. 196.—Sydney's Letters, V. 2. p. 151—159.

(*l*) Clarendon's Diſparity, printed in the Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, 4th Edit. 1685, p. 190.—Walpole's royal, and noble Authors, Article Eſſex.—Bacon's Papers, V. 2. p. 438. —Oldys's Life of Raleigh, folio, p. 132.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 71.

have been difficult to execute it? When a crime ſo horrid in its nature is imputed to a nobleman, whoſe name, in ſpite of all his blemiſhes, and vices, is ſtill mentioned by poſterity, with a degree of reverence, it becomes neceſſary that we ſhould place a ſeries of facts, in a more candid, and incontrovertible point of view. The parties who are the ſubject of this particular diſcuſſion, as naval heroes, have placed their perſonal intrepidity beyond the reach of cenſure. It is not, therefore, without the concern reſulting from a diſappointed wiſh to mark the characters of each as irreproachable, that, in the preſent work, we follow the dictates of rigid juſtice, and, having cleared the innocence of Eſſex, proceed to the aſcertainment of the turpitude of Raleigh. The ſcheme for depriving Sir Walter of his life was recommended by Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, and others, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges (*n*); but it doth not indiſputably appear that the earl was either privy, or conſenting to it; nay, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe from the commendations which he beſtowed on the ſubſequent behaviour of Gorges, that the news of the perpetration of ſuch an act would have been received by him, with equal horror and reſentment. Had there exiſted a premeditated deſign to commit the murder, it certainly could not have been judged impracticable; as Raleigh, who ſent for Gorges, was alone, whilſt the latter came attended by a force, at leaſt ſufficient to aſſiſt him in the execution of ſuch a deed. In the manuſcript, written purpoſely to vindicate himſelf from the imputation of betraying



(*n*) "Declaration of the practices, and treaſons attempted, and committed by Robert, late earl of Eſſex, and his accomplices, againſt her majeſty, and her kingdoms," printed by Robert Barker, printer to the queen, 4to, 1601.

Eſſex, at this meeting, he declares that he revealed the contents of the meſſage to the earl, who, having adviſed with the ſelect couucil, at Drury-houſe (*o*), anſwered that he made no objection to an interview upon the Thames, but deemed it neceſſary that in order to facilitate his return, he ſhould take a guard, and not venture to approach the ſhore. The following is an account, drawn up by Gorges (*p*), of the conference between him, and Sir Walter Raleigh. "When his "boat came to me, he, being all alone, and I, having "two gentlemen, he told me, that he had ſent for me "to admoniſh me to make all haſte out of the town, "down to my charge (*q*), there being a warrant out "for the ſending me to the fleet. For this kind ad-"vertiſement, I gave him thanks; but told him withal, "becauſe I knew that the preſent occaſion would ſoon "diſcover itſelf, that it came too late, for that I had "engaged myſelf in another matter. He further in-"quired of me what it was? I told him that there "were two thouſand gentlemen who had reſolved, that "day, to live, or die freemen. He proteſted unto me "that he heared not of it, until that morning, but did "not ſee what they were able to do againſt the queen's "authority. My anſwer was that it was the abuſe "of that by him, and others, which made ſo many "honeſt

(*o*) Of this junto were Sir Charles Davers, (to whom the place belonged,) the earl of Southampton, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, Sir John Davies, John Littleton, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others.

(*p*) A brief anſwer to certain falſe, ſlanderous, and idle objections made againſt Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, as if he had been a man on purpoſe employed to practiſe the ruin of the late earl of Eſſex, &c. Written by himſelf, in the Gatehouſe. June 14, 1601. MS. Bibl. Cott. Julius. F. 7. fol. 428. cap. 2.

(*q*) Gorges was governour of Plymouth fort.

" honeſt men reſolve to ſeek a reformation thereof. " His reply was no man is without a colour for his " intent, and adviſed me to look to myſelf, and to re- " member my duty, and allegiance; I anſwered " that I knew not any man, who did not more re- " ſpect his allegiance, than his life, as the end " would make apparent; and thus we parted, he to " the court, and I to Eſſex-Houſe. If it be demanded " of me why I did not then take Sir Walter Raleigh; " firſt, it was not a matter, I ever propoſed, 'although " many perſuaded me ſo to do;' ſecondly, I never held " it an act fitting amongſt men to betray any that re- " poſe truſt in us; and he, putting himſelf into my " hands, with what honeſty could I have avowed ſo " barbarous a deed, unleſs he had given me the firſt " occaſion, by 'violent deeds, or unkind words,' for " either of which I was both reſolved, and prepared. " At my return, I delivered unto my lord what had " paſſed between Sir Walter Raleigh, and myſelf, " which he received with applauſe (*r*), as may be teſtifi- " ed by thoſe who were preſent, and are yet alive. " The reaſon why I acknowledge that I had means to " have taken, or to have killed Sir Walter Raleigh " was the better to make it appear that 'there was nei- " ther malicious, nor butcherous courſe intended to him, " or any;' and alſo to give him cauſe to acknowledge " himſelf in that reſpect beholden unto me; whereby to " take from him occaſion to exerciſe his power, (which " I knew to be great, at that juncture,) to my ruin. " For I did believe that he could not, in reaſon, be

" ſo

(*r*) It is almoſt unneceſſary to aſk whether if Eſſex wiſhed for the aſſaſſination of Raleigh, he would have commended the conduct of Gorges, who did not offer him the leaſt violence, even when it was, probably, in his power to commit a murder.

" ſo void of human reſpect, as not to requite one " courteſy with another; as alſo that it was no matter " of treaſon againſt her majeſty, but rather a mani- " feſtation to the contrary, approving this intent " to be particular againſt Sir Walter Raleigh, and " others."

The hiſtorian obſerves that 'when the miſchief broke out, Sir Walter did his duty; and no more than his duty (s).' The reſult of farther inquiries will leave us ſenſible of the fallacy of this aſſertion. Did he not exceed the limits of his duty, by ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to perſuade Sir Robert Cecil, (even in the very moment when that ſtateſman began to melt into compaſſion for the unhappy criminal,) that it was neceſſary to enforce the execution of the earl of Eſſex? Is it poſſible that a different conſtruction can be put upon the ſentence " If you take it for a good counſel to " relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when " it may be too late?" Should the meaning of theſe words appear ambiguous, it certainly is explained in a ſubſequent expreſſion in the letter, of which a copy will be ſubmitted to the reader; " But if the father " continue, he will be able to break the branches, and " tree, root, and all." It is to be remarked that judgment had been paſſed on Eſſex; and, under that idea, it would be difficult to prove than an advice 'not to relent' might be applied to the expediency of detaining the earl in priſon; or indeed, to any other meaſure, except that of bringing him to the ſcaffold. Had Sir Robert Cecil endeavoured to ſave the life of Eſſex, although on terms ſevere, and ignominious to the latter, even then he muſt have relented; and not relenting, we can conſider him only as an accomplice of thoſe flagitious

(s) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

tious individuals who laboured to effect the extirpation of an aſpiring favourite, the equal object of their fear, and deteſtation. Such were the counſels of Sir Walter Raleigh, a man who hath been repreſented, by too partial a contemporary (*t*), as in poſſeſſion of that eminent, and eccentric worth, which might ſeem at once *to conquer both example, and Imitation.*

Previous to the concluſion of ſome neceſſary remarks on this ſubject, we ſhall tranſcribe, from the hand-writing of Sir Walter Raleigh, a letter addreſſed to Sir Robert Cecil (*u*).

Sir,

"I am not wiſe enough to give you advice, but *if* "*you take it for a good counſel to relent towards this ty-* "*rant, you will repent it, when it may be too late.* His "malice is fixed, and will not evaporate by any of "your mild courſes; for he will aſcribe the altera- "tion to her majeſty's puſillanimity, and not to your "good nature; knowing that you work upon her "humour, and not out of any love towards him. The "leſs you make him, the leſs he ſhall be able to harm "you, and yours. And if her majeſty's favour fail "him, he will again decline to a common perſon. For "after-revenges, fear them not. For your own father "that was eſteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's "ruin, yet his ſon followeth your father's ſon, and "loveth him. Humours of men ſucceed not, but "grow by occaſions, and accidents of time, and "power. Somerſet made no revenge on the duke of "Northumberland's hearers. Northumberland, that "now

(*t*) Geography Delineated, by Nathaniel Carpenter, 4to. Oxon. 1625. Lib. ii. Cap. 11. p. 261.

(*u*) MS. Collection of the earl of Saliſbury. See Murdin's ſtate-papers, p. 811.

"now is, thinks not of Hatton's iſſue Kelloway lives, "that murthered the brother of Horſey, and Horſey let "him go by all his life-time. I could name you a "thouſand of thoſe, and, therefore, after-fears are but "prophecies, or rather conjectures from cauſes re-"mote. Look to the preſent, and you do wiſely. "His ſon ſhall be the youngeſt earl of England, but "one (*x*), and, if his father be now kept down, Will "Cecil ſhall be able to keep as many men at his heels "as he, and more too. He may alſo match in a better "houſe than his, and ſo that fear is not worth the "fearing. But, if the farther continue, he will be able "to break the branches, and pull up the tree, root, "and all. Loſe not your advantage; if you do, I "note your deſtiny.

"Let the queen hold Bothwell while ſhe hath him. "He will ever be the canker of her eſtate, and ſafety. "Princes are loſt by ſecurity, and preſerved by pre-"vention. I have ſeen the laſt of her good days, and "all ours, after his liberty."

Yours, &c. W. R.

Sir W. R. to Sir R. C. 1601.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to aſk how the ſon of Eſſex could, by deſcent, at leaſt, have been the youngeſt earl of England, but one, unleſs his father had died near the period at which this execrable letter was written? From the contents of it, let the reader judge whether Raleigh clearly adviſes Cecil *not to ſpare* the life of his formidable rival. Can there be a difficulty in relying on the aſſertion that he had preſſed the queen

(*x*) As *he* could not have enjoyed the earldom, until after the deceaſe of his father, doth not this paſſage prove that Raleigh recommended to Cecil, the execution of Eſſex?

queen to ſign a warrant for the execution (*y*)? Or need we remain any longer at a loſs to account for the general hatred which broke out againſt Raleigh, and raged with redoubled violence, when he was obſerved placed at a window within the tower, and gazing on the laſt ſufferings of Eſſex? Yet he ſolemnly declared that he *ſhed tears for him when he died.* The charitable confidence with which it is cuſtomary to receive the aſſeverations of individuals who are on the point of launching into eternity, might prevent us, in this inſtance, from ſuppoſing that Sir Walter could advance a falſity; but whilſt the letter, the authenticity of which remains unqueſtionable, can be referred to, it muſt excite our horror, and aſtoniſhment, whenſoever we reflect that, at the ſcaffold, he called on the GOD of truth to witneſs that he had *no hand in the death of Eſſex, nor bore him any ill affection, but always thought that it would have been better for him that the life of this lord had been preſerved* (z). At the place of execution, criminals have uttered words, in the hope that if they were believed, a pardon might enſue. Perhaps, Raleigh had amuſed himſelf with the idea that he could have ſoftened James, by a public proteſtation of his innocence, in regard to the perſecution of the earl of Eſſex, with whom the king had correſponded, and whoſe memory he reſpected. It is a melancholy conſideration that here, where he ſhould have been moſt defenſible, we cannot vindicate the hero who is yet ranked amongſt the great preſervers of his country. His laſt aſſertions are imputed to an anxiety for life, in order to extenuate a conduct which it is more than difficult to juſtify.

One

(*y*) Campbell, V. 2. p. 71.

(z) See the laſt ſpeech of Raleigh, in his life, by Oldys, p. 230.

One of the warmeſt partizans of Sir Walter Raleigh, after having obſerved that he eſtabliſhed his advice, in the preceding letter, on his concern for the ſafety of Elizabeth, adds, that in this reſpect, he had the concurrence of the earl, who declared to the preachers ſent to attend, and to worm out his ſecrets, in priſon, that the queen could never be ſafe whilſt he lived (*a*). We are more inclined to believe authorities from which we learn that theſe were not the ſentiments of Eſſex, but the inventions of his enemies; although (to uſe the words of a diſcerning writer,) it is likely that this proof of penitence, and concern for Elizabeth would produce a contrary effect to what they intended, and would revive all that fond affection which ſhe had ſo long indulged towards the unhappy priſoner (*b*). It is not probable that if Eſſex had conſidered his execution as neceſſary for the preſervation of the queen, he would have declared immediately after the ſentence was pronounced againſt him, that "he ſhould be ſorry if he were "repreſented to Elizabeth, as a perſon who deſpiſed her "clemency," although he ſhould not (he believed) make any cringing ſubmiſſions to obtain it (*c*). But no circumſtance whatſoever hath rendered the report of his having inſiſted on the expediency of his death more groundleſs than that wherein we trace the wife of Nottingham ſecreting from his ſovereign the ring which he had charged her to deliver (*d*). It is beyond a doubt that he ſent this pledge of future mercy in the full confidence that he ſhould receive a pardon.

The

(*a*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 72.

(*b*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 5. p. 430.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 428.—Walpole's royal, and noble authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Eſſex.

(*d*) See the 432d, 433d, and 434th pages of the ſecond volume of this work.

The reader may alſo remember the aſſertion that Eſſex addreſſed to Elizabeth a letter, which Wiſeman, a follower of his fortunes, either wilfully, or through forgetfulneſs, neglected to preſent in time ſufficient for the hindrance of the execution of the judgment (*e*). To one of theſe events, we may ſuppoſe that Sir Walter Raleigh alluded, when he informed doctor Robert Tounſon, the dean of Weſtminſter, who attended him in his laſt moments, that the earl was taken off by a trick. This information was given in private, and, therefore, Tounſon hath not inſerted it in his letter (*f*).

A naval Writer (*g*) hath remarked that "it is not at "all impoſſible that thoſe artful ſtateſmen, (who had "ſo much addreſs as to make the populace, during "that Æra, and, by employing the pen of a learned "hiſtorian, the world, in general, now believe, that "they were ſeconds only in theſe quarrels, and that "Eſſex, and Raleigh, were principals,) hated both "alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other, "by inflaming the earl againſt Sir Walter firſt, (which "induced the former to write, in the prejudice of the "latter to James, the appointed ſucceſſor to Elizabeth, "with whom, by the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon, he "maintained a conſtant correſpondence,) and, afterwards bringing him to the block, (allowing the truth "of theſe informations,) that they might run no hazard (in a new reign,) from the abilities of Raleigh. "It is added that the conjecture hath been rendered "probable from the whole thread of the relation, and "that

(*e*) Conſult Note *b*, at the bottom of the 432d page of the ſecond volume of this work.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 99. Written by Dean Tounſon, to Sir John Iſham, of Lamport, in Northamptonſhire, and ſtill preſerved in the family.

(*g*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 75.

"that it would not be a very difficult taſk to prove "that it was really probable, from inconteſtable au- "thorities. So eaſily, within a court, can malice, "and cunning, obtain advantages over valour, and "abilities." With this paſſage, we quit the ſubject, and leave the reader to his own concluſions.

In the ſummer of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and one, Sir Walter Raleigh attended the queen, during her progreſs; and, on the arrival of the duke de Biron, in the character of an ambaſſador from the court of France, he was directed to treat with him concerning the nature of his negociations. During the laſt parliament, in the reign of Elizabeth, he was an active member, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on all occaſions, by oppoſing ſuch bills as, under colour of deep policy were contrived for the oppreſſion of the meaner ſort of people, amongſt which was the act whereby every man was compelled to till a third part of his own ground; nor was he leſs ready to countenance ſuch laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon the trading part of the community; where it was evident that private intereſts, claſhed with public benefits, and there was a neceſſity of hurting ſome, for the ſake of doing good to the majority of the public. This proves that he had a juſt notion of popularity, and could well diſtinguiſh between deſerving, and deſiring it. In ſupport of this aſſertion, let it be obſerved that he promoted a law for the reſtriction of the exportation of ordnance, which, until that period, had proved highly advantageous to ſuch individuals as were concerned in this particular branch of commerce, but of inexpreſſible detriment to the nation, as being the great ſource of the power which the enemy maintained at ſea, the Spaniſh navy not making uſe of any cannon,

non, except that which was obtained from England (*h*).

It hath been allowed that in the point of monopolies, his conduct was more open to the ſeverity of cenſure; yet, even here, he is obſerved to have given proofs that he made a moderate uſe of the grants which he had obtained from the crown, offering to ſurrender his own freely, on condition that the reſt might all be cancelled (*i*).

It may not, in this part of the memoir, be improper to obſerve that at the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, Sir Walter Raleigh employed William Mace, a native of Weymouth, to proceed on a voyage to Virginia, in ſearch of the adventurers who had been left there towards the cloſe of the preceding century. Having ſailed nearly forty leagues to the ſouth-weſtward of Hataraſk, in the latitude of thirty-four degrees, he loitered there, during a month, inattentive to the purpoſes of his enterprize, and, at length, returned, pretending that the inclemency of the weather, and the loſs of his ground-tackle had deterred him from examining the ſituation of the harbour to which he was directed to repair.

The chief commodities which Mace obtained, at Hataraſk, were China root, Benzoin, ſaſſafras, and caſſia.

At the deceaſe of Elizabeth, Sir Walter Raleigh was not without hopes that he might enjoy the favour of her ſucceſſor, with whom he had endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf, by a variety of ſplendid preſents,



(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 76.

(*i*) Heyward Townſend's Collections, and Sir Simon D'Ewes's Journal of the Parliaments of Elizabeth.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 1. p. 76.

and other teſtimonies of reſpect (*k*). He was, notwithſtanding, well aſſured that Eſſex had endeavoured to fill the mind of James with prejudices againſt him, but theſe he expected to wear out by an aſſiduous ſervice. When the king had arrived in England, he was admitted to his preſence, and as this interview gave riſe to more, Raleigh embraced an opportunity of diſcovering an inclination and a capacity to ſerve him. Yet not long after the acceſſion, he was coolly treated, and felt the mortification of diſcovering that Sir Robert Cecil, who had been his friend, and aſſociate, during the conteſt againſt the earl of Eſſex, foreſeeing that if he became the favourite of James, his own adminiſtration would be diſſolved, drew ſuch a character of him to the prince, as he thought would be moſt likely to diſguſt him; cenſuring, in the ſevereſt terms, the martial diſpoſition of Sir Walter, and inſinuating that it would lead him to form projects which muſt naturally terminate in a rupture between England, and the neighbouring ſtates (*l*). In revenge for this treatment, Raleigh drew up a memorial wherein he plainly proved that the appearance of loyalty which the Cecils had maintained for James, was not the effect of choice, but of compulſion; that, in reality, the intrigues of one of that family had brought Mary, the queen of Scotland, to the block; and that they never thought of promoting his ſucceſſion, until they perceived that it muſt take place, in ſpite of their endeavours to prevent it (*m*). The memorial was far from being

(*k*) Heylin's Examen Hiſtoricum, p. 170.—A brief relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's troubles, p. 1.

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 77.—Baker's Chronicle.—Oſborne's Memorial of the reign of James.

(*m*) Welwood's notes in Kennet's hiſtory of England, V. 2. p. 663, 664.

being followed by thoſe conſequence which Sir Walter had expected, although in not having diſtruſted the ſucceſs of it, he appears a ſtranger to the temper of the king. At this period, James obſerved the power of Cecil, and imagined that he had need of it. Thus, forgetful that it was the reſult of his own favour, he became dependant upon him, as he was, afterwards, upon Buckingham, whom, during a ſeries of years, he truſted, but did not love (*n*). Theſe circumſtances, added to his averſion from all martial enterprizes, induced him to diſcountenance the views of Raleigh; and, perhaps, to proceed to lengths more violent; a ſuppoſition which it is allowable to indulge, if we are ſo juſt to the memory of Cecil, as to believe that he did not become the enemy of Raleigh, without having firſt received a perſonal offence. Be this as it may, Sir Walter, in ſpite of this reſpectful, and aſſiduous attendance within the court, was regarded with indifference. To ſuch a treatment may naturally be aſcribed his determination to maintain a cloſer intercourſe with individuals under the ſame predicament, and who were formerly his friends. This ſtep conducted him, at length, to his ruin (*o*).

Amongſt theſe aſſociates was the lord Cobham, thoughtleſs in his conduct, wavering in his principles, and poſſeſſed of an immenſe eſtate. At this period, Raleigh was ſuſpected to be of that philoſophical ſect, which have ſince increaſed, from a ſmall number to an extenſive multitude, and are, in England, ſtiled Free-



(*n*) See the earl of Briſtol's anſwer to the articles of high treaſon, exhibited againſt him in parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of King James, and King Charles, p. 127, 128, 129.

(*o*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 152, 153.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 78.

Thinkers. The other members of this confederacy were Sir Griffin Markham, Sir Edward Parham, Mr. Copely, and Mr. Broke, the brother to lord Cobham. It is judiciouſly obſerved that what cement could unite men of ſuch diſcordant principles in ſo dangerous a combination, what end they propoſed, or what means proportioned to their undertakings, hath never yet been explained, and cannot eaſily be imagined (*p*). During the reign of Elizabeth, Cobham had conferred with the duke of Aremberg, a Flemiſh nobleman, in the ſervice of the king of Spain, and, at that period, reſiding in England, with the title of ambaſſador from the archduke, but, in fact, as the negociator of a peace, in favour of the Spaniards. With him, Cobham renewed his acquaintance, and recommended that a large ſum of money ſhould be preſented to Sir Walter Raleigh, if, inſtead of oppoſing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward the peace (*q*). In the mean time, ſome popiſh prieſts, and other diſaffected, and deſigning perſons, had framed a plot againſt the king, and his whole family, which was to be executed by ſeizing, if not deſtroying James, and his children; and with ſome of the conſpirators, Cobham alſo had an intercourſe, by means of his brother, Mr. Broke. When this laſt treaſon had been diſcovered, and traced to Aremberg, there aroſe a ſuſpicion of Cobham; and in conſequence of his intimacy with Raleigh, the proceedings of the latter were called in queſtion. All were apprehended, and Cobham, timorous to an extreme, was prevailed on to charge Sir Walter, in his confeſſion, with a variety of crimes. The enemies of Raleigh contrived to blend theſe treaſons together, notwith-

(*p*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 9.
(*q*) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 97.

notwithſtanding that they, or, at leaſt, Cecil, knew them to be diſtinct points; and thus unfavourably he ſtates them, in a letter addreſſed to Winwood, wherein he diſcovers an averſion from Sir Walter Raleigh, and, at the ſame time, his ſenſe of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; yet what appeared deficient in proof, was made up in force, and fraud. The prieſts, Watſon, and Clarke, and Mr. Broke, their aſſociate, were firſt brought to the bar, and, after a long hearing adjudged guilty. On the ſeventeenth of November, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and three, Sir Walter Raleigh was tried at Wincheſter, and, without any colour of evidence, convicted by the influence of the court, of high treaſon (*r*). It is too juſt an obſervation that the virulent, and low abuſe which was thrown out on Raleigh, by the attorney-general, Sir Edward Coke, may be deemed a ſevere reflection, not only on his own memory, but even, in ſome degree, on the manners of that age. We learn, that traitor, monſter, viper, and ſpider of hell, were the terms which he employed againſt one of the moſt illuſtrious men in the kingdom, who was under trial for life, and fortune, and who defended himſelf with temper, eloquence, and reſolution (*s*).

Mr. Campbell hath remarked that it may be proved to a demonſtration, that the charge exhibited againſt Sir Walter Raleigh was groundleſs, if we conſider that all the evidence adduced to ſupport the aſſertion that he engaged in a conſpiracy to ſeize the king and his



(*r*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 79.—— Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 8.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh, folio. p. 157.

(*s*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 10.—— State Trials, 1ſt Edit. p. 176, 177—182.

whole family, was the hearſay teſtimony of Mr. Broke, the purport of which ſeems to have been that his brother Cobham ſhould have obſerved that "it "would never be well until the Fox, and his cubs, "were taken off;" and, afterwards, ſpeaking to this Broke, that "he, lord Grey, and others, were only on "the bye; but Raleigh, and himſelf were on the "main;" intimating that they were only truſted with leſs important matters, but that the capital part of the conviction was concerted between him, and Sir Walter (*t*). Yet when Broke ſuffered, and that, not undeſervedly, he, on his own confeſſion, retracted this circumſtance, affirming that he never heard his brother, the lord Cobham, make uſe of that phraſe, relative to the Fox, and Cubs (*u*); and thus, did he deſtroy the credit of the other ſtory which had been grounded on the expreſſion. In ſupport of this fact, may be produced the undeniable authority of the lord Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, who applauds Broke, for diſcovering this remorſe, during his laſt moments (*x*). So, from the teſtimony of his chief enemy, breaks forth the innocence of Sir Walter Raleigh, who, conſtantly, and judiciouſly, at his trial, diſtinguiſhed between the extraordinary imputation of treaſon, and the conferences with Aremberg. Of the former, he denied the leaſt knowledge; but, with regard to the latter, confeſſed that Cobham had talked to him concerning a large preſent, on the condition that he ſhould promote a peace with Spain. It was on this occaſion, that

(*t*) Sir Thomas Overbury's copy of the arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 12.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 80.

(*u*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 8.

(*x*) Ibid.

that he remonſtrated, in ſevere terms, againſt a ſentence which inflicted death only becauſe he had once heard a vain man ſpeak incoherent language (*y*).

Although the law made no diſtinction between Sir Walter Raleigh, and the reſt of the ſuppoſed conſpirators, yet James was more lenient and did not ſign the warrant for his execution (*z*); but, on the contrary, projected that extraordinary contrivance of bringing the lords Cobham, and Grey, together with Sir Griffin Markham, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to diſcover the truth of the allegations of Cobham, againſt Raleigh, and alſo to try what the fear of death might induce the other to confeſs (*a*). As theſe expedients proved fruitleſs, James relinquiſhed all thoughts of taking away the life of Raleigh; and if the latter laboured, during ſome time, under an uncertainty whether he ſhould obtain this mercy, it muſt be attributed rather to the malice of his powerful adverſaries than to any ill intention of the king, on whoſe clemency, Sir Walter, if we may judge from paſſages in his letters, places great dependence (*b*). The hiſtorian (*c*), to whoſe reſearches we are ſo frequently indebted, obſerves that he did not advance an opinion of this nature with any view of apologizing for the conduct of James, but from a reſpect due to truth, and that it might appear how dangerous it is to live under a prince, who ſuffers himſelf to be abſolutely directed by his miniſters, ſince not only the vices of ſuch a monarch are deſtructive, but even his virtues become uſeleſs.



(*y*) Arraignment of Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 101.—106.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

(*z*) Stowe's Annals, p. 831.

(*a*) Winwood's Memorials, V. 2. p. 11.

(*b*) Raleigh's remains, p. 192.

(*c*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 81.

On this occaſion, it cannot be improper that (without reſting alone on the ſcrupulous report of facts, which cautious hiſtorians, from a ſtrict regard to truth, are inclined to deliver,) we ſhould ſuggeſt to the reader what appears to be the reality of this miſterious buſineſs. During the preceding reign, the lord Cobham had been connived at in maintaining a correſpondence with one Lorenzi, or Laurencie, a Flemiſh merchant, who was now in England, and forwarded the diſpatches of the latter to the Duke of Aremberg. It was the opinion of contemporary writers that Lorenzi (and probably by the direction of Aremberg,) diſcloſed the ſecret to Sir Robert Cecil, as the ſureſt means of ruining Sir Walter, and the moſt effectual method of accelerating the treaty of peace with Spain. When Raleigh was arreſted, he perceived his danger, but had no apprehenſion of his accuſer, and, therefore, in hopes of diſentangling himſelf, he, by letter, directed Sir Robert Cecil, where to find Cobham, and Lorenzi. When this letter was diſcovered to the former, he became incenſed, and from motives of revenge, accuſed Raleigh, who yet appears not to have been connected with any fact, except the correſpondence between Cobham, and the duke of Aremberg. Had there been any veracity in the charge advanced by Cobham, Raleigh, inſtead of giving up that lord, and Lorenzi, would, in reality, have been furniſhing two witneſſes againſt himſelf. The plain truth then appears to be that Aremberg conſidered the plot as an abſurd, and impracticable undertaking; but, at the ſame time, judged that he ſhould greatly forward the intereſts of his court, by procuring Sir Walter Raleigh to be involved in it; a light in which James, and his miniſters, appear afterwards to have conſidered the affair. It will

ſcarcely

ſcarcely be doubted whether this event did not increaſe the hatred which Raleigh had conceived againſt the Spaniards. From them, an inveterate antipathy preſſed with ſuperior violence on this great, and perſecuted individual, until, at length, Gondomar, purſuing the blow which had been given by Aremberg, brought Sir Walter to the block. Well, therefore, may this treaſon be ſtiled now, as during that Æra, Raleigh's Riddle, but, in nothing more ſo, than in the circumſtance that through the intrigues of two Spaniſh miniſters, the moſt inveterate enemy of Spain was brought to an untimely end for having, as it was pretended, entered into a correſpondence with Spain, againſt a prince who had ſeen through the whole contrivance, ſo many years before he gave orders for his execution (*d*).

In the month of December, Sir Walter Raleigh was remanded to the tower, in which place, his wife, who had preſented a Petition for that purpoſe, was allowed to viſit him. This indulgence became ſucceeded by a valuable mark of favour, and the king granted all the goods, and chattels, which had been forfeited in

(*d*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 83.—Winwood's Memorials. p. 8.—Weldon's Court, and Character of James. p. 31.—41.—Aulicus coquinariæ. p. 74.—97.—Heylin's Examen hiſtoricum. p. 169—172.—Oſborne's works, V. 2. p. 107.—Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections. V. 1. p. 9.—State-Trials, V. 1. p. 212.—Mr. Hume remarks that it appears from Sully's Memoirs, that Raleigh ſecretly offered his ſervices to the French ambaſſador; and he adds that we may thence preſume that meeting with a repulſe from that quarter, he had recourſe, for the ſame unwarrantable purpoſes to the Flemiſh miniſters. Such a conjecture, we are now enabled to form; but it muſt be confeſſed that, on his trial, there appeared no proof of this tranſaction, nor indeed any circumſtance which could juſtify his condemnation.

in conſequence of his conviction, to truſtees, whom he was ſuffered to appoint for the benefit of his family. When a ſhort ſpace of time had elapſed from this (*e*), his eſtate alſo was ſurrendered; an act of mercy, on which he put too promiſing a conſtruction, expecting that it might lead to a reſtoration of that felicity from which he had ſo lately fallen. He ſoon felt the diſappointment of his hopes, when a new, and ambitious favourite, eager to enrich himſelf by grants of this kind, diſcovered a flaw in the conveyance of the eſtate of Raleigh to his ſon, which being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was underſtood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to Raleigh. On an information in the court of exchequer, Judgment was given for the crown; and the effect of that Judgment turned to the benefit of the favourite, who in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nine, obtained a compleat grant of all which had been forfeited by Sir Walter (*f*). To this inſatiable plunderer (*g*), he addreſſed the following letter (*h*), the ſtile, and ſentiments in which may juſtly claim the notice of the reader.

"After

(*e*) Rymer's Foedera. V. 16. p. 596.

(*f*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 83.— Brief Relation of the Troubles of Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*g*) Sir Robert Carr, afterwards the earl of Somerſet.

(*h*) It hath been copied, by the learned Mr. Oldys, from the moſt correct manuſcripts. On this occaſion it may be neceſſary to remark that archbiſhop Tenniſon having mentioned in his Baconiana * the corrupt copies from which ſeveral of the letters in the Cabala were printed, adds a particular circumſtance relative to the letter addreſſed by Sir Walter Raleigh, to Sir Robert Carr. He had compared the original with the copy, and found forty material alterations in the latter. Mr. Oldys had acceſs to two manuſcript copies, of which one was in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and the other in the library of Mr. James Weſt.

* Octavo. 1679. p. 77.

"After ſome great loſſes, and many years ſor-
"rows, of both which I have cauſe to fear I was miſ-
"taken in the end, it is come to my knowledge that
"yourſelf, whom I know not by any honourable
"fame, has been perſuaded to give me, and mine our
"laſt fatal blow, by obtaining from his majeſty, the
"inheritance of my children, and nephew, loſt in
"the law, for want of a word. This done, there
"remains nothing with me but the name of life,
"deſpoiled of all elſe but the title, and ſorrow thereof.
"His majeſty, (whom I never offended, for I ever
"held it unnatural, and unmanly to hate goodneſs,)
"ſtayed me at the grave's brink not, as I hope, that
"he thought me worthy of many deaths, and to be-
"hold all mine caſt out of the world with myſelf, but
"as a king, who judging the poor in truth, hath
"received a promiſe from God, that his Throne ſhall be
"eſtabliſhed for ever. And, for yourſelf, Sir, ſeeing
"your fair day is but now in the dawn, and mine in
"the Evening, your own virtues, and the king's grace
"aſſuring you of many favours, and much honour,
"I beſeech you not to begin your firſt building upon
"the ruins of the innocent; and that their ſorrows,
"with mine, may not attend on your firſt plantation.
"I have been ever bound to your nation, as well for
"many other graces, as for their true report of my
"trial to his majeſty, againſt whom had I been found
"malignant, the hearing of my cauſe would not have
"changed enemies, into friends, malice into com-
"paſſion, and the minds of the greateſt number pre-
"ſent into the commiſeration of my ſtate. It is not
"the nature of foul treaſon to beget ſuch fair paſ-
"ſions; neither could it agree with the duty, and love
"of faithful ſubjects, eſpecially of your nation, to
"bewail his overthrow, who had conſpired againſt

"their

"their moſt liberal, and natural love. I, therefore, "truſt, Sir, that you will not be the firſt that will "kill us outright, cut down the tree, with the fruit, "and undergo their curſe who enter the field of the "fatherleſs, which, if it pleaſe you to know the "truth, is far leſs fruitful in value, than in fame; "but that ſo worthy a gentleman as yourſelf will ra-"ther bind us to your ſervice, being, Sir, gentle-"men not baſe in birth, or alliance, who have in-"tereſt therein; and myſelf, with utmoſt thankful-"neſs, will ever remain ready to obey your com-"mandments (*i*)."

This application proved more than fruitleſs; and, in the following year, the king granted to Sir Robert Carr, excluſive of Sherborne, and its dependent eſtates, the manors of Pimford, Primeſly, and Barton, in Devonſhire, which Raleigh himſelf had purchaſed, but which, with his other demeſnes were forfeited in conſequence of his attainder (*k*).

Sir Walter Raleigh, with a degree of fortitude, and philoſophy, that reflects a luſtre on his name, enlivened the gloom of his impriſonment, by the exertions of his learning. It was in the Tower that he digeſted a great part of the materials for his Hiſtory of the World, concerning which, a moſt diſcerning judge (*l*) obſerves, that if the reader can have patience to wade through the Jewiſh, and Rabbinical learning, which compoſe the half of the volume, he will find, when

(*i*) This letter in two old copies is dated December 1608.

(*k*) Caſe of Carew Raleigh, Eſquire, at the committee for the ſale of the eſtates of delinquents. MS. from the collection of the reverend Thomas Baker, of Saint John's College, Cambridge.——Oldys's Life of Raleigh. Folio. p. 165.

(*l*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. Appendix. p. 195.

when he comes to the Greek, and Roman ſtory, that his pains are not unrewarded. Raleigh is deemed the beſt model of that ancient ſtyle which ſome writers have lately affected to revive.

It was not alone to this laborious work, that Sir Walter limited his great abilities. His mind perpetually active, amidſt the durance of the body, became engaged in a variety of ſtudies, the illuſtrious patron of which was prince Henry (*m*), who hath been juſtly deemed the glory of the houſe of Stuart, the darling of the Britiſh nation, whilſt he lived, and the object of its ſincere, and univerſal grief, at the æra of his untimely death (*n*). One of the laſt pieces written by Raleigh, within the Tower, is his Diſcourſe of the Invention of Shipping, wherein he mentions of the uſe, defects, and improvements of the naval arts; the ſtrength, and deficiency of the ſea-forces of England, France, Spain and Venice, together with the five cauſes of the riſe of the Hollanders; the neceſſary encouragement of a mutual friendſhip between them, and England; and the progreſs of the Newcaſtle trade. In his Obſervations, and Notes concerning the royal Navy, and the Sea-ſervice, he treats, under diſtinct heads, of the officers of the navy; of ſome errors to be reformed in ſhip-building; of miſtakes with regard to harbouring, and manning the fleet; of ſurcharging ſhips with great ordnance; of the defects in ſheathing, and calking; of the abuſes in victualling; of the inconveniency of the cook-rooms; of muſtering, and impreſſing mariners; of arms, and ammunition; and

(*m*) It was this gallant youth who, more liberal, and diſcerning than his father, remarked that no other king but James would keep ſuch a bird as Sir Walter Raleigh, in a cage.

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2 p. 85.

and laſtly, of captains to ſerve on board the royal navy. Concerning the art of war, by ſea, Sir Walter Raleigh diſcourſes in the following words. "I have written a treatiſe to the lord Henry, prince "of Wales. A ſubject, to my knowledge, never "handled by any man, ancient, or modern; but "GOD hath ſpared me the labour of finiſhing it, "by the loſs of that brave prince, of which, like an "eclipſe of the ſun, we ſhall feel the effects here-"after. Impoſſible it is to equal words, and ſor-"rows; I will, therefore, leave him in the hands of "GOD that hath him; Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes "ſtupent." A learned writer (*o*) obſerves that this work may lead us up to ſuch of his diſcourſes as repreſent this art, in execution, and particularly thoſe two gallant naval actions wherein Sir Richard Greenville loſt his life, and himſelf won a moſt ſignal victory, of which his own pen hath preſerved the faithful memorials in his Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Iſles of Azores, and his epiſtolary account of the action at Cadiz (*p*). It is added that his care did not terminate in the beſt advice for the regulations, and maintenance of the ſhipping, or in recording ſome of the moſt notable atchievements performed therewith, but extended to the choice, and reparation of the moſt convenient harbours, for their reception; and that, not only by his ſpeeches in parliament, but alſo by a memorial which he preſented to Elizabeth, touching the port of Dover, in particular, and declaring how honourable, and profitable to her majeſty, and how neceſſary, and commodious to the realm, the rebuild-
ing

(*o*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Folio. p. 176.
(*p*) Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the World, in Raleigh's Remains.

ing of it would be; with the leaſt expenſive, and moſt perfect manner of performing the ſame (*q*).

Having mentioned the maritime diſcourſes of Sir Walter Raleigh, it may remain neceſſary, in a work, which is profeſſedly connected with the ſubject, to introduce a paſſage from his remarks concerning the invention of ſhipping; and the rather as it muſt afford the reader a clear idea of the progreſs of the naval arts, during that æra (*r*).

"Whoſoever was the inventor, we find that every age hath added ſomewhat to ſhips, and to all things elſe. And, in my own time, the ſhape of our Engliſh ſhips hath been greatly bettered. It is not long ſince the ſtriking of the top-maſt, (a wonderful eaſe to great ſhips, both at ſea, and in the harbour,) hath been deviſed, together with the chain-pump, which takes up twice as much water as the ordinary pump did. We have lately added the bonnet (*s*), and the drabler (*t*). To the courſes, we have deviſed ſtudding ſails, top-gallant-ſails, ſprit-ſails, and top-ſails. The weighing of anchors by the capſton is alſo new. We have fallen into the conſideration of cables, and thereby reſiſt the malice of the greateſt wind that can blow; witneſs our ſmall Milbrook-men of Cornwall, that ride it out at anchor, half-ſeas over, between England, and Ireland, all the winter-quarter;

(*q*) Eſſay on ways and means, to maintain the honour, and ſafety of England, 1701.

(*r*) The quotation is made from the genuine Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh, 8vo. 1700.

(*s*) An additional part laced to the bottom of the main-ſail, and fore-ſail of ſome ſmall veſſels, in moderate winds. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(*t*) An additional part of a ſail ſometimes laced to the bottom of the bonnet of a ſquare ſail, in ſloops, and ſchooners. See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

ter; and witneſs the Hollanders, who were wont to ride before Dunkirk, with the wind at north-weſt, making a lee-ſhore in all weathers. For, true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ſhip, in all extremities; and the reaſon is becauſe it makes ſo many bendings, and waves, as the ſhip riding at that length is not able to ſtretch it; and nothing breaks that is not ſtretched. In extremity, we carry our ordnance better than we were wont, becauſe our nether overloops (*u*), are raiſed commonly from the water, between the lower part of the port, and the ſea. In the time of king Henry the Eighth, and, in his preſence at Portſmouth, the Mary-Roſe by a little ſway of the ſhip, in caſting about, her ports being within ſix inches of the water, was over-ſet, and loſt, and in her, that worthy knight, Sir George Carew, couſin-german to the lord Carew, now living; and, with him, beſides many other gentlemen, the father of the late renowned Sir Richard Grenville. We have alſo raiſed our ſecond decks, and given more vent thereby to their ordnance lying on our nether overloops. We have added croſs-pillars to our royal ſhips, to ſtrengthen them, which being faſtened from the kelſon (*x*) to the beams of the ſecond deck, keep them from ſettling, or giving way in all diſtreſſes. We have given longer floors to our ſhips, than in elder times,

(*u*) Orlop-deck, or a platform of planks laid over the beams, in the hold of a ſhip of war, whereon the cables are uſually coiled, and the ſeveral officers ſtore-rooms contained.—See Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

(*x*) A piece of timber, which may properly be defined the interior, or counter-part of the keel, (which is the principal piece) as it is laid upon the middle of the floor-timbers immediately over the keel, and, like it, compoſed of ſeveral pieces ſcarfed together. For a more explicit deſcription, the reader is referred to Falconer's Dictionary of the Marine.

times, and better bearing under water, whereby they never fall into the ſea, after the head, and ſhake the whole body, nor ſink ſtern, nor ſtoop upon a wind, by which the breaking looſe of our ordnance, or diſuſe of them, with many other diſcommodities are avoided. And to ſay the truth, a miſerable ſhame, and diſhonour it were for our ſhip-wrights, if they did not exceed all others in ſetting up of our royal ſhips; the errors of other nations being more excuſable than ours; for the kings of England have, for many years, been at the charge, to build, and furniſh a navy of powerful ſhips for their own defence, and for the wars only; whereas the French, Spaniards, Portugueſe, and Hollanders, until of late, have had no proper fleet, belonging to their princes, or ſtates (*y*)."

We ſhall conclude this ſubject by obſerving, in juſtice to the memory of Raleigh, that the mode of ſhip-building, towards the cloſe of the ſixteenth, and the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, was regulated according to his inventions, and directions (*z*). The learned writer of his life (*a*) is of opinion that to the ſame purpoſe of effectually employing his ſuperior knowledge in naval architecture, for the ſafeguard, and ſtrength of the nation, we may preſume that Elizabeth conferred on him the grants for felling of Timber, one of which is ſtill extant (*b*), and intitled "a warrant to Sir Walter Raleigh for two "hundred oaks to be taken from the woods of Sir Fran-"cis Englesfield."



(*y*) Diſcourſe of ſhipping, p. 16.

(*z*) Appendix to the Hiſtory of the Invention of Arts and Sciences, 12mo. 1686.

(*a*) Mr. Oldys.

(*b*) In the Aſhmolean Muſeum, at Oxford.

After the deceaſe of Henry, prince of Wales, the queen became the patroneſs of Raleigh, and ſteadily defended him againſt the malignant perſecutions of the earl of Somerſet. When this abandoned favourite was committed to the tower, his eſtates became forfeited to the crown; and it was on this occaſion that Sir Walter, ſecure from the attacks of a once formidable adverſary, obtained permiſſion, after a confinement of thirteen years, within the tower, to reaſſume his liberty. The misfortunes of his life had not inclined him to a love of indolence, and retirement, for which, although the greater part of his poſſeſſions had been mercileſsly divided amongſt his enemies, he yet wanted not a reaſonable proviſion (*c*). It was his wiſh to paſs the latter Æra of his life, as he had employed the firſt, in the purſuits of honour, and in the ſervice of his country. Such were the ſentiments of this enterprizing, and accompliſhed hero; if we can rely on his own aſſertions in the letter addreſſed to ſecretary Winwood, who, with equal ſpirit, diſcernment and generoſity, became his advocate at court, and was the chief inſtrument of that mercy which (howſover meanly limited by the miſguided James,) reſtored Raleigh to his freedom, and to the power of ſubſiſtence. He feelingly obſerves "To "die for the king, and not by the king, is all the "ambition which I have in the word (*d*)."

As in our account of the attempt made by Raleigh to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Guiana, we may be led to diſſent

(*c*) Prince Henry had attempted, but in vain, to prevail on James to reſtore his eſtate; at length, he received as a compenſation for the loſs of it, the ſum of eight thouſand pounds.—See Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology. p. 47.

(*d*) Raleigh's Remains, p. 164.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85.

diſſent from the opinion of a reſpectable hiſtorian (*e*), whoſe labours are the ground-work of our own, it were a criminal deviation from the laws of candour, ſhould we endeavour to ſuppreſs thoſe remarks that he hath made on a ſubject, which, although not involved in obſcurity, is generally miſunderſtood. He deems the meaſure a laudable emblem of the enterprizing genius of Sir Walter, who proſecuted, with unabated conſtancy, that which he had contrived in the true ſpirit of an extraordinary diſcernment. He adds that we muſt "have ſeen how many voyages to Guiana "Raleigh encouraged, during the reign of Elizabeth, "when conſidering the many great employments "which he enjoyed, it might have been thought that "his mind would have been otherwiſe occupied; "and, indeed, ſo it muſt have been, if he had not "been thoroughly perſuaded, and that upon the beſt "evidence in the world, his own eye-ſight, and "judgment, that this was the richeſt country within "the Globe, and the worthieſt of being ſettled, for the "benefit of Britain. This perſuaſion was ſo ſtrong "upon him, that, during his confinement, he held a "conſtant intercourſe with the people of Guiana, "ſending at his own charge, either every year, or "every ſecond year, a ſhip, to keep the Indians in "hopes of his performing the promiſe which he had "made them of coming to their aſſiſtance, and of de-"livering them from the Tyranny, and cruelty of the "Spaniards, who now encroached upon them again. "In theſe ſhips were brought over ſeveral natives of "that country, with whom Sir Walter converſed in "the tower, and from whom, queſtionleſs, he re-"ceived the cleareſt, and moſt diſtinct intelligence of



(*e*) Mr. Campbell.

" the ſituation, and richneſs of the mines, that he " could poſſibly deſire (*f*). Upon theſe informa- " tions, he offered to the court, the ſcheme for pro- " ſecuting his diſcovery, three years before he under- " took it in perſon; nor was there then any doubt, " either to the probability of the meaſure, or as to " its lawfulneſs notwithſtanding the peace that " was made with Spain; otherwiſe the king would not " have made ſuch grants as he did, even at that time; " which ſhews that he was then convinced that Sir Wal- " ter had, in his firſt voyage, diſcovered, and taken " poſſeſſion of that country, for the crown of Eng- " land; and that, conſequently, his ſubjects were " juſtly intitled to any benefits that might accrue from " this diſcovery, without the leaſt reſpect had to the " pretenſions of the Spaniards (*g*). It may alſo deſerve " our notice that when Sir Walter firſt moved the " court, upon this ſubject, the Spaniſh match was " not thought of, but the wants of James were then " extremely preſſing, and he may reaſonably be pre- " ſumed to have, at this time, placed as great hopes " in the diſcovery, as he did in that match; al- " though when, afterwards, he began to idolize this " project, he grew ſomewhat out of conceit with that " of Sir Walter Raleigh; ſo that if the latter had pleaſ- " ed he might, for ſeven hundred pounds, have obtained " an ample pardon, and leave to relinquiſh his voyage; " but he remaining firm to his purpoſe, the king, " who felt his neceſſities daily increaſe, was yet wil- " ling that he ſhould proceed in his enterprize, in " hopes of his profiting thereby, without loſing the " proſpect which he then had of concluding the Spaniſh " match. Such was the ſituation of Sir Walter, and, " ſuch

(*f*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 52.—55.
(*g*) See Harcourt's voyage to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

"such the diſpoſition of the court, when he obtained "leave to execute his deſign, and was impowered "(but at the expence of himſelf, and his friends,) to "eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Guiana (*b*)."

As the tenor of the commiſſion granted, by James, to Raleigh, will on this occaſion, become the ſubject of inquiry, it may be neceſſary to preſent the moſt material abſtract of it to the reader.

"James, by the Grace of GOD, &c. To all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, &c. Whereas Sir Walter Raleigh, knight, intendeth to undertake a voyage, by ſea, and ſhipping, to the ſouth parts of America, or, elſewhere, within America, poſſeſſed, and inhabited by heathen and ſavage people; to diſcover ſome commodities, and merchandize, profitable for the ſubjects of our kingdoms, whereof the inhabitants make little, or no uſe; whence may enſue, by commerce, ſome propagation of the Chriſtian faith, and reformed religion, amongſt thoſe idolatrous people; and whereas there are divers merchants, &c. well diſpoſed to aſſiſt Sir Walter Raleigh, had they aſſurance to enjoy their due ſhare of the profits returned, Sir Walter Raleigh being under the peril of the law; and whereas divers other gentlemen, his kinſmen, and friends, with ſeveral captains, and commanders, are alſo deſirous to follow, and venture their lives with him, if they might be commanded by none but himſelf; we, upon deliberate conſideration, deſiring the benefit of our ſubjects, and alſo to give our princely furtherance to the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, and his friends, as well as to encourage others in the like laudable enterprizes, advance the converſion of ſavages, and increaſe traffic, by our



(*b*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 85, 86, 87.—Camden's Annals of King James, A. D. 1615—1617.

ſubjects of this kingdom, have, of our eſpecial grace, &c. granted to Sir Walter Raleigh, full power to carry, for the ſaid voyage, ſo many of our ſubjects, or others, who will become our ſubjects, as ſhall, willingly, accompany him; with ſufficient ſhipping, armour, weapons, ordnance, munition, powder, ſhot, &c. and all other things as he ſhall think neceſſary for the uſe, and defence of him, and his company; beſides liberty to exchange, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of his goods, or merchandize; alſo to return into this, or other of our dominions, with ſuch gold, ſilver, bullion, or any other wares, and they to be converted to the proper uſe of the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company; paying to us, our heirs, &c. the full fifth part of all ſuch gold, and ſilver, bullion, and ore of gold, and ſilver, pearl, and precious ſtones, as ſhall be ſo imported: with all ſuch cuſtoms, &c. as ſhall be due for any other goods whatſoever. Furthermore, to encourage Sir Walter Raleigh, and the adventurers, we promiſe, in verbo Regio, that no gold, ſilver, or other wares, by them imported from thoſe parts, ſo poſſeſſed, and inhabited, ſhall be ſeized by us, our heirs, or any of our officers, but that it ſhall remain (the fifth part of the ſaid gold, ſilver, bullion, &c. as before, with all other cuſtoms, and duties being truly paid,) to the ſole uſe of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his company. Further, of our moſt ſpecial grace, &c. we conſtitute the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh to be the ſole governour, and commander of all perſons who ſhall travel, or be with him, in the ſaid voyage, or in their return. And we give him full power to correct, puniſh, pardon, and rule them, according to ſuch orders, and inſtructions as the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh ſhall eſtabliſh, as well in caſes capital, and criminal, as civil, both marine, and other; ſo that the ſaid proceedings,

ings, as near as conveniently may be, are agreeable to the laws of this realm, and to the Chriſtian faith, as now profeſſed in the church of England. And becauſe in ſuch enterprizes, great inconveniencies have grown, by mutinies, and diſorders, for want of ſufficient authority, we give full power to Sir Walter Raleigh, in caſe of rebellion, or mutiny, by ſea, or land, to exerciſe martial law, upon juſt, and apparent neceſſity, in as ample a manner, as our lieutenant-general, by ſea, or land, or our lieutenants in the counties of England. And we give to Sir Walter Raleigh full power to appoint ſuch captains, and other commanders, and miniſters under him, as ſhall be requiſite for the better ordering, and governing his company. We further command the wardens of the Cinque-Ports, cuſtomers, and other officers, quietly to permit Sir Walter Raleigh, and all who ſhall adventure with him, to paſs to the ſaid ſouth, or other parts of America, poſſeſſed, and inhabited as aforeſaid; and to return with any goods whatſoever, and to ſell, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of the ſame to the only uſe of him, and his company; paying the fifth part of all gold, ſilver, bullion, &c. as before imported, and other cuſtoms, and duties aforeſaid. And theſe preſents ſhall be to the ſaid wardens, &c. ſufficient warrant. And we grant to the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, that theſe our letters-patent, or the inrollment thereof, with all the grants, clauſes, &c. therein, ſhall be ſufficient, and effectual in law, any law, ſtatute, &c. notwithſtanding. Witneſs ourſelves, the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland; and of Scotland, the fiftieth. "Per breve de privato Sigillo (*i*)."



(*i*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 16. Folio. p. 789.——King James's declaration of the demeanour, and carriage of Sir Walter

A naval writer (*k*), after having remarked that, probably, the commiſſion paſſed the two ſeals; and that ſuch a conjecture appears warranted from expreſſions in a letter (*l*), dictated by Sir Walter Raleigh, adds that the commiſſion was, notwithſtanding legal; and that although the formal declarations of grace, and truſt (*m*) are omitted, yet the powers granted to this illuſtrious adventurer are in themſelves of great extent, and as ſtrongly drawn as language can expreſs; ſo that Sir Walter Raleigh had all imaginable reaſon to conceive that this patent implied a pardon. Mr. Campbell obſerves that, by one clauſe, he is conſtituted general, and commander in chief, during the enterprize; and that, in another clauſe, he is appointed, with the moſt ample authority, governour of the new country, wherein it was his determination to introduce a ſettlement. He ſubjoins that by a third clauſe, Raleigh enjoyed a power which, in the preſent age, is ſeldom delegated to our admirals; the power of exerciſing martial law, in ſuch a manner as the king's lieutenant-general, by ſea, or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of England poſſeſſed the privileges of uſing it. He then aſks whether it be poſſible to conceive that, on the appearance of this commiſſion, Sir Walter Raleigh was regarded as a condemned man, or that the lords of the privy-council, or

Walter Raleigh, knight; as well in his voyage, as ſithence his return, &c. Quarto. 1618. p. 9—24.

(*k*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 88.

(*l*) "His majeſty doth aſſure all Sir Walter's partners, by the Great Seal of England, that they ſhall truly, and quietly enjoy, &c. &c. out of which Great Seal of England, the diſcoverer ſhall have, &c. &c.—Letter dictated by Raleigh, and addreſſed from Peter Vanlore, to Sir Adrian Thibaut, MS. Lately in the poſſeſſion of Brown Willis, Eſquire, of Whaddon Hall, Bucks.

(*m*) In the uſual words, our truſty, and well-beloved.

or the lord privy-ſeal, could think it equitable for the king to grant ſuch full power over the lives of others, to one who held but a precarious title to his own life? It is for theſe reaſons that the hiſtorian ſuppoſes that when Sir Walter Raleigh conſulted Sir Francis Bacon, whether it would not be adviſeable to purchaſe, with a large ſum of money, his pardon, in the common form, the latter anſwered, like an honeſt man, and a ſound lawyer: "Sir! the knee-timber of your voy-"age is money. Spare your purſe, in this particu-"lar; for upon my life, you have a ſufficient pardon "for all that is paſſed already; the king, having, un-"der his broad-ſeal, made you admiral of your "fleet, and given you power of the martial law, "over your officers, and ſoldiers (*n*)." The character of Bacon, ſtill reeking with ingratitude, ſhould have inclined Raleigh to ſuſpect the ſincerity of this reply. It was natural to ſuppoſe that the voluntary traitor to the earl of Eſſex might be leſs ſcrupulous in deceiving one who had not, like that unhappy lord, advanced his fortunes, and tried to bind him to his ſervice with the links of uncorrupted friendſhip (*o*). We allow that it is a maxim of the civil law that he that hath power over the lives of others, ſhould be the maſter of his own life. Yet, in the caſe of Raleigh, and, by an expreſſion in the commiſſion, this principle is oppoſed; and that devoted victim ſtands recorded as

(*n*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 89.—— Howel's Letters. V. 2. p. 371.

(*o*) Bacon, although not bound by his office to plead, at the trial of Eſſex, his warmeſt admirer, and his moſt liberal protector, ſeduced by the mean, and, perhaps, falſely-grounded hope of becoming acceptable to Elizabeth, exerted all his eloquence for the infernal purpoſe of bereaving that raſh, and miſguided nobleman of his life.

as "being under peril of the law." The profeſſional abilities of Bacon are unexceptionacle; and we ſhould eſtimate them at too vile a rate, by an inference that he did not conſider this paſſage, as declaratory of the predicament in which Raleigh was ſo clearly placed; a man condemned, and unpardoned. With due deference to the judgment of the hiſtorian (*p*), we muſt remark that he commends an honeſty which doth not appear to have exiſted (*q*).

When this ſubject ſhall have been ſubmitted at large, and in its different points of view, to the attention of the reader, he will be enabled the more clearly to form a judgment. On us, the ſentiments of a late elegant, and diſcerning writer (*r*) make a ſtrong impreſſion; and we muſt concur with his opinion that Raleigh, whoſe ſufferings, during a ſevere impriſonment, had reconciled him to the people, judged it politic, in order to increaſe theſe favourable diſpoſitions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, to circulate a report that he had found, within the empire of Guiana, a golden mine, which, according to his repreſentation, was ſufficient not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to introduce immenſe treaſures within the kingdom. It hath been aſſerted

(*p*) Mr. Campbell.

(*q*) It may reaſonably be aſked whether the ſentence in the commiſſion "whereas divers other gentlemen, his "kinſmen, and friends, with ſeveral captains, and com-"manders are alſo deſirous to follow, and venture their "lives with him, if they might be commanded by none, but "himſelf," doth not imply that the full power was given to Sir Walter Raleigh, chiefly on their account; and render it ſomewhat probable that if they had not made this condition, he would not have been appointed the chief leader in the enterprize?

(*r*) Mr. Hume.—Hiſtory of England, V. 6. p. 93.

aſſerted (*s*) that James gave little credit to theſe mighty promiſes; both becauſe he believed that no ſuch mine as the one deſcribed was any where in nature, and becauſe he conſidered Raleigh a man of deſperate fortunes, whoſe buſineſs it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinſtate himſelf in credit, and authority. The freedom which he obtained was grounded on the too dilatory, but humane idea that his puniſhment had been rigourous to an extreme; and the permiſſion that he ſhould engage in this romantic enterprize, appears leſs the conſequence of an inclination to oblige Raleigh, than of a compliance with the wiſhes of a multitude of adventurers, who expreſſed an eagerneſs to depart immediately for Guiana, provided that they might be allowed to ſerve under him as their ſole commander (*t*). It muſt be obſerved that, in ſpite of the moſt preſſing ſolicitations, the king perſiſted in his refuſal to grant that pardon which appeared neceſſary for the man, who, by explicit terms in his commiſſion, was intruſted with the full power of paſſing ſentence of death, in all capital caſes whatſoever, on thoſe of his aſſociates who, after a fair trial, might be diſcovered to have tranſgreſſed the law. But the king affirmed that he could not yet confide in Raleigh, and, therefore, leſt he ſhould wander from the declared rectitude of his intentions, was determined to maintain in force, and hold out, as a ſalutary terror, the judgment which had been given againſt him (*u*).

Raleigh, convinced that James was exceedingly averſe from the commiſſion of hoſtilities, by his ſubjects, againſt

(*s*) Idem.—Ibid.

(*t*) See the preceding note *q*; and alſo Hume's hiſtory of England, V. 6. p. 94.

(*u*) Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. p. 94.

againſt the Spaniards, in any quarter of the globe, aſſured that monarch, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that they had not eſtabliſhed a ſettlement near the part of the coaſt which was contiguous to the mine. When Gondomar, ſurprized at the appearance of a formidable armament, expreſſed his apprehenſions that ſome blow was meditated againſt the territories of the king of Spain, his maſter, Sir Walter ſtill declared that attacks of this nature were, of all others, the moſt diſtant from his intentions; and James threatened to take the forfeiture of his life, if he ſhould dare, by any act of violence, to interrupt the peace which then ſubſiſted between the courts of London, and of Madrid. The ambaſſador, who yet ſuſpected that the operations of the fleet, and troops, were to be turned againſt ſome diſtant colony, belonging to his ſovereign, ſent advice to Philip, of his impending danger; and, in conſequence of this alarm, all the Spaniſh ſettlements, but more eſpecially thoſe ſituated along the coaſt of Guiana, were powerfully fortified, and directed to prepare for action.

The entertaining, and inſtructive writer (*x*), of whoſe reſearches we have availed ourſelves, in the preceding paſſage, hath pertinently remarked that when the courage, and avarice of the Spaniards, and Portugueſe had diſcovered ſo many new worlds, they were reſolved to ſhew themſelves ſuperior to the barbarous Heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts, and arms, but alſo in the juſtice of the quarrel. They applied to Alexander, the ſixth, who then filled the papal chair; and he generouſly beſtowed on the Spaniards, the whole weſtern, and, on the Portugueſe, the whole eaſtern part of the globe. He adds (with equal ſhrewdneſs,) that the more ſcrupulous proteſtants who acknowledged

(*x*) Mr. Hume.

knowledged not the authority of the Roman pontiff, eſtabliſhed the firſt diſcovery as the foundation of their title; and, if a pirate, or ſea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a ſtick, or ſtone, on the coaſt, as a memorial of his taking poſſeſſion, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought themſelves intitled to expel, or exterminate, as uſurpers, the ancient poſſeſſors, or inhabitants. He concludes that it was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired for the crown of England, a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and although he had immediately left the coaſt, yet he pretended that the Engliſh title to the whole remained certain, and indefeazable. But it happened, in the mean time, that the Spaniards, either not knowing, or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken poſſeſſion of a part of Guiana, had formed a ſettlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town, called Saint Thomas, and were there working ſome mines of ſmall value.

The fleet, equipped, for the expedition to the mine, at the joint expence of Raleigh (*y*), and his friends, conſiſted of the Deſtiny, which was built under his own direction. This ſhip mounted thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, and was of the burthen of four hundred, and forty tons. On board, were Sir Walter Raleigh, with the rank of general, and, under him, as captain, his ſon, excluſive of two hundred perſons (*z*), whereof eighty were gentlemen volunteers, and adventurers, the

(*y*) In ſupport of this enterprize, he had embarked his whole fortune; to which were added the profits ariſing from the ſale of an eſtate, (at Mitcham,) until then, belonging to lady Raleigh, who reſigned it to her huſband.

(*z*) This number was afterwards increaſed,

the majority of whom ſtood in the ſame table of kindred, with Sir Walter. To the Deſtiny was added, firſt, the Jaſon, equipped in the port of London, commanded by John Pennington, with the rank of vice-admiral, having on board eighty men, and one gentleman. This veſſel carried twenty-five pieces of ordnance, and was of the burthen of two hundred, and forty tons; ſecondly, the Encounter, (commanded by Edward Haſtings,) mounting ſeventeen guns, and being of the burthen of one hundred, and ſixty tons. It muſt be in this place, obſerved that the captain died, on his arrival at the Indies, and was ſucceeded by an officer, whoſe name was Whitney. Thirdly, the Thunder, of the burthen of one hundred, and fifty tons, and commanded by Sir Warham Saintleger, with whom were ſix gentlemen, ſixty ſoldiers, and ten landmen; fourthly, the Flying-Joan, of the burthen of one hundred, and twenty tons, carrying fourteen pieces of ordnance, and having on board twenty-five men, over whom the captain was John Chidley; fifthly, the Southampton, of the burthen of eighty tons, having ſix pieces of cannon, and being commanded by John Bailey, whoſe crew amounted to thirty-five mariners, excluſive of two gentlemen; ſixthly, the Page, a pinnace, of the burthen of twenty-five tons, having on board eight ſailors, who were commanded by captain James Barker. Previous to his departure from the coaſt of England, Sir Walter Raleigh was joined by other ſhips, in conſequence of which reinforcement, his whole fleet amounted to fourteen ſail. Amongſt theſe, were the Convertine, commanded by captain Keymis; the Confidence, under the charge of captain Woolaſton; the Flying-Hart, a ſhallop, commanded by Sir John Ferne; two fly-boats, under the captains, Samuel

muel King, and Robert Smith; and two caravels, one of which was named the Chudley (*a*).

With a part of this fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh ſailed from the Thames, on the twenty-eighth of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and ſeventeen; but was afterwards detained, by various accidents, at Plymouth, until the month of July, when he renewed his courſe, and was next compelled, by the ſeverity of the weather, to take refuge within the port of Corke. In the morning of the nineteenth of Auguſt, he proceeded on his voyage, and, touching at the Canaries (*b*), obtained a ſupply of neceſſary proviſions. From hence he ſailed towards Guiana, and arrived there at the commencement of November. He was received with every mark of ſatisfaction by the Indians, who not only rendered him all the ſervice which could have been expected from them, but endeavouring to perſuade him to end his labours, (by fixing his reſidence within the country), and to aſſume the reins of government; a meaſure which he had the prudence to decline. Prevented by extreme ſickneſs from undertaking the diſcovery of the mine, in perſon, he was reduced to the neceſſity of intruſting that ſervice to captain Keymis. For this purpoſe, he, on the fourth of December, directed that five ſmall ſhips ſhould ſail into the river Oronooko, having on board two hundred, and fifty men, divided into equal companies, of which the firſt was commanded by captain Parker, the ſecond, by captain North, the third, by Mr. Raleigh, the fourth by captain Prideaux, and the fifth by captain Chidley (*c*).

Key-

(*a*) Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, folio.—Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, 8vo. 1650. p. 22, 26, 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 90.

(*b*) September 6th.

(*c*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 26.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 91.

Keymis, who was appointed to conduct them, intended to have advanced towards the mine, with a guard, conſiſting only of ſeven perſons; but Sir Walter diſſuaded him from his purpoſe, in a letter, of which the following is a copy.

"Keymis! Whereas you were reſolved, after your "arrival into the Oronoque, to paſs to the mine, with "my couſin Herbert, and ſix muſketeers, and, to "that end, have deſired to have Sir John Ferne's ſhal-"lop, I do not allow of that courſe; becauſe that you "cannot land ſo ſecretly, but that ſome Indians, on "the river-ſide, may diſcover you, who, giving "knowledge thereof to the Spaniards, you may be "cut off, before that you can recover your boat. I "therefore, adviſe you to ſuffer the captains, and "companies of the Engliſh to paſs up Weſtward to the "mountain Aio, from whence you have no leſs than "three miles to the mine, and to encamp between "the Spaniſh town, and you, if there be any town "near it, that being ſo ſecured, you may make "trial what depth, and breadth the mine holds, "and whether, or no, it will anſwer our hopes. 'And "if you find it royal, and the Spaniards begin to war "upon you, then let the ſerjeant-major repel them, "if it be in his power and drive them as far as he "can;' but, if you find that the mine is not ſo rich as "to perſuade the holding of it, and it requires a ſecond "ſupply, 'then ſhall you bring a Baſket, or two, "to ſatisfy his majeſty that my deſign was not ima-"ginary, but true, although not anſwerable to his "majeſty's expectations, for the quantity of which "I never gave aſſurance, nor could. On the other "ſide, if you ſhall find that any great number of "ſoldiers are newly ſent into the Oronoque, (as the "Caſſique of Caliana) told us there were, and that the

"paſſages

" paſſages are already enforced, ſo as without a mani-
" feſt peril of my ſon, yourſelf, and the other captains,
" you cannot paſs towards the mine; then be well ad-
" viſed how you land; for I know (a few gentlemen
" excepted,) what a ſcum of men you have; and I
" would not for all the world receive a blow from the
" Spaniards, to the diſhonour of the nation. I myſelf,
" for my weakneſs, cannot be preſent; neither will the
" company land, except that I abide by the ſhips, the
" galleons of Spain being daily expected. Piggot, the ſer-
" jeant-major is dead. Sir Warham Saintleger, my lieu-
" tenant, is without hopes of life; and my nephew,
" George Raleigh, your ſerjeant-major, is now but a
" young man. It is therefore on your judgment that I
" rely, when I truſt, GOD will direct me for the beſt.
" Let me hear from you as ſoon as you can. You ſhall
" find me at Punta de Gallo, dead, or alive; and, if
" you find not my ſhips there, yet there you ſhall find
" their aſhes; for I will fire with the galleons, if it
" come to extremity; but run away, I ſhall never."

In obedience to this order, Keymis landed, during the night time, with his men, at a place rather nearer to the mine than the ſpot which he had fixed upon at firſt. The Spaniards, who had received intelligence of their deſigns, began the attack by a general diſcharge of artillery, and ſmall arms. The Engliſh returned the fire, and, at once repelled and purſued their aſſailants into the town of Saint Thomas, which they began to plunder. Raleigh (the ſon of Sir Walter,) to increaſe the ardour of his followers, exclaimed, " This is the true mine, and none but fools look for any other." Having uttered theſe words, he advanced gallantly upon the Spaniards, killed one of their captains, and was, almoſt in the ſame moment, ſeverely wounded by another. As, bearing his ſword,



(*d*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 26.

within his hand, he yet preſſed forward, Erinetta, an officer in the ſervice of the enemy, felled him to the ground, by a ſtroke with a muſket, and he expired on the ſpot, after having, in feeble accents, pronounced a prayer for the forgiveneſs of his ſins, and the proſperity of the enterprize (*). Not intimidated by this unfortunate event, Keymis, at the head of his aſſociates, continued the attack, took poſſeſſion of the town, and, having ſecured thoſe few articles of value which were within it, reduced the buildings, together with the forts, intirely to aſhes. He next proceeded up the river, with his veſſels, but unable to diſcover a ſufficient depth of water, could not approach within a mile of any part of the ſhore, which was contiguous to the mine. Vollies of muſket-ſhot were fired from the coverts in the neighbouring woods, by the Spaniſh troops, at the boats belonging to the Engliſh, who were thus fruſtrated in their laſt, but ineffectual attempt, to diſembark. It hath been obſerved (*e*) that Raleigh did not pretend that he had himſelf ſeen the mine, which he had engaged ſo many people to go in queſt of; but declared that it was Keymis who had formerly diſcovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore which promiſed ſuch immenſe treaſures. Yet Keymis, who confeſſed that he was within two hours march of the place, did not proceed towards it, abſurdly pleading in his vindication, that the road which led to it could not be paſſed, but with the utmoſt difficulty; and that, on the ſuppoſition of his having diſcovered it, he muſt ſtill have been at a loſs for men to work it (*f*).

When

(*) Conſidering the injuſtice of the enterprize this prayer for the pardon, and the continuance of crimes, is ſomething worſe than ridiculous.

(*e*) Hume's Hiſtory of England. V. 6. p. 96.

(*f*) Raleigh, in a letter, addreſſed to his wife, and printed in his remains (p. 178.) obſerves that the Spaniards had

When Keymis, at his return, delivered to Sir Walter, the melancholy tidings of the death of young Raleigh, and the miſcarriage of the enterprize, he cenſured him with all that bitterneſs of language, which was at once expreſſive of the anguiſh of a mind, diſtracted by vexation, and deſpair. He repreſented him as the inſtrument of his inevitable ruin, and declared that his proceedings, flagitious to an extreme, had wounded, beyond every hope of recovery, his credit with the king. Severely ſtung by theſe merited reproaches, and, perhaps, dreading the puniſhment of his miſconduct, Keymis retired in the agonies of deſpair, unnoticed to his cabin, from whence the crew, ſoon afterwards, heard the report of a diſcharged piſtol. A boy was immediately ſent by Raleigh to demand the occaſion of this incident, and Keymis anſwered that he had fired merely for the purpoſe of unloading, and adding a cleaner charge. When about two hours had elapſed, his ſervant entered, and perceived the dead body of his maſter, weltering in blood. From a farther examination, it appeared that he had, at firſt, endeavoured effectually to ſhoot himſelf, but the bullet, which was ſmall, had, in its direction, only cracked a rib. Reſolved that the next wound ſhould be mortal in its nature, he thruſt a knife into his heart (*g*).

It is, here, proper that, without deviating from the impartiality, ſo neceſſary in hiſtorical diſcuſſions, we ſhould obſerve that ſeveral of the contemporaries of Raleigh inſinuated that the ſuicide, which had been committed by Keymis, was in conſequence of the agi-



had ſeveral gold, and ſilver mines near the town, which were uſeleſs for want of negroes.

(*g*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 39.—Howell's Letters.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 94.

tations of a guilty mind, rendered inſupportable by the reflection that having perſiſted in advancing the moſt abominable falſities, with regard to the diſcovery of the treaſures in Guiana, he had impoſed on the credulity, and fatally diminiſhed, whilſt he ſhould have encreaſed the fortunes of his aſſociates. From this ſuggeſtion, Sir Walter hath diſſented, and, aſcribing the death of Keymis, intirely to his own poſitive, and ungovernable temper, remarked that "He would not have laid violent hands upon himſelf "for the opinion of any man; nor, when he did, "could he have ſaid that he was ignorant of the place, "and knew of no ſuch mine; for what cauſe had I "(Raleigh,) then to have rejected his excuſes, or to "have laid his obſtinacy to his charge. Several cap-"tains might be put to their oaths, whether, or no, "Keymis did not confeſs to them, coming down the "river, at a place where they caſt anchor, that he "could, from thence, have gone to the mine, in "two hours (*h*)."

We now enter on the relation of thoſe incidents which were preceded by the death of Keymis. The majority of the adventurers exclaimed that they had been duped by the artifices of Sir Walter; they declared, in pointed terms, that they could not imagine that he himſelf, notwithſtanding his aſſertions, had ever given credit to the exiſtence of a mine; they openly expreſſed their opinion, that he had reſolved, during the earlieſt preparations for the voyage, to direct his whole force againſt the Spaniſh ſettlements at Saint Thomas; and that from thence, if the martial ardour of his aſſociates had been excited by ſucceſs, and the plunder which attends it, he would have proceeded to the

(*h*) Raleigh's Apology, p. 40.—Oldys's Life of Sir Walter Raleigh. Folio. p. 107, 108.

the attack of every town upon the continent of Guiana. They, now, ſuppoſed that, rendered deſperate by reflections on the puniſhment which might await him, ſhould he return to England, without a ſum ſufficient for the purchaſe of his pardon, he would engage in enterprizes, at once daring, and unjuſtifiable; and that if, at length, the produce of his depredations ſhould prove inadequate to the completion of his views within his own country, he might retreat to foreign climes, and ſecure a ſhelter from the reſentment of his ſovereign. It hath been remarked that the aſſociates of Raleigh, already diſappointed in the hopes of gratifying their avarice, during the ſackage of Saint Thomas, a town in which no articles of value could be diſcovered, had loſt the inclination to purſue hoſtilities, where even victory muſt be fruitleſs. They were not ignorant that many circumſtances exiſted in the treaty, and late tranſactions between the two nations, which might invite them to engage in ſuch a piratical war againſt the Spaniards (*i*),



(*i*) Mr. Hume obſerves that when England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry the fourth, was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjuſting all queſtions, with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to paſs over that article in total ſilence. The Spaniards having, all along, publiſhed ſevere edicts againſt the intercourſe of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this ſilence, in their own favour, and conſidered it as a tacit acquieſcence of England in the eſtabliſhed laws of Spain. The Engliſh, on the contrary, pretended that as they had never been excluded, by any treaty, from commerce with any part of the king of Spain's dominions, it was ſtill as lawful for them to trade with his ſettlements, in either Indies, as with his European territories. In conſequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England ſailed to the Spaniſh Indies, and met with ſevere puniſhment, when catched; as they, on the other hand, often ſtole, and, when ſuperior in power, forced a trade with

but they deemed it ſafer to return to England, when they reflected that howſoever their martial proceedings might have been connived at, had they co-operated with a fleet acting under the royal commiſſion, yet as private adventurers, they were amenable to puniſhment. To ſail homewards was the general determination; and Raleigh, more like a priſoner, than a commander in chief, arrived with his leaky veſſels, firſt at Kingſale, in Ireland, and next at Plymouth (*k*).

Scarcely had he reached the former place, when a proclamation was iſſued, declaring, in ſevere terms, that the King had felt the higheſt diſpleaſure at his conduct, and requiring all ſuch as were acquainted with any particulars relative either to his intention, or his practices, to attend, and deliver their information, before the council (*l*). At the commencement of the month of July, Sir Walter Raleigh landed at Plymouth, and, hearing of the proclamation, determined to ſurrender. A conſideration of the precarious ſtate of health under which he had, for ſome time languiſhed, induced him to draw up in writing, an apology that he deſpaired of being able to preſent in perſon. As it is our anxious wiſh (notwithſtanding that we may be influenced by arguments which appear to fruſtrate an attempt to exculpate this celebrated adventurer) to bring forward every reaſon, that can be urged in his defence, we think it neceſſary to introduce

with the inhabitants, and reſiſted, nay, ſometimes plundered the Spaniſh governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried to a great heighth on both ſides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion, becauſe of the difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed principles.

(*k*) Raleigh's Apology; and king James's declarations. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 94.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 92.

duce an important quotation from his own remarks (*m*).

" Becauſe I know not whether I ſhall live to come " before the lords, I have, for his majeſty's ſatisfac- " tion, here ſet down as much as I can ſay, either for " my own defence, or againſt myſelf, as things are " now (conſtructed.")

(" It is true that although I acquainted his majeſ- " ty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never " made it known) to his majeſty that the Spaniards " had (any footing there;) neither had I any autho- " rity, but my patent, to remove them (from thence) " —And therefore, his majeſty had no intereſt in the " attempt of Saint Thomas, (by any fore-)knowledge " thereof, in his majeſty."

" But, knowing his majeſty's title to the country, " to be the beſt, and moſt Chriſtian, (becauſe) the na- " tural lords did moſt willingly acknowledge queen " Elizabeth to be their ſovereign, (who by) me, pro- " miſed to defend them from the Spaniſh cruelty, I " made no doubt that (I might) enter the ſaid land, " by force, ſeeing that the Spaniards had no other " title, but force, the pope's donation excepted; " and conſidering alſo that they got a poſſeſſion there, " divers years ſince my poſſeſſion taken for the crown " of England. For, were not Guiana his majeſty's, " then might I as well have been queſtioned for a thief, " for taking of gold out of the king of Spain's mines, " as the Spaniards do now call me a peace-breaker. " For, from any territory confeſſed to be the king of



(*m*) Sir Walter Raleigh's Apology, MS. in Bibl. Cotton. Vitel. 117. ult. The paſſages incloſed within Parentheſes were defaced in the manuſcript, and are reſtored from a printed copy.

" Spain's, it is no more lawful to take gold, than law-
" ful for the Spaniards to take tin out of Cornwall."

" Now, were this poſſeſſion of theirs a ſufficient bar
" to his majeſty's right, the kings of Spain might as
" well call themſelves dukes of Britain, becauſe they
" held Bluetts, and fortified there; and kings of Ire-
" land, becauſe they poſſeſſed Smerwick, and fortified
" there; and ſo in other places."

" That his majeſty was well reſolved of his right
" there, I make no doubt, becauſe the Engliſh, both
" under Mr. Charles Leigh, and Mr. Harcourt, had
" leave to plant, and inhabit the country."

" Thus, Oronoque itſelf had long ere this had five
" thouſand Engliſh in it, I aſſure myſelf, had not my
" employment at Cadiz, the next year after my re-
" turn from Guiana, and, after that, our journey to the
" Iſlands, hindered me, for almoſt two years; after
" which, Tyr-Oen's rebellion made her majeſty unwil-
" ling that any great numbers of ſhips, or men, ſhould
" be taken out of England, until that rebellion were
" ended. And, laſtly, her majeſty's death, and my
" long impriſonment gave time to the Spaniards to
" ſet up a town of ſticks, covered with leaves of
" trees, upon the banks of Oronoque, which they
" called Saint Thomas, but they have neither reconcil-
" ed, nor conquered any of the Caciques, or natural
" lords of the country, which Caciques are ſtill in
" arms againſt them, as by the governour's letter to
" the king of Spain may appear."

" That by landing in Guiana, there can be any
" breach of peace, I think it, under favour, impoſſi-
" ble to break peace, where there is no peace. It
" cannot be."

" That the Spaniards give us no peace there, doth
" appear by the king's letters to his governours,

" that

" that they ſhall put to death all thoſe Spaniards, and " Indians that trade con los Engleſes Enimigos, with " Engliſh enemies. Yea, thoſe very Spaniards which " we encountered at Saint Thomas's, did, of late years, " murder ſix and thirty of Mr. Hall's men, of London, " and mine, who landed without weapons, upon the " Spaniſh faith, to trade with them. Mr. Thorn, alſo, " of Tower-ſtreet, in London, beſides many other " Engliſh, were, in that ſort, murdered, the year be- " fore my delivery out of the tower.—(Now, if this kind " of trade be peaceable, there is then a peaceable " trade in the Indies, between us, and the Spaniards; " but, if this be cruel war, and hatred, and no peace, " then there is no peace broken by our attempt. " Again, how doth it ſtand with the greatneſs of the " king of Spain, firſt to call us enemies, when he did " hope to cut us in pieces; and then, having failed, to " call us peace-breakers;) for to be (an enemy, and " peace-breaker in one, and the ſame) action is im- " poſſible. But the king of Spain, in his letter to the " governour of Guiana dated at Madrid, the nine, and " twentieth of March, before we left the Thames, called " us Engleſes Enemigos, (Engliſh enemies.")

" Had it pleaſed the king of Spain to have written " to his majeſty, in ſeventeen months time (*n*), for we " were ſo long in preparing, and have made his majeſ- " ty know that our landing in Guiana would draw af- " ter it a breach of peace, I preſume to think his ma- " jeſty would have ſtayed our enterprize, for the pre- " ſent. This he might have done, with leſs charges " than to levy three hundred ſoldiers, and to tranſport " ten pieces of ordnance, from Puerto Ricco, which " ſoldiers, added to the garriſon of Saint Thomas, had " they arrived before our coming, had overthrown all " our

(*n*) In the printed copy, mention is only made of ſeven months.

" our raw companies. And there would have followed " no complaint."

" For the main point of landing near Saint Thomas, " it is true that we were of opinion that we muſt have " driven the Spaniards out of their town, before we " could paſs the thick woods, upon the mountain of " the mine, which, I confeſs, I did firſt reſolve upon ; " but better bethinking myſelf, I reſerved the taking " of the town to the goodneſs of the mine, which if " they found to be ſo rich as it might perſuade the " leaving of a garriſon there, then to drive the Spani- " ards thence ; but to have it burnt, was never my in- " tent, neither could they give me any reaſon why " they did it."

" Upon the return, I examined the ſerjeant-major, " and Keymis, why they followed not my laſt direc- " tions for the trial of the mine, before the taking of " the town. And they anſwered me that although " they durſt hardly go to the mine, leaving a garri- " ſon of Spaniards, between them, and their boats, yet " they ſaid they followed thoſe latter directions (*o*), and " did land between the town, and the mine ; and that " the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, ſet " upon them, unawares, and charged them, calling " them Peros Engleſes, (or Engliſh Dogs,) and, by ſkir- " miſhing with them, drew them on to the very en- " trance of the town, before they knew where they " were, ſo as if any peace had been in thoſe parts, the " Spaniards firſt broke the peace, and made the firſt " ſlaughter ; for, as the Engliſh could not but land to " ſeek the mine, being come thither to that end, ſo " being firſt reviled, and charged by the Spaniards, " they could do no leſs than repel force, by force."

" Laſtly,

(*o*) In the printed letter, the words are " yet they of- " fended thoſe latter directions."

"Laſtly, it is a matter of no ſmall conſequence, to "acknowledge we have offended the king of Spain, by "landing in Guiana."

"For, firſt, it weakens his majeſty's title to the "country, or quits it."

"Secondly, there is no king that hath given the "leaſt way to any other king, or ſtate, in the traffic "of the lives, and goods of his ſubjects, to wit, as "in our caſe, that it ſhall be lawful for the Spaniards "to murder us, either by force, or reaſon, and not "be lawful for us to defend ourſelves, and pay them "with their own coin; for this ſuperiority, and infe- "riority, is a thing which no abſolute monarch ever "yielded to, or ever will."

"Thirdly, it ſhews the Engliſh bear greater reſpect "to the Spaniard, and are more doubtful of his forces, "than either the French, or Dutch are, who daily in- "vade all parts of the Indies, without being queſtioned "at their——Return, yea, at (my own being) at Ply- "mouth, a treacherous gentleman, called Flory, went "thence with four ſail, (and three hundred landmen,) "with commiſſion to land, burn, and to ſack all "places in the Indies, (that he could) maſter, and yet "hath the French king married a daughter of Spain."

"This is all that I can ſay, other than that I have "ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt (my ſon,) and my health, "and endured as many ſorts of miſeries, as ever man "did, in (hope to) do his majeſty (acceptable) ſer- "vice, and have not, to my underſtanding, commit- "ted any hoſtile act, other than the entrance upon a "territory belonging (rightly) to the crown of Eng- "land, where the Engliſh were firſt ſet upon, and ſlain "by the uſurping Spaniards. (I invaded no other "parts of the Indies, pretended to by the Spaniards)."

"I returned into England, with the manifeſt peril of "my life; with a purpoſe not to hold my life by

"any

" any other act, than his majeſty's grace, and from " which no man, nor any peril could diſſuade me. To " that grace, goodneſs, and kinglineſs, I refer myſelf, " which if it ſhall find that I have not yet ſuffered " enough, it may, if it pleaſe, add more afflictions to " the remainder of a wretched life."

As it is cloſely connected with the preceding vindication, we ſhall ſubmit to the notice of the reader, the following copy of a letter, which was written by Sir Walter Raleigh, and conveyed to the king, previous to the departure of count Gondomar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, from the court of London.

" May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty! If, " in my journey outward-bound, I had my men mur- " dered at the iſlands, and yet ſpared to take revenge; " if I did diſcharge ſome Spaniſh barks taken, without " ſpoil; if I did forbear all parts of the Spaniſh Indies, " wherein I might have taken twenty of their towns, " on the ſea-coaſts, and did only follow the enter- " prize I undertook for Guiana, where, without any " directions from me, a Spaniſh village was burnt, " which was new ſet up within three miles of the " mine; by your majeſty's favour, I find no reaſon " why the Spaniſh ambaſſador ſhould complain of me."

" If it were lawful for the Spaniards to murder " twenty-ſix Engliſhmen, tying them back to back, " and then cutting their throats, when they had traded " with them a whole month, and came to them on the " land, without ſo much as one ſword; and it may " not be lawful for your majeſty's ſubjects, being " charged firſt by them, to repel force, by force, we " may juſtly ſay, O miſerable Engliſh!

" If Parker, and Meacham took Campeachy, and " other places, in the Honduras, ſeated in the heart of " the Spaniſh-Indies; burned towns, and killed the " Spaniards, and had nothing ſaid unto them, at their

" re-

"return; and myſelf, who forbore to look into the "Indies, becauſe I would not offend, muſt be accuſed, "I may as juſtly ſay, O miſerable Raleigh!"

"If I have ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt my ſon, ſuf- "fered by ſickneſs, and otherwiſe, a world of hard- "ſhips; if I have reſiſted, with manifeſt hazard of my "life, the robberies, and ſpoils with which my "companions would have made me rich; if, when I "was poor, I could have made myſelf rich; if, when I "could have gotten my liberty, which all men, and "nature itſelf do ſo much prize, I voluntarily loſt it; "if, when I was ſure of my life, I rendered it again; "if I might elſewhere have ſold my ſhip, and goods, "and put five, or ſix thouſand pounds in my purſe; "and yet brought her into England; I beſeech your "majeſty to believe that all this I have done, becauſe "it ſhould not be ſaid that your majeſty had given li- "berty, and truſt to a man, whoſe end was but the "recovery of his liberty, and who had betrayed your "majeſty's truſt."

"My mutineers told me that if I returned for Eng- "land, I ſhould be undone; but I believed in your "majeſty's goodneſs, more than in all their argu- "ments. Sure, I am the firſt that being free, and able "to enrich myſelf, yet hath embraced poverty, and "peril; and as ſure I am that my example ſhall make "me the laſt. But your majeſty's wiſdom, and good- "neſs, I have made my judges, who have ever been, "and ſhall ever be, your majeſty's moſt humble vaſ- "ſal, Walter Raleigh (*p*)."

Whilſt this illuſtrious, but unfortunate adventurer, was proceeding on the road to London, his kinſman, Sir

(*p*) See Raleigh's Remains, from whence this letter which hath been compared with manuſcript copes, is printed.

Sir Lewis Stucley, the vice-admiral of Devonſhire, intercepted him; and, having made mention of a verbal commiſſion from the ſecretary of ſtate, for the ſeizure of his perſon, adviſed him to return to Plymouth. This abandoned creature of the court, who had pledged himſelf for the execution of his orders, at firſt encouraged Raleigh to concert ſuch meaſures as might facilitate his eſcape; and, next, betrayed him. It was now inſinuated that he had not only determined to withdraw immediately into France, but actually commenced an unjuſtifiable correſpondence with the ſovereign of that nation; yet, if we can truſt to his profeſſions on the ſcaffold, his ſole deſign was to have returned to Guiana, for the purpoſe of effacing, by happier enterprizes, the remembrance of his late miſcarriages (*q*). Mr. Campbell (after having premiſed that, on his ſecond apprehenſion, he was conducted to the tower, from whence it was already ſettled that he ſhould never be releaſed, except by death,) adds that it was the earneſtneſs of the Spaniſh court thrown into action by their inſtrument, count Gondomar, that gave riſe to the unrelenting ſeverity with which James, and the members of his privy council purſued the life of Raleigh. He remarks that a cool, and a ſtrict diſcuſſion of this important point, muſt ſuggeſt to us that the violent clamours of the Spaniards afford the ſtrongeſt proofs in favour of the enterprize undertaken by Sir Walter; ſince, if the poſſeſſion

(*q*) Captain Samuel King's Narrative of Sir Walter Raleigh's motives, and opportunities for conveying himſelf out of the kingdom. With the manner how he was betrayed. MS. two ſheets, folio. 1618. p. 2.—Stucley's petition, and information touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up Sir Walter Raleigh. 4to. 1618. —Camden's annals of king James. A. D. 1618.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 95.

poſſeſſion of Guiana had been of little conſequence, they muſt have obſerved with more indifference the preparations of the Engliſh to invade it. He aſks why Raleigh, if conſidered as a projector who ſought to repair his broken fortunes, by fraudulently impoſing on the credulity of others, was not ſuffered to remain unnoticed? He ſubjoins that the more expeditions he made, the more glaring would appear his folly; and the greater advantage muſt the Spaniards have reaped from that appearance, becauſe it would have diſcountenanced all ſucceeding enterprizes of this nature; but, by thus contriving to murder him, they muſt, in the opinion of every impartial judge, have raiſed the credit of his project, although, during that period, they might have deterred the generality of adventurers from an attempt to carry it into execution. He concludes by affirming that what the friends of Sir Walter received upon belief, the Spaniards were convinced of; that the former confided in him; but that the latter were as poſitive as himſelf; becauſe they knew, by experience, that the empire of Guiana abounded in gold, and that from the moment of its ſubjection to the crown of England, the Dominion of the Spaniards within the Weſt-Indies muſt be totally annihilated (*r*).

When

(*r*) Mr. Campbell (whoſe arguments it were illiberal to ſuppreſs, as they were written with a view to vindicate the conduct of Sir Walter Raleigh) hath cloſed the remark with the following note: "This I have great reaſon to "ſay, having conſulted many of the Spaniſh authors, whilſt "I was compoſing the ſhort 'Hiſtory of Spaniſh America.' "Francis Coreal, one of the beſt, and lateſt Spaniſh travel-"lers, acknowledges the country to be very rich; and, in "the map printed with his travels, the place is marked "where the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are "ſuppoſed to be; and, in the French tranſlation, printed

"at

When the privy-council had cloſed their examination of Raleigh, and his aſſociates, they delivered it as their opinion that thoſe ideas which had been conceived of the criminality of his intentions, were now to be regarded as juſtly grounded; that he had deceived his ſovereign by plauſible, and falſe deſcriptions of the nature of his enterprize; that he had engaged in the commiſſion of the moſt violent hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of a power at peace with England; and that he had plundered, and reduced to aſhes a town belonging to the king of Spain. In conſequence of his guilt, whether repreſented as a breach of orders, or an act of piracy, he might have become amenable either to a court-martial, or to a trial at common law; but it was deemed an eſtabliſhed principle that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high-treaſon, he could not be brought to trial, for any other crime (*s*). It was, therefore, reſolved to call him down to judgment, upon his former ſentence, and this was accordingly effected, with every circumſtance of brutality, and inſult. On Wedneſday, the twenty-eighth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and eighteen, he was awakened, during the violence of a fever, dragged from

" at Amſterdam, in the year, one thouſand, ſeven hundred, " and twenty-two, Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Gui- " ana, is added as a neceſſary ſupplement. Alſo, in San- " ſon's map, the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa " are both viſible; ſo that if what is reported of them be " fabulous, yet the opinion is not hitherto exploded. In " ſome of De Liſle's maps, they are mentioned; for I have " conſulted ſeveral; and what is more, there are ſeveral " mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards " are ſtill ſuſpiciouſly careful."

(*s*) See the point diſcuſſed at large, in Bacon's letters, publiſhed by doctor Birch, p. 181.—Hume's Hiſtory of England, V. 6. p. 98.

from his bed, and conveyed inſtantly to the court of King's Bench, at Weſtminſter. Here, when the writ of Habeas Corpus had been delivered to the judges, by Sir Walter Apſley, and when the conviction of Raleigh, at Wincheſter, had been read, Mr. Henry Yelverton, the attorney-general, ſet forth that "the priſoner having been fifteen years ſince, convicted of high-treaſon, "and having, then, received the judgment of death, "his majeſty, of his abundant grace, hath been pleaſed "to ſhew mercy unto him, until now, that juſtice "calls to him, for execution." "Sir Walter Raleigh continued Yelverton,) "hath been a ſtateſman, and a "man who, in regard to his parts, and quality, is to "be pitied. He hath been as a ſtar at which the world "have gazed; but ſtars may fall; nay, they muſt "fall, when they trouble the ſphere, wherein they "abide. It is therefore his majeſty's pleaſure, now, "to call for execution of the former judgment, and I "now require order for the ſame." When Fanſhaw, the clerk of the crown, had read the record of the conviction, and of the ſentence, the unhappy priſoner was aſked what he could advance as a reaſon why execution ſhould not be awarded againſt him? He replied that his voice was enfeebled by his late ſickneſs, and that he laboured, during that inſtant, under the paroxyſm of an intermitting fever; a circumſtance which muſt naturally plead for the permiſſion that he might reduce to writing the ſubſtance of his vindication. Sir Henry Montague, the lord chief juſtice, remarked that he ſpoke audibly enough; and Sir Walter Raleigh then expreſſed his hopes that the judgment which he had received to die ſo long ſince, could not, now, be ſtrained to take away his life; as, in conſequence of the royal commiſſion for his late voyage, it was implied to be reſtored, by the grant of power, de-

legated to him, in the character of marſhal, over the lives of others. He added that he was the more ſanguine in his expectations of mercy, becauſe that he had undertaken the enterprize to acquire honour for his ſovereign, and to enrich his kingdom with gold, "of the ore whereof" (he obſerved,) this hand hath "found, and taken in Guiana." He next attempted to explain the meaſures which gave riſe to the miſcarriage of his project; but the lord chief juſtice interrupted him, and declared that whatſoever he ſpoke relatively to his laſt expedition was foreign to the purpoſe; that no clauſe in his commiſſion, could, at the preſent criſis, be of the leaſt avail; that treaſon was not pardoned by implication; and that unleſs he could advance arguments more intimately connected with the point in queſtion, the court muſt proceed immediately to give execution. To theſe remarks, Sir Walter anſwered, "concerning my judgment, at Wincheſter, I "preſume, moſt of you, that now hear me, are reſolved "how that was obtained; and I know that his majeſty "was ſo reſolved, touching that trial, that if he had "not been anew exaſperated againſt me, certain I am, "I might (if I could, by nature,) have lived a thou-"ſand, and a thouſand years, before he would have "taken the advantage thereof." The lord chief juſtice now recommended to him the wiſdom of ſubmiſſion, and informed him that execution muſt be granted upon the judgment given, fifteen years before, during all which time, he has been as a man dead in law; but the king, in mercy, ſpared him; that he might deem it barbarouſly oppreſſive, if this meaſure were purſued in cold blood; but it was otherwiſe; and freſh offences had excited the juſtice of the king to revive what the law had formerly caſt upon him. "I know," (continued he,) "that you have been va-

"liant,

" liant, and wiſe; and I doubt not but you retain both " theſe virtues; for, now, you ſhall have occaſion to " uſe them. Your faith hath heretofore been queſ- " tioned; but I am reſolved that you are a good Chriſ- " tian, for, your book, which is an admirable work, " doth teſtify as much. I would give you counſel, " but I know that you can apply unto yourſelf far bet- " ter than I am able to give you—Yet, I give you the " oil of comfort, although, in reſpect that I am a " miniſter of the law, mixed with vinegar—ſorrow " will not avail you, in ſome kind, for, were you " pained, ſorrow would not eaſe you; were you af- " flicted, ſorrow would not relieve you; were you tor- " mented, ſorrow would not content you; and yet the " ſorrow for your ſins would be an everlaſting com- " fort to you—You muſt act, as that valiant captain " did, who, perceiving himſelf in danger, ſaid, in de- " fiance of death, 'Death, thou expecteſt me; but, " maugre thy ſpite, I expect thee." Fear not death too " much; nor fear death too little; not too much, leſt " you fail in your hope; nor too little, leſt you die pre- " ſumptuouſly. And, here, I muſt conclude my pray- " ers to GOD for it, that HE would have mercy on " your ſoul. Execution is granted (*t*)."



(*t*) Harleyan Manuſcripts, 90. C. 7. Folio p. 439.—— MS. lately in the collection of the deceaſed Mr. Granger.—Proceedings againſt Sir Walter Raleigh, at Weſtminſter, annexed to the account (written by Sir Thomas Overbury,) of his arraignment at Wincheſter, 4to. 148. p 26.—Oldys's Life of Raleigh, Folio. p. 124, 125. On this melancholy occaſion, the remark of Carew Raleigh is too imperti nent to be omitted. " Here, juſtice was indeed blind! " blindly executing one, and the ſame perſon, upon one, " and the ſame condemnation, for things contradictory; " for Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned for being a friend " to

At this alarming juncture, Sir Walter Raleigh earneſtly requeſted that he might not be cut off ſo ſuddenly; and obſerving that he ſtood in need of time, to diſcharge his conſcience, and to ſatisfy his ſovereign, and the world. He prayed that he might be heard on the day of his death; and, at the laſt, repeated his intreaties, in the following concluſion. "I do moſt "humbly beſeech your lordſhips, that you will grant "me ſome time, before my execution, that I may "ſettle my affairs, and my mind, more than they yet "are; for I have much to do, both for my reputa-"tion, conſcience, and loyalty; and I would beſeech "the favour of pen, ink, and paper, to expreſs my-"ſelf ſomething thereby; and to diſcharge myſelf of "ſome truſt of worldly matters that were put in me; "which leiſure, I beſeech you think that I crave not "for to gain one minute of life; for now, being old, "ſickly, in diſgrace, and certain to go to it, life is "weariſome to me. And I do, laſtly, beſeech your "lordſhips that, when I come to die, I may have leave "to ſpeak freely at my farewell, to ſatisfy the world "only that I was ever loyal to the king, and a true "lover of this commonwealth; for, this I will ſeal "with my blood." Thus, craving their prayers, was he conducted to the Gate-Houſe, adjoining to the Palace-Yard (*u*).

Through-

"to the Spaniards, and loſt his life for being their utter "enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they "pleaſe, pleaſe not Him they ſhould, God; and, having "made their power ſubſervient to their will, deprive them-"ſelves alſo of that juſt power, whereby others are ſubſer-"vient to them." Brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, p. 9.

(*u*) It is remarkable that James (who, during this diſgraceful æra in his reign, retreated to a diſtance from the capital

Throughout the courſe of this memoir, we have felt an anxious, but unavailing wiſh to place the character of Sir Walter Raleigh ſolely in that point of view where it might be contemplated with admiration, and eſteem. Whilſt we conſidered him, on ſome occaſions, as an object of our cenſure, a reſpectable, and contrary opinion hath been impartially brought forward. To this principle, let us ſtill adhere, and (before we cloſe an inquiry concerning the conduct of an accompliſhed hero, with a quotation from remarks which violently impeach its rectitude,) inſert the arguments of a writer (*x*) who ſtrenuouſly endeavoured to tranſmit his memory unſullied to poſterity.

" That the judgment was illegal, and that Sir Walter " Raleigh was really murdered, hath often been ſaid, " and (I believe,) ſeldom doubted; but I think that it " hath not been made ſo plain as it might be; and,



pital) had ſigned, and ſealed the warrant for the execution of Raleigh, previous to the appearance of the latter, at the bar of the King's-bench; yet it was dated, from Weſtminſter, and, on the twenty-eighth of October. In this warrant (directed to Verulam, the chancellor,) mention is made that his gracious majeſty, " diſſenting with the manner of " execution according to his former judgment, and releaſing him of the ſame to be drawn, hanged, and quartered" obſerves that " our pleaſure is, inſtead thereof, " to have the head only of the ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh cut " off, at, or within our palace of Weſtminſter; and we do " command the ſaid chancellor hereupon to direct two ſeveral writs under the great ſeal; one to the lieutenant " of the Tower, or his deputy, for the delivery of Sir Walter Raleigh to the ſheriffs of Middleſex, at the ſaid place; " and the other to the ſaid ſheriffs, for the receiving the " ſaid Sir Walter Raleigh, from the ſaid lieutenant, and " for executing him there; for which this ſhall be his warrant, and diſcharge, againſt us, our heirs, and ſucceſſors, " for ever." Rymer's Fœdera, V. 17. p. 115.

(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 97, 98.

" therefore, in reſpect to his good name, I will attempt " it, by ſhewing that the judgment was abſolutely ille- " gal, and manifeſtly iniquitous."

" It is a maxim in our law that the king can do no " wrong; and moſt certain it is that no king can " do legal wrong; that is to ſay, can employ the law " to unjuſt purpoſes. Sir Walter Raleigh, after his " conviction, was dead in law; and, therefore, if " the commiſſion granted to him, by James, had not " the virtue of a pardon, what was it? Did it impower " a dead man to act, and not only to act, but to have " a power over the lives, and eſtates of the living; " It either conveyed authority, or it did not. If it did " convey authority, then Sir Walter was capable of " receiving it; that is, he was no longer dead in law, " or, in other words, he was pardoned. If it con- " veyed no authority, then this was an act of legal " wrong. I cannot help the blunder; the abſurdi- " ty is in the thing, and not in my expreſſion. A " commiſſion under the privy ſeal, (if not under the " great ſeal,) granted by the king, with the advice of " the privy council, to a dead man; or, to put it " otherwiſe, a lawful commiſſion given to a man, " dead in law, is nonſenſe not to be endured; and, " therefore, to avoid this, we muſt conceive, as Sir " Francis Bacon, and every other lawyer did, that the " commiſſion included, or rather conveyed a pardon. " Indeed, the ſame thing may be made out in much " fewer words. Grace is not ſo ſtrong a mark of " royal favour, as truſt; and therefore, where the " latter appears, the law ought, and, indeed, doth pre- " ſume the former (*y*). This judgment, therefore, did " not

(*y*) This laſt argument muſt be allowed to have great weight; yet (with deference to the ſentiments of Mr. Camp-

" not only murder Sir Walter Raleigh, but, in this in-
" ſtance, ſubverted the conſtitution, and ought to be
" looked upon, not only as an act of the baſeſt proſti-
" tution, but as the moſt flagrant violation of juſtice
" that ever was committed."

From theſe concluſions, the reaſoning of a celebrated hiſtorian (z) hath induced us to diſſent; and whilſt we ſcorn the thought of aiming one unmerited aſperſion againſt the real character of Raleigh, we openly declare that the deciſive paſſages of the following quotation have, although with ſome exceptions, confirmed us in ideas which all the ſophiſtry of ſuperior talents will not be able to eradicate. Yet, on ſo delicate a ſubject, where the honeſt fame of a diſtinguiſhed hero is to be preſerved, or ruined, we do not mean to influence the reader. Not for the purpoſe of miſleading, is he preſented with a variety of opinions; but, that his judgment may be juſt.

" 1. There ſeems to be an improbability that the
" Spaniards, who knew nothing of Raleigh's pretended

 " mine,

Campbell,) it doth not reach the caſe of Sir Walter Raleigh, who is expreſly mentioned, in the commiſſion, as " being " under the peril of the law."—See the 133d page of the fourth volume of this work.

(z) Hume's Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, Note I.—The arguments of this author are introduced by a remark that ſome of the facts are taken from the declaration of James, which being publiſhed by authority, and when the facts were recent; being extracted from examinations before the privy council, and ſubſcribed by ſix counſellors, amongſt whom was Abbot, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate, no-wiſe complaiſant to the court, muſt be allowed to have great weight, or rather to be of undoubted credit. Yet the moſt material facts are confirmed either by the nature, and reaſon of the thing, or by the apology, and letters of Sir Walter Raleigh. The vindication of the king is in the Harleyan Miſcellany, vol. 3. No. 2.

" mine, ſhould have built a town in ſo wide a coaſt,
" within three miles of it. The chances are extremely
" againſt ſuch a ſuppoſition; and it is more natural to
" think that the view of plundering the town led him
" thither rather than that of working a mine. 2. No
" ſuch mine is there found, to this day. 3. Raleigh, in
" fact, found no mine; and, in fact, he plundered,
" and burned a Spaniſh town. Is it not more proba-
" ble, therefore, that the latter was his intention? how
" can the ſecrets of his breaſt be rendered ſo viſible
" as to counterpoiſe certain facts? 4. He confeſſes, in
" his letter to lord Carew, that, although he knew it,
" yet he concealed from the king the ſettlement of the
" Spaniards, on the coaſt. Does not this fact alone
" render him ſufficiently criminal? 5. His commiſ-
" ſion impowers him only to ſettle on a coaſt poſſeſſed
" by ſavage, and barbarous inhabitants. Was it not
" the moſt evident breach of orders to diſembark on a
" coaſt, poſſeſſed by Spaniards? 6. His orders to Key-
" mis, when he ſent him up the river, are contained in
" his own apology, and, from them, it appears, that
" he knew (what was unavoidable,) that the Spaniards
" would reſiſt, and would oppoſe the Engliſh, at their
" landing, to take poſſeſſion of the country. His in-
" tentions, therefore, were hoſtile from the beginning.
" 7. Without provocation, and even when at a diſ-
" tance, he gave Keymis orders to diſlodge the Spaniards
" from their own town. Could any enterprize be
" more hoſtile? And, conſidering the Spaniards, as
" allies to the nation, could any enterprize be more
" criminal? Was he not the aggreſſor, even although
" it ſhould be true that the Spaniards fired upon his
" men, at their landing. It is ſaid that he killed three,
" or four hundred of them. Is that ſo light a matter?
" 8. In his letter to the king, and in his apology, he

" grounds

" grounds his defence on former hoſtilities exerciſed " by the Spaniards, againſt other companies of Eng- " liſhmen. Theſe are accounted for by the ambiguity " of the treaty between the nations. And it is plain " that although theſe might poſſibly be reaſons for the " king to declare war againſt that nation, they could " never intitle Raleigh to declare war, and, without " any commiſſion, or contrary to his commiſſion. " The chief hurt which the Spaniards could receive " from England was, in the Indies; and they never " would have made peace at all, if hoſtilities had been " ſtill to be continued on theſe ſettlements. By ſecret " agreement, the Engliſh were ſtill allowed to ſupport " the Dutch, even after the treaty of peace. If they " had alſo been allowed to invade the Spaniſh ſettle- " ments, the treaty had been a full peace to England, " while the Spaniards were ſtill expoſed to the full ef- " fects of war. 9. If the claim to the property of " that country, as firſt diſcoverers, was good, in op- " poſition to preſent ſettlements, as Raleigh pretended, " why was it not laid before the king, with all its cir- " cumſtances, and ſubmitted to his judgment? 10. " Raleigh's force is acknowledged by himſelf to have " been inſufficient to ſupport him in the poſſeſſion of " Saint Thomas, againſt the power of which Spain was " maſter on that coaſt; yet it was ſufficient, as he " owns, to take by ſurprize, and plunder twenty " towns. It was not, therefore, his deſign to ſettle, " but to plunder. By theſe confeſſions, which I have " brought together, he plainly betrays himſelf. 11. " Why did he not ſtay, and work his mine, as, at firſt, " he projected? He apprehended that the Spaniards " would be upon him with a great force. But, before " he left England, he knew that this muſt be the caſe, " if he invaded any part of the Spaniſh colonies. His

" inten-

" intention, therefore, never was to ſettle, but only to
" plunder. 12. He acknowledges that he knew neither
" the depth, nor riches of the mine, but only that
" there was ſome more ore there. Would he have
" ventured all his fortune, and credit, on ſo precа-
" rious a foundation? 13. Would the other adven-
" turers, if made acquainted with this, have riſqued
" every thing to attend him? Ought a fleet to have
" been equipped for an experiment? Was there not,
" plainly, an impoſture in the management of this af-
" fair? 14. He ſays to Keymis, 'Bring but a baſket
" full of ore, and it will ſatisfy the king that my pro-
" ject was not imaginary.' This was eaſily done from
" the Spaniſh mines; and he ſeems to have been actu-
" ally diſpleaſed at Keymis, for not attempting it. Such
" a view was a premeditated apology to cover his
" cheat. 15. The king, in his declaration, imputes
" it to Raleigh that, as ſoon as he was at ſea, he im-
" mediately fell into ſuch uncertain, and doubtful talk
" of his mine, and ſaid that it would be ſufficient if he
" brought home a baſket full of ore. From the cir-
" cumſtance laſt mentioned, it appears that this impu-
" tation was not without reaſon. 16. There are
" many other circumſtances of great weight in the
" declaration of the king; that Raleigh, when he fell
" down to Plymouth, took no pioneers with him, which
" he always declared to be his intention, that he was
" no-wiſe provided with inſtruments for working a
" mine, but had a ſufficient ſtock of warlike ſtores;
" that young Raleigh, in attacking the Spaniards, em-
" ployed the words, 'Come on, my hearts! here is
" the mine that we muſt expect. They that look for
" any other mine are fools;' that the mine was
" moveable, and ſhifted as he ſaw convenient: Not to
" mention many other public facts which prove him

" to

" to have been highly criminal againſt his companions,
" as well as his country. Howel, in his letters, ſays,
" that there lived in London, in the year, one thouſand,
" ſix hundred, and forty-five, an officer, a man of
" honour, who aſſerted that he heared young Raleigh
" ſpeak theſe words (*a*). That was a time when
" there was no intereſt in maintaining ſuch a fact (*b*).
" 17. Raleigh's account of his firſt voyage to Guiana
" proves him to have been a man capable of the moſt
" extravagant credulity, or the moſt impudent impoſ-
" ture. So ridiculous are the ſtories which he tells of
" the Inca's chimerical empire, in the midſt of Guiana;
" the rich city of El Dorado, or Manao, two days
" journey in length, and ſhining with gold, and ſil-
" ver; the old Peruvian prophecies in favour of the
" Engliſh, who, he obſerves, were expreſsly named as
" the deliverers of that country (*c*), long before any
" Euro-

(*a*) Vol. 2. Letter 63.

(*b*) To this remark, by Mr. Hume, it may be added that Howel appears always more ready to applaud, than cenſure Raleigh, and compares his return from Guiana to that of the Roman conſul, Attilius Regulus, who, rather than violate his promiſe, went back (although convinced that death muſt be the conſequence,) to his enemies, the Carthaginians, by whom he had been taken priſoner. Howell's Letters, V. 1. p. 6. V. 2. p. 372.

(*c*) The Europeans, when they ſet out, as the deliverers of diſtant countries, commence their friendly offices, by an attack againſt the perſons, and a ſeizure of the property, and lands of individuals who never ſaw, nor injured them. The fate of Bengal alone (but, examples are innumerable,) would juſtify this remark. The Deliverer, therefore, is not that exalted hero who, to ſecure the freedom of his fellow-creatures, is prepared to ſhed his own blood, even to the laſt drop; but the monſter who inſults mankind with offers of aſſiſtance, and (in the true ſpirit of avarice, one of the worſt crimes which can diſgrace our nature,) having plundered a confiding people, ſecures his acquiſitions, by a general maſſacre of the firſt poſſeſſors.

" European had ever touched there; the Amazons, or " republic of women; and, in general, the vaſt, " and incredible riches, which he ſaw on the conti- " nent, where no one has yet found any treaſures. " This whole narrative is a proof that he was extreme- " ly defective, either in ſolid underſtanding, or mo- " rals, or both. No man's character indeed ſeems " ever to have been carried to ſuch extremes as Ra- " leigh's, by the oppoſite paſſions of envy, and pity. " In the former part of his life, when he was active, " and lived in the world, and was probably, beſt " known, he was the object of univeral hatred, and " deteſtation, throughout England; in the latter part, " when ſhut up in a priſon, he 'became 'much more " unreaſonably' the object of great love, and admira- " tion (*d*)."

" As to the circumſtances of the narrative, that " Raleigh's pardon was refuſed him, that his former " ſentence

(*d*) With due deference to the Judgment of Mr. Hume, we cannot implicitly confide in his remark. It may ſurely be doubted whether,, at any period of his life, Raleigh was " an object of univerſal hatred, and deteſtation, throughout " England." The violence of his diſpoſition, an over-bearing pride, and his perſecution of Eſſex, who was idolized by the people, had indeed, caſt him almoſt irrecoverably from the favour of an exaſperated multitude; yet he was followed, beloved, and honoured by numbers of his contemporaries. To aſſert that he was diſliked by *all* his fellow-ſubjects, is wandering from the candour to which men in general, but hiſtorians in particular, ſhould invariably adhere. On this occaſion, the character is mangled which hath, in other parts, been ſkilfully diſſected. That in priſon, Sir Walter Raleigh was 'the object of great love, and 'admiration,' can never be diſputed. It may be affirmed, in, contradiction to the celebrated writer, that the nation acted reaſonably. They muſt have been prejudiced to a criminal degree, who beheld without ſurprize, attachment and applauſe, the calm fortitude, the active talents, and the literary purſuits of this illuſtrious priſoner, during a confinement of thirteen years, within the tower.

" ſentence was purpoſely kept in force againſt him, " and that he went out under theſe expreſs condi- " tions, they may be ſupported by the following au- " thorities. 1. The king's word, and that of ſix " privy-counſellors who affirm it for fact. 2. The " nature of the thing. If no ſuſpicion had been " entertained of his intentions, a pardon would " never have been refuſed to a man, to whom " authority was intruſted. 3. The words of the " commiſſion itſelf, where he is ſimply ſtiled Sir Wal- " ter Raleigh, and not faithful, and well-beloved, ac- " cording to the uſual, and never-failing ſtile, on " ſuch occaſions. 4. In all the letters which he wrote " to Sir Ralph Winwood, and to his own wife, he " always conſiders himſelf as a perſon unpardoned, and " liable to the law. He ſeems, indeed, immediately " upon the failure of his enterprize, to have be- " come deſperate, and to have expected the fate " which he met with."

" It is pretended that the king gave intelligence to " the Spaniards of Raleigh's project ; as if he had need- " ed to lay a plot for deſtroying a man, whoſe life " had been fourteen years, and ſtill was in his power. " The Spaniards wanted no other intelligence to be " their guard, than the known, and public fact of " Raleigh's armament. And there was no reaſon " why the king ſhould conceal from them the project " of a ſettlement, which Raleigh pretended, and the " king believed to be intirely innocent."

" The king's chief blame ſeems to have lain in his " negligence, in allowing Raleigh to depart, without " a more exact Scrutiny ; but, for this he apologizes, " by ſaying that ſureties were required for the good " behaviour of Raleigh and all his aſſociates in the en- " terprize ; but that they gave in bonds for each other : " a cheat which was not perceived, until they had

" ſailed,

" failed, and which increaſed the ſuſpicion of bad in-
" tentions."

" Perhaps, the king ought alſo to have granted Ra-
" leigh a pardon for his old treaſon, and to have tried
" him anew for his new offence. His puniſhment in
" that caſe would not only have been juſt, but con-
" ducted in a juſt, and unexceptionable manner (*e*).
" But we are told that a ridiculous opinion *(f)* at that
" time

(*e*) We feel a difficulty in aſſenting to this poſition. A king, the fountain of earthly mercy to convicted criminals, extending his pardon to an offender for one ſpecies of guilt, in order to obtain the power of inflicting death upon him, for another, preſents us with the moſt diſguſting picture of abſurdity, meanneſs, and barbarity. A forgiveneſs of the old treaſon ſhould immediately have followed the releaſe of Raleigh, from a long confinement in the tower; a puniſhment much more than equal to his delinquency. Where was the neceſſity of reſerving the ſentence as a check, when he might have been brought to the bar, for ſubſequent crimes; crimes which, with, retroſpect to the lenity of his ſovereign, muſt have preſſed on him the more heavily? During the proceedings againſt Sir Walter, at Winchester, an abandoned jury, after a deliberation of ſcarcely fifteen minutes, and in contempt of law, and equity, returned their verdict guilty, on the ſole, and written evidence of Cobham, a perfidious friend on moſt occaſions, notorious for the profligacy of his manners, and the wretched application of a limited underſtanding; but, at this memorable, and diſgraceful criſis, marked by ſuch contradictions in his teſtimony as muſt affect with horror the minds of all who are not loſt to every ſenſe of virtue. Could a jury be packed, to ſerve theſe flagitious purpoſes, and ſhall we conclude that, on the expiration of a period which did not reach to fifteen years, a ſufficient number of court-hirelings would be wanting to caſt Raleigh, under the evidence of guilt, even in ſpite of the popular, but ridiculous idea that hoſtilities directed againſt the Spaniards, within the Indies, during a profound peace with Europe, were not illegal?

(*f*) On this ſubject, (which hath occaſioned the preceding note) Oſborne alſo obſerves that " no peace beyond
" the

" time prevailed in the nation (and it is plainly ſup-
" poſed by Sir Walter in his apology,) that, by
" treaty, war was allowed with the Spaniards, in the
" Indies, although peace was made in Europe: and,
" while that notion took place, no Jury would have
" found Raleigh guilty. So that had not the king
" puniſhed him upon the old ſentence, the Spaniards
" would have had a juſt cauſe of complaint againſt the
" King, ſufficient to have produced a war, at leaſt
" to have deſtroyed all cordiality between the na-
" tions (*g*)"

On the morning after he had been brought to the bar of the king's-bench, Sir Walter Raleigh, notwithſtanding that it was a time of feſtivity, and joy (*h*) proceeded, in the cuſtody of the ſheriffs of Middleſex, to the old palace-yard, at Weſtminſter, where, in the front of the parliament-houſe, a ſcaffold was erected for his execution. On this he mounted with a chearful countenance, and bowed courteouſly to the lords, and others of his acquaintance, who were preſent. When the proper officers had made a proclamation for ſilence, Raleigh obſerved that as he was yeſterday taken out of his bed, in a ſtrong fit of a fever, which, as its untimelineſs forbore no occaſion, nor place, might ſuddenly return, he muſt firſt implore GOD that HE would preſerve him from its inter-

" the line was a belief ſo riveted in the opinion of all, as
" that Raleigh could not have been indicted anew, without
" the king's producing the original articles, by which his
" accuſers would have been convinced of malice, or his
" prince of folly." Memoirs of king James. p. 108.

(*g*) Mr. Hume concludes his remarks with the following paſſages. " This explication I thought neceſſary, in order
" to clear up the ſtory of Raleigh; which, although very
" obvious, is generally miſtaken in ſo groſs a manner,
" that I ſcarcely know its parallel in the Engliſh hiſtory."

(*h*) October the 29th; the lord-mayor's day.

interruptions, during the laſt ſufferings; and, next, deſire the audience that, if any diſability of voice, or dejection of countenance ſhould appear in him, they would impute his ſituation not to puſillanimity, but to the diſorder of his body. Then, pauſing for a ſhort time, he ſat down, in view of a window, at which the lords Arundel, Northampton, and Doncaſter, together with other nobles, were then placed. As they were conſiderably removed from the ſcaffold, he apprehended that they could not clearly diſtinguiſh his words; and, therefore remarked that he would ſtrain his voice, becauſe he was deſirous that they ſhould hear him. The lord Arundel, and others, having anſwered that they would rather approach the ſcaffold, advanced immediately towards him. Then Sir Walter Raleigh, having again ſaluted them, proceeded thus.

"I thank GOD that HE hath ſent me to die in the "light, and not in darkneſs. I likewiſe thank GOD "that HE hath ſuffered me to die before ſuch an aſ- "ſembly of honourable witneſſes, and not, obſcurely, "in the tower, where, for the ſpace of thirteen "years together, I have been oppreſſed with many "miſeries. And I return HIM thanks that my fever "hath not taken me, at this time, as I prayed to "HIM it might not, that I might clear myſelf of ſome "accuſations unjuſtly laid to my charge, and leave "behind me the teſtimony of a true heart, both to "my king, and country."

"There are two main points of ſuſpicion that his "majeſty hath conceived againſt me, and which, I "conceive, have eſpecially haſtened my coming hi- "ther; therefore I deſire to clear them to your lord- "ſhips, and reſolve you, in the truth thereof. The "firſt is that his majeſty hath been informed that I "have had ſome plot, or confederacy with France,

"for

" for which he had ſome reaſons, although grounded
" upon a weak foundation. One was, that when I
" returned to Plymouth, I endeavoured to go to Ro-
" chelle, which was becauſe I would fain have made
" my peace, before I came to England. Another rea-
" ſon was that again I would have bent my courſe to
" France, upon my laſt intended eſcape from London,
" being the place where I might have the beſt means
" of making ſuch peace, and the beſt ſafeguard, dur-
" ing that terror from above. Theſe, joined with
" the coming of the French agent to my houſe, here,
" in London, only to confer about my ſaid voyage,
" together with the report of my having a commiſſion
" from the king of France, might occaſion my being
" ſo ſuſpected in this particular, and his majeſty to be
" ſo diſpleaſed with me. But this I ſay; for a man
" to call to GOD to witneſs, at any time, to a falſe-
" hood, is a grievous ſin. To call HIM as a wit-
" neſs to a falſehood, at the point of death, when
" there is no time for repentance, is a crime far
" more impious, and deſperate; therefore, for me to
" call that MAJESTY to witneſs an untruth, before
" whoſe tribunal I muſt inſtantly appear, were, be-
" yond meaſure ſinful, and without hope of pardon.
" I do yet call that great GOD to Witneſs, that, as I
" hope to ſee HIM, and be ſaved by HIM, and live
" in the world to come, I never had any plot, or in-
" telligence with the French king; never had any
" commiſſion from him, nor ſaw his hand, or ſeal;
" that I never had any practice, or combination with
" the French agent, nor ever knew, or ſaw ſuch a
" perſon, until I met him, in my gallery, unlooked
" for. If I ſpeak not true, O LORD! let me never en-
" ter into thy kingdom."

"The ſecond ſuſpicion, or imputation was that "his majeſty hath been informed that I had ſpoken "diſloyally of him. The only witneſs of this was a "baſe Frenchman, a runnagade, a chemical fellow, "whom I ſoon knew to be perfidious; for, being "drawn by him into the action of freeing myſelf at "Wincheſter, in which, I confeſs that my hand was "touched, he, being ſworn by ſecrecy over-night, "revealed it, the next morning. It is ſtrange that ſo "mean a fellow could ſo far encroach himſelf into the "favour of the lords (*i*); and, gaping after ſome "great reward, could ſo falſely accuſe me of ſeditious "ſpeeches againſt his majeſty, and be ſo credited. "But this I here ſpeak; it is no time for me to flatter, "or to fear princes, I who am ſubject only unto "death. And for me, who have now to do with GOD "alone, to tell a lye, to get the favour of the king, "were in vain, and yet, if ever I did ſpeak diſloyally, "or diſhoneſtly of the king, either to this Frenchman, "or any other, ever intimate the leaſt thought, hurt-"ful, or prejudicial to him, the LORD blot me out of "the Book of Life."

"I confeſs that I did attempt to eſcape, and it was "only to ſave my life. I, likewiſe, confeſs that I feign-"ed myſelf to be indiſpoſed (*k*), at Saliſbury; but I hope "that

(*i*) This was Manourie, a French quack. It appears yet ſtranger that he could have encroached himſelf into the favour of the diſcerning Sir Walter Raleigh.

(*k*) It is probable that when this unhappy man languiſhed afterwards, under an intermitting fever, the court imagined that he was ſtill acting his impoſtures; and, therefore, over-ruled the plea of illneſs, and gave orders that he ſhould be conducted to the bar of the king's-bench, and, (almoſt immediately) from thence, to the ſcaffold. If he was not ſuſpected of having feigned ſickneſs, at this alarming juncture, the rapid cruelty of James, and his adviſers, is without a parallel.

" that it was no ſin; for the prophet David did make " himſelf a fool, and ſuffered ſpittle to fall upon his " beard, to eſcape from the hands of his enemies, " and it was not imputed unto him as a ſin. What I " did was only to prolong time, until his majeſty came, " in hopes of ſome commiſeration from him."

" But I forgive that Frenchman, and, likewiſe, Sir " Lewis Stuckley, the wrongs which he hath done me, " with all my heart, for, I have received the ſacra- " ment, this morning, of Mr. Dean (*l*), and I have " forgiven all men; but in charity to others, am " bound to caution them againſt him, and ſuch as he " is. For Sir Lewis Stuckley, my keeper, and kinſ- " man, hath affirmed that I ſhould tell him that my " lord Carew, and my lord of Doncaſter, here, did " adviſe me to eſcape; but I proteſt before GOD, " that I never told him any ſuch thing; neither did " theſe lords adviſe me to any ſuch matter. It is not " likely that I ſhould acquaint two privy-counſellors " of my eſcape; nor that I ſhould tell him, my keep- " er, that it was their advice; neither was there any " reaſon to tell it him, or he to report it; for it is " well known that he left me ſix, eight, or ten days " together, to go whither I liſted, while he rode about " the country. He farther accuſed me that I ſhould " ſhew him a letter, whereby I did ſignify that I " would give him ten thouſand pounds to eſcape; but " GOD caſt my ſoul into everlaſting fire, if ever I " made ſuch proffer of ten thouſand pounds, or one " thouſand pounds; but, indeed, I ſhewed him a let- " ter that if he would go with me, there ſhould be " order taken for the diſcharge of his debts, when he " was gone; neither had I one thouſand pounds; for,



(*l*) Doctor Robert Tounſon, dean of Weſtminſter, who attended Raleigh, during his laſt moments.

" if I had I could have made my peace better with it, " otherwiſe than by giving it to Stuckley. Further, he " gave out that when I came to Sir Edward Parham's " houſe, who had been a follower of mine, and gave " me good entertainment, I there received ſome dram " of poiſon: When I anſwered that I feared no ſuch " thing, for I was well aſſured of thoſe in the houſe; " and, therefore, wiſhed him to have no ſuch thought. " Now, I will not only ſay, that GOD is the GOD of " revenge (*m*), but, alſo, of mercy; and I deſire " GOD to forgive him, as I hope to be forgiven."

" It was told the king that I was brought by force " into England, and that I did not intend to return " again. Whereas captain Charles Parker, Mr. Tre- " ſham, Mr. Leak, and divers others that knew how I " was dealt withal by the common ſoldiers, will wit- " neſs to the contrary. There was an hundred and " fifty of them, who mutinied againſt me, and ſent for " me to come to them; for, unto me, they would not " come. They kept me cloſe priſoner in my cabin, " and forced me to take an oath that I would not go " into England, without their conſent, otherwiſe, they " would have caſt me into the ſea. After I had taken " this oath, I did, by wine, gifts, and fair words, ſo work " upon the maſter-gunner, and twelve of the fac- " tion, that I won them to deſiſt from their purpoſes, " and intended, when I returned home, to procure " their pardon; and, in the mean while, I propoſed

" that

(*m*) It were to be wiſhed that the inſinuation that God is the God of revenge had not been in the laſt ſpeech of one who profeſſes to have forgiven all men. This paſſage tends rather to leſſen than increaſe the force of the ſucceeding ſentence: " I deſire God to forgive him, as I expect to be " forgiven." Perhaps theſe words induced Mr. Hume to obſerve that, on the ſcaffold, Raleigh endeavoured to revenge himſelf, and to load his enemies with the public hatred.

" that I would diſpoſe of ſome of them, in Ireland; to " which they agreed, and would have gone into the " north parts, from which I diſſuaded them, and told " them that they were Redſhanks who inhabit there, ſo " drew them to the ſouth; and the better to clear my- " ſelf of them, was forced to give them an hundred, " and fifty pounds, at Kinſale, otherwiſe I had never " got from them."

" There was a report alſo that I meant not to go " to Guiana, at all; and that I knew not of any mine, " nor intended any ſuch matter; but only to get my " liberty, which I had not the wit to keep. But it " was my intent to go for gold, for the benefit of his " majeſty, myſelf, and thoſe who went with me, with " the reſt of my countrymen; although he that knew " the head of the mine would not diſcover it, when he " ſaw that my ſon was ſlain (*n*), but made himſelf " away. My lord of Arundel! You being in the " gallery of my ſhip, at my departure, I remember, " you took me by the hand, and ſaid that you would " requeſt one thing of me, which was that whether I " made a good or a bad voyage, that I would return " again into England, which I then promiſed, and gave " you my faith that I would (*o*). Another ſlander " was raiſed of me, that I ſhould have gone away from " them, and have left them, at Guiana; but there were " a great many worthy men, who accompanied me al- " ways, as my ſerjeant-major, and divers others who " knew it was none of my intention. Alſo, it hath " been ſaid that I ſtinted them of freſh water; to " which I anſwer that every one was (as it muſt be in a

 " ſhip,)

(*n*) Here, alſo, the reader will obſerve that Raleigh did not pretend to know any thing of the mine.

(*o*) Arundel anſwered: " So you did, it is true; and " they were the laſt words I ſaid to you."

" ſhip,) furniſhed by meaſure, and not according to " their appetites. This courſe all ſeamen know muſt " be uſed amongſt them, and to this ſtreight were we " driven. Another opinion was held that I carried " with me ſixteen thouſand pieces of gold; and that " all the voyage I intended was but to gain my liber- " ty, and this money into my hands. But, as I ſhall " anſwer it before GOD, I had no more, in all the " world, either directly, or indirectly, than one hun- " dred pounds; whereof I gave about forty-five pounds " to my wife. But the ground of this falſe report " was that twenty thouſand pounds being adventured, " and but four thouſand appearing in the ſurveyor's " books, the reſt had my hand to the bills for divers " adventures; but, as I hope to be ſaved, I had not a " penny more than one hundred pounds. Theſe are " the material points (*p*) I thought good to ſpeak of. " I am, at this inſtant, to render my account to GOD, " and I proteſt, as I ſhall appear before HIM, that this " which I have ſpoken of is true."

" I will borrow but a little more time of Mr. She- " riff, that I may not detain him too long; and, here- " in, I ſhall ſpeak of the imputation laid upon me " through the jealouſy of the people, that I had been " a perſecutor of my lord of Eſſex; that I rejoiced in " his death, and ſtood in a window over-againſt him " when

(*p*) It is remarkable that Sir Walter Raleigh did not, on the ſcaffold, take the leaſt notice of the nature of the commiſſion which impowered him to make diſcoveries in the ſouthern quarters of America. May we not, without the ſhadow of injuſtice, repreſent this ſilence, (and, particularly, when no other material points of vindication, and defence, are unnoticed,) as a proof that he could not ſincerely think of invalidating one opinion of the court-partizans, who aſſerted that the tenor of the commiſſion implied that Raleigh was not pardoned?

" when he ſuffered; and puffed out tobacco, in defi-
" ance of him; when, as GOD is my witneſs, that I
" ſhed tears for him when he died; and, as I hope to
" look GOD in the face, hereafter, my lord of Eſſex
" did not ſee my face, at the time of his death; for
" I was far off in the Armory, where I ſaw him, but he
" ſaw not me. It is true that I was of a contrary fac-
" tion; but I take the ſame GOD to witneſs that I had
" no hand in his death, nor bare him any ill affec-
" tion, but always believed that it would be better for
" me, that his life had been preſerved (*q*); for after
" his fall, I got the hatred of thoſe who wiſhed me
" well before; and thoſe who ſet me againſt him (*r*),
" ſet themſelves, afterwards, againſt me, and were my
" greateſt enemies; and my ſoul hath many times
" been grieved that I was not nearer to him when he
" died; becauſe, as I underſtood afterwards, he aſked
" for me, at his death, and deſired to have been recon-
" ciled to me."

" And now I intreat that you all will join with me,
" in prayer to that great GOD of Heaven, whom I have
" grievouſly offended, (being a man full of all vanity,
" who hath lived a ſinful life, in ſuch callings as have
" been moſt inducing to it; for I have been a ſoldier,
" a ſailor and a courtier, which are courſes of wick-
" edneſs, and vice,) that his almighty goodneſs will



(*q*) Remarks on this paſſage, and the events which gave riſe to it, have been made in the 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, and 111th page, of the fourth volume of this work.

(*r*) If we adhere to the literal meaning of the expreſſion, it will, perhaps, be difficult to reconcile it with a preceding ſentence, wherein Raleigh obſerves that " he never bare " Eſſex any ill affection." It ſhould ſeem that being " ſet, " againſt another, ill affection" muſt follow, as the natural conſequence.

"forgive me; that HE will caſt away my ſins from "me; and that HE will receive me into everlaſting "life. So, I take my leave of you all, making my "peace with GOD (s)."

When Sir Walter Raleigh had concluded this ſpeech he delivered to the ſheriff the following written ſummary of it, ſigned with his own hand, and intitled "My anſwer to ſome things, at my death."

"I did never receive any direction from my lord "Carew, to make my eſcape; nor did I ever tell Stuc-"ley any ſuch thing. I did never name my lord Hay, "and my lord Carew, to Stucley, in other words, or "ſenſe, than as my honourable friends, amongſt "other lords. I did never ſhew unto Stucley, any "letter wherein there were ten thouſand pounds "named, or any one pound; only I told him that I "hoped to procure payment of his debts, in his "abſence. I never had a commiſſion from the French "king. I never ſaw the French king's hand, or ſeal, "in my life. I never had any plot, or practice with "the French, either directly, or indirectly, nor with "any other prince, or ſtate, unknown to the king. "My true intent was to go to a mine of gold, in "Guiana; it was not feigned; but it is true that ſuch "a mine there is, within three miles of Saint Thome. "I never had in my thought to go from Trinidado, "and leave my companies, to come afterwards to the "ſavage iſland, as Hatby Fearne hath falſely reported. "I did not carry with me an hundred pieces. I had "with

(s) This ſpeech is copied partly from a manuſcript in the Harleian library, partly from a manuſcript, lately in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Oldys, and partly from printed Matter. As each of theſe ſupplied what was wanting in the others, it is ſufficient to inform the reader that no conſiderable variations are, here, inſerted.

"with me about ſixty; and brought back near the "ſame number. I never ſpeak to the French Manourie "any one diſloyal word, or diſhonourable ſpeech of "the king; nay, if I had not loved the king truly, "and truſted in his goodneſs ſomewhat too much, I "know that I had not now ſuffered death."

"Theſe things are moſt true; as there is a GOD; "and as I am now to appear before his judgement-ſeat; "where I renounce all mercy, and ſalvation, if this be "not truth. W. Raleigh (*t*).

Sir Walter now prepared for death, and having intreated the lord Arundel to beſeech the king that he would prevent the publication of ſuch writings as might be calculated baſely to aſperſe the memory of one whom he had doomed to ſuffer, added "I have a "long journey to go, and, therefore, muſt take my "leave." Having pulled off his coat, and doublet, he directed the executioner to ſhew him the Axe, and, perceiving that he heſitated to comply with this demand, exclaimed "I pray thee let me ſee it. Doſt thou think "that I am afraid of it?" He then looked, with a ſerene ſmile towards the Sheriff, and extending the fatal inſtrument in his hand, obſerved "This is a ſharp Medi-"cine, but it is a ſound cure for all diſeaſes." He, next, intreated the ſpectators to pray to GOD that HE would graciouſly vouchſafe to ſtrengthen, and aſſiſt him in the hour of death. The Executioner now fell upon his knees, and deſired his forgiveneſs, when Raleigh, laying his hand, gently, upon his ſhoulder, ſaid "It is "granted." Being aſked in what manner he would extend himſelf on the block, he anſwered "So the Heart "be right, it is no matter how the head lies." As he ſtooped to prepare himſelf for the laſt ſufferings, his own Cloak was ſpread under him. After a ſhort pauſe, he,

(*t*) Raleigh's Remains.

he, by lifting up his hands, gave the ſignal for the ſtroke, and at two blows, his head was ſevered from the body. When it had been ſhewn, on each ſide of the ſcaffold, it was conveyed away in a mourning coach, which had been ſent for that purpoſe, by the lady Raleigh. The body received interment within the chancel, and near the altar of the church of Saint Margaret, at Weſtminſter; but the head was preſerved in a caſe, during the life-time of his unhappy widow, who ſurvived the execution of her huſband, twenty-nine years. At her deceaſe, it was taken, and afterwards, kept, with equal veneration, by her ſon Carew, with whom it is recorded to have been buried (*u*).

Thus periſhed, at the age of ſixty-ſix years, Sir Walter Raleigh (*x*), a victim to the reſentment of the Spani-

(*u*) Mr. Oldys remarks that although it was imagined, by Anthony Wood, that Carew Raleigh was buried at Weſtminſter, in the ſame Grave with his father, yet it is aſſerted, at Weſt Horſley, in Surrey, (which was his ſeat,) that he was interred there. The inhabitants have a tradition that, at the burial, the head of Sir Walter Raleigh, which had been kept by Carew, was put into the grave, with the corpſe of the latter.

Mr. Nicholas, a gentleman who reſided on the eſtate, remarked, in a letter addreſſed to a friend, that "he verily believed that the head which he ſaw digged up there, in the year, one thouſand, ſeven hundred, and three, from the ſide of a grave wherein a Carew Raleigh had been buried, was that of Sir Walter Raleigh, there being no bones of a body to it, nor room for any bones, as the reſt of that ſide of the grave was firm chalk."

(*x*) Harlein MS.—The celebrated Mr. Walpole hath obſerved that Sir Walter Raleigh "imitated the death of "Eſſex more worthily than he beheld it *," and, with concern

* Royal, and Noble Authors, V. 1. p. 147. Article Eſſex.

Spaniards, and to the ſordid puſillanimity of his ſovereign, who eager to accompliſh the marriage of the prince

cern muſt it be added, more worthily than he encompaſſed it. Mr. Hume remarks ‡ that "with the utmoſt indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and reiceived the "fatal blow. And, in his death, there appeared the ſame "great, but ill-regulated mind, which, during his life, had "diſplayed itſelf in all his conduct, and behaviour." We muſt confeſs that we want penetration ſufficient to diſcover the leaſt mark of this utmoſt indifference. It appears not either in his ſpeech, or at the moment of his exit. The idea which is ſuggeſted to us of a "great, but ill-regulated "Mind," ſhould be guarded againſt, when it proceeds from a philoſopher, to whoſe ſect it were a miſery to belong. He calls in queſtion the ſolemn aſſertions of Raleigh that he had not contributed to the death of Eſſex; yet mentions the "Appearance of a great Mind." It is far to an extreme, from being great, in any ſenſe whatſoever that can be put upon the word. We make this obſervation under the conjecture that Raleigh was acceſſary to the fate of Eſſex. In this light, we can perceive only a baſe, and infernal mind: an horrid mixture of the moſt abominable cowardice, and the moſt deſperate audacity. Fearing the cenſure of his fellow-creatures more than he dreaded the vengeance of his GOD, Raleigh ruſhes into his awful preſence, after the poſitive denial of an eſtabliſhed fact. For the ſake of argument, be it allowed that this unhappy man was innocent of that particular crime; the procurement of the death of Eſſex. Amidſt the aſſertions of that innocence, do we perceive an "ill-regulated mind?" Is it "ill-regulated" to expire like a Chriſtian? Or, is it "great," in the laſt moment of life, to bid the PURE FOUNTAIN OF ALL TRUTH, bear witneſs to a falſity? In whichſoever form, we receive the obſervation of Mr. Hume, we receive it reeking with the worſt of poiſons. In charity to a celebrated individual, (for whoſe memory we retain all proper veneration,) let us ſuppoſe that he had overlooked the tendency of this remark. It is however neceſſary that we ſhould endeavour to confute it. Amendment, and not corruption, muſt be the leading view of hiſtory. Why will not the ſceptical philoſopher proceed upon the ſame ground?

‡ Hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 6. p. 99.

prince of Wales with the infanta, appeared content to ſeal their union with the blood of one of the greateſt, and moſt ſerviceable ſubjects in the kingdom. Although the late commiſſion did not imply a pardon, yet the people, who beheld with horror the execution of a ſevere, and long ſuſpended ſentence, and were unanimouſly diſguſted at the proſpect of the approaching nuptials, declared, in loud murmurs, that even the common feelings of humanity might have dictated to James the neceſſity of a pardon, and that fear, indiſcretion, barbarity, and injuſtice, had accelerated the fate of Raleigh. The character of this accompliſhed hero may be gathered from thoſe incidents of his life which are related in the courſe of our memoir. Adhering to the juſt, but painful duty of an hiſtorian, we have already expatiated on thoſe principles in his conduct, which ſeem the moſt reproachable. Let us now retire from the inveſtigation of crimes which ſtrike the mind with horror, and aſtoniſhment. In the more pleaſing part of the picture may be perceived cool fortitude; a well directed military ſkill; a profound knowledge of the naval arts; a zealous predilection for the ſea-ſervice, united with a generous attachment to the ſailors, and a firm maintenance of proper diſcipline; a degree of learning which few of the men of genius, who flouriſhed during the laſt century, have been capable of reaching; a wide experience in the myſteries of government; a love of action perpetually ſtimulated by unremitting ardour in the chace of fame; the heroiſm of the mind which no affliction could ſuppreſs; an unabated determination to encourage hope, when every future proſpect appeared a ſignal for deſpair; a calm, but vigorous exertion of diffuſive talents, amidſt the imbecility of age, the attacks of ſickneſs, and the Horrors of Impriſonment; the

the mild, and juſtly-regulated indulgence of a bounteous maſter; the ſtrict fidelity, and tender aſſiduities of an admiring huſband; the unremitted, yet affectionate obſervance of parental duties; an inviolable adherence to all the laws which are connected with the neceſſity of filial reverence; the rigid preſervation of thoſe exalted ties which have united men in honourable friendſhips; the agreeable addreſs of an accompliſhed gentleman; and the innocent, but ſportive humour of the gay companion. Such were the virtues, and the qualities of Raleigh. Amidſt the recollections of his errors, may theſe be not forgotten (*y*)!

(*y*) The fate of the Lord Cobham, and Sir Lewis Stucley, the perfidious friends of Raleigh, is too ſingular to be omitted. Cobham, once in poſſeſſion of an income amounting to ſeven thouſand pounds, died, ſtarved to death, naked, and covered with vermin, in a room aſcended by a ladder, at the houſe of a poor woman, (who had formerly been his laundreſs,) in the Minories. This relation comes from the authority of William, earl of Pembroke. The king, to whom the eſtate of Cobham ſhould have eſcheated, was fraudulently deprived of it; and therefore could give him no maintenance, except from the crown-revenues; a charity which was refuſed to him. Lady Cobham poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune, yet would not grant to her huſband the crumbs which fell from her table.—Previous to the expiration of a year from the time of his having been bribed to betray Raleigh, Sir Lewis Stucley was detected, in the palace, at Whitehall, clipping the very pieces of gold which had been paid to him, as the wages of guilt. He was tried, and ſentenced to be hanged, but, having ſold all his effects, even to his ſhirt, for the purpoſe of buying a pardon, he obtained the royal mercy, through the intereſt of two knights. He, then, eſcaped from the view, and contempt of his fellow-creatures to the iſle of Lundy, on the river Severn, where he died, a victim to the complicated evils of beggary, and madneſs.

# MEMOIRS

OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

## The FIFTH PERIOD.

NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the REIGN of CHARLES, the FIRST.

AT the demiſe of James, Charles, Prince of Wales, ſucceeded to the throne, amidſt the general approbation of his ſubjects (*a*). He was in the flower of his age, and endued with conſiderable abilities, of which he had made ſo prudent a uſe, from the period at which the Spaniſh match was broken off, that he became the favourite of the people (*b*). His father left him in a ſituation exceedingly perplex-

(*a*) Frankland's Annals, p. 107.—Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion. Oxford, 1712. 8vo. V. 1. p. 22—24.—— Ruſhworth, V. 1. p. 165.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(*b*) Wilſon's Hiſtory of king James, in Kennet, p. 779, 780.—Frankland's Annals, p. 93.—Rapin, V. 2. Folio. p. 228, 229.—Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs.—See the parliamentary

perplexing. The government was involved in debt; a war with Spain had juſt commenced, and the duke of Buckingham, yet in poſſeſſion of the poſt of prime-miniſter, remained an object of the general hatred (*c*). At this alarming criſis, all points were ſubject to wrong conſtructions. Eight thouſand men, raiſed for the ſervice of the Palatinate, were directed to repair to Plymouth, and, during their march thither, the inhabitants of the country received orders to ſupply them with coat, and conduct-money, of which they were promiſed a repayment from the Exchequer. The behaviour of the troops was licentious to an extreme, and the long continuance of peace made it appear a greater evil. At length, the clamour roſe to ſuch a violent degree, that Charles, concluding that the meaſure would be ſatisfactory to the ſubjects who had been particularly aggrieved, iſſued a commiſſion for the execution of martial law, which, inſtead of being conſidered as a remedy, proved the cauſe of murmurs more violent than any of the former (*d*).

It muſt be confeſſed that whilſt Buckingham retained any influence at the council-board, every odious proceeding was attributed to him; and ſuch were the prejudices which the nation had conceived againſt him, that

mentary Hiſtory of England, (V. 6.) where the whole of the buſineſs relating to the Spaniſh match, the ſhare which the prince of Wales, and the duke of Buckingham took therein, in parliament, and the effects which it produced, are ably, and accurately treated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(*c*) Clarendon, V. 1. p. 25.—Bulſtrode's Memoirs of the reign of Charles the firſt, p. 25.—Sir P. Warwick's memoirs, p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 104.

(*d*) Ruſhworth, V. 1. p. 168.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 1.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 4.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 105.

that all acts in which he was ſuſpected to have been concerned were regarded as grievances. Of this circumſtance no perſon within the kingdom felt the force more irreſiſtibly than the ſovereign, and yet in conſequence of an infatuation which it would be difficult to account for, he extended his affection, and his truſt to that aſpiring favourite, with even leſs reſerve than he had hitherto enjoyed it.

The treaty of marriage between Charles, and the princeſs Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry, the fourth of France, had been concluded, during the life-time of James the firſt, and, after his deceaſe, the young king was eſpouſed to her, by proxy. In June, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, Buckingham ſet ſail, in order to attend her, with the royal navy, and, ſoon afterwards, conducted her to Dover. From thence, ſhe proceeded to Canterbury, where the marriage was conſummated. On the ſixteenth of the ſame month the royal pair entered London, privately, the plague daily increaſing within the ſuburbs (*e*). It was not long before an unfortunate tranſaction rendered this marriage diſguſting to the people, and, as the ſubject falls particularly under our cognizance, we ſhall explain it, with all its material circumſtances, to the reader.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambaſſador from the court of France, to that of England, had repreſented to James, the firſt, that the power of the Catholic king in Italy, was dangerous to all Europe, and that his ſovereign was deſirous

(*e*) Stowe's Annals, continued by Howes, p. 1041.—L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles the firſt, p. 6.—Dupleix. Hiſtoire de Louis, le juſte, p. 254.—Relation of the Triumphs, and Ceremonies obſerved at the marriage of Charles, and Henrietta Maria; London, 1625. Quarto.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 105.

deſirous of curtailing it, but, being deſtitute of a ſufficient naval force, propoſed to borrow a ſmall number of Engliſh ſhips, in order to enable him to execute the deſign which he had formed againſt Genoa *(f)*. To this meaſure, Charles, ſoon after his acceſſion, gave his aſſent; and it was agreed that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and ſix merchant ſhips, each of the burthen of either three, or four hundred tons, ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the French. The equipment of this fleet gave riſe to an application from the inhabitants of Rochelle, who ſignified that they had juſt grounds to apprehend that the Engliſh ſquadron would be employed for the deſtruction of the Proteſtant intereſt in France, inſtead of the diminution of the Spaniſh power, within the ſtates of Italy.

As the duke of Buckingham knew that theſe operations would prove diſguſting to Pennington, the admiral of the fleet, and to the owners of the ſhips, he gave them private inſtructions, contrary to the public agreement with France, whereby they were directed not to ſerve againſt Rochelle; but, on their arrival, in the month of May, at a French port, they were informed by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to ſerve, and abſolutely ſhould ſerve againſt Rochelle. In conſequence of this imperious mandate, the Engliſh ſailors, on board the fleet, ſigned, (what they term a round Robin,) a paper, expreſſive of their Reſolution not to engage in that ſervice. Their names were



(*f*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 21.—Memoirs of the duke of Rohan, Book 2. p. 108.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 6.—Ruſhworth's Collection, V. 1. p. 174.——L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles the firſt, p. 56, 57.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106.

written in a circle, that it might not be diſcerned who made the firſt ſignature.

When this meaſure had been carried into execution, Pennington ſtood out to ſea, with the whole ſquadron, and returned into the Downs, at the commencement of July. Soon after his arrival, he addreſſed a letter to Buckingham, and deſired to be excuſed from bearing a part in ſo painful, and diſhonourable a ſervice. The duke, without either acquainting the king, or conſulting the council, directed the lord Conway, who, during that period, was ſecretary of ſtate, to ſend an expreſs to Pennington, and commanded him to reſign all the ſhips into the hands of the French. As this proceeding had no effect, Buckingham, ſurreptitiouſly, and, yet concealing from the king the plan of operations again Rochelle, prevailed on him to ſend, in writing, a repetition of thoſe orders which had been tranſmitted to the Engliſh admiral. In conſequence of the royal interpoſition, Pennington ſailed, a ſecond time, to Dieppe, where, according to his inſtructions, the merchantmen were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the royal ſhip, weighed anchor, and put to ſea. All the crews, except a gunner (*g*), now deſerted from the ſervice, and returned to England. The veſſels remained in the hands of the French, and were actually employed againſt Rochelle, to the great diſhonour of the nation, and contrary

(*g*) This man was afterwards killed in charging a cannon before Rochelle *. Mr. Hume, who deſcribes him as ſingly preferring his duty towards his king to the cauſe of religion, obſerves that the care which hiſtorians have taken to record this frivolous event, proves with what pleaſure the News was received in England.

* Frankland, p. 109.—Ruſhworth, V. 1. p. 175, 176, &c. 325, 326, &c.

trary to the intention of the king. This tranſaction increaſed the popular diſcontent, and, at length, formed an article of the impeachment againſt the duke of Buckingham (*h*).

We, now, enter on the relation of a ſea-engagement, and ſhall preſent it to the reader, chiefly in the words of an officer who was preſent.

On the thirtieth of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, the Engliſh, and Dutch ſhips (*i*) being in the road of Gombroon, there arrived a ſmall frigate, belonging to a place called Chowle, which was then at war with the Portugueſe. When ſhe had anchored between the main, and Ormus, captain Weddel ſent Mr. Andrew Evans, in a ſmall boat, to inquire from what harbour her commander had ſailed laſt, and whether he could give any intelligence concerning the Portugueſe Armada. He anſwered that he came from a town diſtant about eight, or ten leagues from Chowle, and ſituated to the Southward of it; that his frigate was laden with pepper, and other merchandize; and that, on the twenty-fourth of Ja-



(*h*) Frankland, p. 156.—Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 6.—Captain John Pennington's letter to the Duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vanguard, in the Downs, July 27, 1625.—Cabala, p. 350.—The moſt diſtinct account is to be gathered out of the ſeventh, and eighth articles exhibited againſt the duke of Buckingham, by the houſe of commons, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-ſix; and the ſpeech of Mr. Glanvill on the ſubject of the ſaid articles.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 106, 107, 108.

(*i*) Theſe were, of Engliſh veſſels, the Royal-James, admiral; the Jonas, vice-admiral; the Star, rear-admiral; and the Eagle. John Weddel was the commander in chief. The Dutch ſquadron conſiſted of the South-Holland, admiral; the Bantam, vice-admiral; the Maud of Dort, rear-admiral; and the Weaſope. The chief commander was Albert Becker.

nuary, as he was off Cape Cordell, and between the coaſt of India, and Cape Jacques, he diſcovered, to the Leeward, eight large galleons, and ſeveral frigates, the laſt of which gave chace, but could not come up with him, as he had taken ſhelter, in ſhallow water, near the ſhore.

At day-break, and, on the thirty-firſt of January, the Engliſh, and Dutch fleets heared the diſcharge of three pieces of Ordnance, at Kiſhme Caſtle, the governour of which had promiſed captain Weddel that, if he diſcovered any ſhips, he would, by firing thrice, give the ſignal of their approach.

A mariner was now ſent up to the top-maſt-head of the Royal James, from whence he diſcovered eight ſail of ſhips, attended by ſeveral frigates. Weddel then gave orders that the bloody colours ſhould be hoiſted, and a gun diſcharged, as a warning for all the fleet to put themſelves in readineſs. At the ſame time, the Dutch weighed anchor, and getting under ſail, ſtood towards the enemy, whoſe intention was to bear down upon them unprepared. But their hopes were fruſtrated.

Towards eight at night, it became calm, and the Engliſh ſquadron caſt anchor, when the commander of the Dutch ſhips ſent the maſter of the South-Holland, and ſeveral merchants on board the Royal-James, to aſk the opinion of captain Weddel, concerning the fleet he had juſt deſcried. He anſwered that it was the Portugueſe Armada, which had been two years preparing to intercept the Dutch, and Engliſh; that theſe formidable adverſaries were now arrived from Goa, fluſhed with the hopes of victory, and intended, ſhould their previous attempts become ſucceſsful, to direct their hoſtilities againſt Ormus, Kiſhme, and Gombroon, to deſtroy the ſettled trade of the inhabitants,

and

and to extirpate them with ruin, and diſhonour. He added that he was determined to engage the Portugueſe, whilſt he had an individual alive, within his ſhip, and he did not entertain a doubt but that all others, under his command, had formed the ſame laudable reſolution. The Dutch replied that they would ſupport the Engliſh, by every brave, and vigorous effort, within their power.

On the firſt of February, the South-Holland, the Bantam, the Maud, and the Weaſope, ſet ſail, almoſt an hour before the appearance of day, and were ſoon followed by the Engliſh ſquadron; but the Dutch admiral being far a-head, fired the firſt ſhot at the Portugueſe, who returned it by a diſcharge of three guns.

The contending fleets were now within a ſhort diſtance of each other, when it fell calm, in conſequence of which event, our ſhips could not be worked, but as the tide ſet them, ſo that when the Portugueſe were board, and board, they had a great advantage over us, by the aſſiſtance of their frigates, which often towed them clear of each other; an aſſiſtance that we greatly wanted. Thus we lay, during four, or five hours, diſcharging our ordnance at each other; whilſt the frigates plyed us inceſſantly with their ſmall ſhot. Towards the evening a briſk gale aroſe; yet the enemy was to Windward, and the Admiral, and vice-admiral of the Portugueſe endeavoured to board the Royal-James. Captain Weddel, perceiving their intentions, commanded the maſter of his ſhip to bear a little laſking, in order to ſeparate them from each other, that he might have room to paſs between them. The vice-admiral of the enemy, obſerving that the Royal-James bore up, advanced towards this ſhip, when, ſuddenly, captain Weddel, obſerving a poſſibility that he might fall to Windward of him, cauſed his mizen, and

mizen-top-ſail, to be ſet, and ſoon afterwards weathered him, edging cloſe up with the admiral, and being within muſket-ſhot of both. The Portugueſe admiral put to ſtay, by which means the Royal James got the wind of him alſo, and came ſo near under his ſtern, that his boats were cloſe at the ſide of our ſhip, as ſhe ſheered by. We now poured into him a whole broad-ſide, (every ſhot raking him fore and aft,) and then tacked, and ſtood after him. During this engagement, which laſted until five in the evening, eight of the mariners, belonging to the Royal James, were killed, and others received ſlight wounds. On this day, alſo, fell the chief commander of the Dutch, a valiant, and experienced officer. The Royal James, alone, expended nearly ſeven hundred large ſhot; and the other ſhips diſcharged their artillery almoſt as frequently. At ſun-ſet, the Portugueſe retreated, and came to an anchor at the eaſt end of Kiſhme, the Engliſh being ſtationed north north-weſt, and diſtant from them about two leagues. Thus ended the firſt engagement.

On the ſecond of February, the wind, which was not extremely briſk, blew from the coaſt of Kiſhme; an advantage which the enemy, who betrayed great negligence, might eaſily have embraced. The Engliſh, and the Dutch, were aſſiduouſly employed in the repair of their damaged rigging, and in cloſing thoſe dangerous ſhot-holes which, during the fight, they had received from the enemy, betwixt wind and water.

In the afternoon of the ſame day, a conſultation was holden on board the Royal James, when it was determined by the Dutch, and Engliſh, that they would give battle to the enemy, at the firſt appearance of the next morning, and that the South-Holland ſhould

follow

follow the Royal James, which was intended to be the leading ſhip. Accordingly, on the third of February, and at break of day, the two fleets weighed anchor; and the Royal James, having obtained the weather-gage of the enemy, ſtood right with the admiral of the Portugueſe, (headmoſt, except one ſhip,) who diſcharged a broad-ſide, which Weddel commanded his crew not to return, until they were brought nearer within danger. On a cloſer approach, the Royal James fired a whole broad-ſide againſt the admiral, and vice-admiral of the Portugueſe, which occaſioned them to bear away. Taking the advantage of this ſeparation, the Eagle and the Weaſope chaced one of the adverſe ſhips, during three hours, with a view of preventing her from returning to the fleet. All this time, the Royal James was ſurrounded, and attacked by the Portugueſe; but, after a deſperate engagement, in the courſe of which the cannon of the Engliſh were inceſſantly diſcharged, the enemy thought proper to retreat. Whilſt the admiral-ſhip, commanded by captain Weddel, continued along ſide of a large veſſel in the ſervice of the Portugueſe, five hundred ſhot paſſed through her hull, maſts, ſails, and yards, before that ſhe was enabled to get clear.

On the ſame morning, Weddel had converted a Portugueſe frigate into a fire-ſhip, for the deſtruction of the largeſt veſſel belonging to the enemy; but (through the negligence of Darby, the maſter, who did not arrive at the appointed place, in time,) ſhe was chaced by the frigates, when the crew, conſiſting only of ten men, who could not poſſibly have made a vigorous reſiſtance, ſet fire to her, at a diſtance from the fleet, and returned in a barge, which had been ſtationed near at hand for the purpoſe of facilitating their eſcape. The Portugueſe frigate continued in flames, during

the whole day and night, and at five, the next morning, (whether towed by the boats of the enemy, or driven by the currents, is uncertain,) ſhe approached, burning, towards the Dutch, and Engliſh fleets, and forced them to ſlip their cables, the anchors of which were found, on the third day, from this event.

At day-break, on the fourth of February, the united ſquadrons advanced towards the Portugueſe, who crouded every ſail, in order to take ſhelter, under the iſland of Lowrack, which is ſituated nearly nine miles from Ormus. To the former place, their frigates proceeded a-head, and conducted them in over a bar. The Engliſh, and Dutch ſhips gave chace as far as was conſiſtent with their own ſafety, but, being deſtitute of pilots, made no attempt to explore a dangerous, and unfrequented paſſage. Convinced that the Portugueſe were impolitic, malicious, and implacable, they naturally ſuſpected that ordnance had been planted on the ſhore, for the purpoſe of deſtroying them at their approach. Could they have ſuppoſed the contrary, they might have endangered the veſſels of the enemy, by chaining together ſome frigates, and turning them, upon the ebb, athwart their hawſe. At this juncture, it was regarded as moſt expedient to continue ſtationed about the diſtance of a league from the iſland of Lowrack. Having weighed their anchor, the Engliſh fired a parting ſhot at the veſſels of their adverſaries, who returned it by the diſcharge of one cannon. Towards the cloſe of the evening, the united fleets entered Gombroon-Road, and the crews were immediately employed to repair the damages which the veſſels had ſuſtained, to fit our maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, and to ſtop the breaches.

During this laſt engagement, the main-top-maſt of the Jonas, and the main-maſt of the Star were ſhot

ſhot by the board. The mizen-maſt, flag, and flag-ſtaff of the admiral-ſhip, were alſo carried away by the artillery of the enemy, and her hull was much damaged. The head of the main-maſt belonging to the Eagle was ſhot away, and another ſhip loſt all her top-maſts. In ſhort, the fleets of the Dutch, and Engliſh, ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that they were become almoſt deſtitute of proper maſts, yards, ſails, and tackling.

At day-break of the thirteenth of February, they proceeded again from the road to Gombroon, attended by four junks, and other freighted veſſels, under the conduct of the Dutch. The Portugueſe, who had obſerved their motions, now ſlipped their cables, and ſtood out to ſea, endeavouring ſo to direct their courſe, that their enemies might be neareſt to the land. At ſun-ſet, and when the gale had freſhened, every ſhip belonging to the different fleets, were at a ſhort diſtance from the other, and, without offering to commit the leaſt hoſtility, kept company for a conſiderable ſpace of time.

On the thirteenth, at night, ſuch was the violence of the wind, which blew at weſt-ſouth-weſt, that one of the large Portugueſe galleons loſt the head of her main-maſt, cloſe under the hounds. Unable to hoiſt her main-ſail, ſhe was obliged to continue her courſe under her fore-ſail, fore-top-ſail, ſprit-ſail, and mizen. The wind ſtill remained in the ſame quarter; and the galleons ſteered away ſouth and by eaſt.

On the fourteenth, and ſoon after the appearance of morning, the Dutch fleet ſtayed, and bore up towards the junks, which, during the preceding night, had dropped ſo far aſtern that the Engliſh could ſcarcely deſcry them. The Royal James alſo ſhortened ſail; but the Portugueſe continued on their courſe.

At

At noon of the ſame day, and when the Dutch had re-joined the Engliſh, it was agreed that the Royal James ſhould firſt attack the admiral-ſhip, in the ſervice of the Portugueſe, and that immediately afterwards the reſt of the fleet ſhould aſſiſt, during the engagement. Accordingly, at two in the afternoon, the Dutch, and the Engliſh, having received the firſt broadſide from the enemy, returned it by a diſcharge of their artillery. The victory was obſtinately conteſted, until the cloſe of the day, when, although each party had ſeverely annoyed the other, all hoſtilities were diſcontinued, and neither yielded. At night, the Portugueſe bore away for Swar, where they had conſtructed a large fortreſs; and the Engliſh, and Dutch, ſteered their courſe towards Surat.

The reaſons given by captain Weddel, and his aſſociates, in vindication of their having declined the chaſe, were, firſt, becauſe the year was drawing to a period beyond which it muſt have been difficult to deliver goods at Surat, and then ſail away from the coaſt, before the weſterly monſoons ſhould ſet in. Theſe winds blow from April, to October, during which time, an attempt to put off to ſea might prove dangerous. Secondly, the Royal James had only thirty-one barrels, and five hundred cartridges of powder, together with ſix hundred ſhot, all of which were inſufficient to enable them to maintain an engagement, for the ſpace of a whole day; as, at the cloſe of a former fight, after the expiration of nearly twelve hours, the Royal James alone had diſcharged a thouſand great ſhot againſt the enemy. In the laſt conteſt, this ſhip expended three hundred ſhot, and loſt but one man.

The total number of the ſlain amongſt the Engliſh, including officers, and ſailors, amounted to twenty-nine. Of the Dutch were ſlain nearly thirty; and, amongſt

amongſt theſe fell Albert Becker, the chief commander of their fleet.

The Portugueſe admiral-ſhip (*k*) named the Franciſco, and commanded by Don Aliud Batellia, mounted forty-eight pieces of braſs ordnance. On board were three hundred and fifty men, of which thirty-eight fell during the engagements; and amongſt theſe were three chief captains, all killed by the ſame ſhot. Their names were Lorenzo Luis, Jeronimo Botelia, and Braſſa Coze. The fore-maſt, bowſprit, and main-maſt of the Franciſco were ſo damaged by ſhot, that they became unſerviceable. The mizen-maſt, flag, and flag-ſtaff were carried away, and the rigging was extremely torn.

The vice-admiral ſhip, named alſo the Franciſco, was commanded by Don Franciſco Burgo, and mounted thirty-two guns. The crew conſiſted of two hundred and fifty men, of which thirty, and alſo their commander, were ſlain. The main-top-maſt, fore-maſt, and bowſprit, together with the head of the main-top-maſt, and all the rigging were rent, and torn to ſo violent a degree, that they could not afterwards be applied to any uſes whatever.

The Sebaſtian, their rear-admiral-ſhip, commanded by Don Antonio Telas, was the largeſt in the fleet, and carried forty pieces of braſs ordnance. On board were four hundred men, twenty of whom fell, during

(*k*) This ſequel is delivered to us as having been taken from "a relation (by Peter Hillion, a Frenchman,) of "the force of the eight Portugueſe galleons, which fought "with the Dutch, and Engliſh fleets, in the gulph of Perſia, "including an account of the ſpoil taken, and the number "of men ſlain, on the thirteenth, and fourteenth of Febru-"ary, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred and twenty-"five." Hillion, who was on board the Portugueſe admiral-ſhip, at Surat, eſcaped to the Engliſh.

ing the engagements. The main-maſt, fore-top-maſt, fore-yard, and ſprit-ſail top-maſt were ſhot by the board; and the fore-maſt was ſhattered to ſuch a degree, that it could bear no ſail.

Of the Salvador, the fourth ſhip, Don Franciſco de Suar was commander. The number of guns amounted to twenty-four; and, on board were two hundred, and fifty-men, of which forty together with their chief officer, were ſlain. All the maſts of this ſhip, were entirely ſhattered, and unfit for ſervice.

The fifth ſhip, named the Jago, and commanded by Simon de Kintall, carried twenty-two pieces of braſs ordnance. On board were two hundred men, and of theſe eighty-three were killed. The maſts remained intire; but the hull, which had received ſeveral ſhot between wind and water, was full of leaks; a ſituation in conſequence of which the ſhip ſunk, ſoon afterwards, near the coaſt of India.

The Trinidado, the ſixth ſhip, was commanded by Pedro Alva Botelia. She mounted twenty-two pieces of braſs ordnance, and her crew conſiſted of two hundred, and fifty men, of which all, excepting ſeven, were ſlain. Her top-maſts were ſhot by the board; and every other maſt was ſo ſhattered that ſhe could bear no ſail, but was afterwards towed from Muſcat, to Goa.

On board the ſeventh ſhip, the Antonio, which carried twenty-two pieces of braſs ordnance, were two hundred men, commanded by Don de Burallia. During the engagements, twenty-two of the crew were ſlain. The maſt continued ſtanding; but ſeveral ſhot had pierced the ſides of this veſſel, which foundered afterwards near the coaſt of India.

The eighth ſhip, named Miſerere Cordium, was commanded by Roderigo de Chava, and mounted twenty-two

two pieces of braſs ordnance. Out of two hundred men, the number of the crew, but three were ſlain. The fore-top-maſt, main-yard, fore yard, and main top-ſail-yard were ſhot by the board; and the fore-maſt was ſo extremely rent, that it became unſerviceable.

The pieces of ordnance belonging to this fleet were, in number, two hundred, and thirty-two; the crews amounted to two thouſand, and one hundred men, of which four hundred, and eighty-one were ſlain, during the engagements.

At this period, a naval armament had been equipped for the purpoſe of aſſiſting the troops appointed to invade the Spaniards; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord-high-admiral, had the ſupreme direction of the enterprize, the people regarded it with diſguſt, and were ſo far rejoiced at its miſcarriage, as it furniſhed them with an opportunity of railing at the duke, and thoſe who, in conſequence of his intereſt, were intruſted with the command of the fleet, and forces (*l*). The whole of this tranſaction hath been differently related, and leſs with an adherence to truth, than from a view of gratifying the inclinations of a party. From the moſt authentic memoirs which yet remain, it is here intended to introduce a conciſe, and impartial detail of facts, which will prove to what danger princes are expoſed when they employ perſons diſagreeable to the greateſt part of their ſubjects; an error by which they almoſt neceſſarily transfer the reſentments attending their miſcarriages upon themſelves (*m*).

The war with Spain was occaſioned chiefly by the duke of Buckingham; and ſeems to have proceeded more

(*l*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114.—Ruſhworth.—Sir William Monſon's naval tracts.—Kennet.—Rapin.

(*m*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 108.

more from his perſonal diſtaſte to count Olivarez, than from any ſolid, or honourable motive. Whatſoever may have been the caſe, the war, once begun, ought, certainly, to have been proſecuted, ſince, although the duke acted from private pique, and at a time when it viſibly ſerved his own particular purpoſes, yet, without queſtion, the nation had been injured, and inſulted by the Spaniards. Sufficient grounds were not wanting for taking all the advantages which could be derived from our naval power, and our alliance with the Dutch; from the weakneſs of the enemy, and from their firſt perſuaſion that, in ſpite of our menaces, we ſhould not actually proceed to the commiſſion of hoſtilities. Yet, although it was a war particularly grafted on the inclinations, and the power of Buckingham; although he had engaged the king to proſecute it with every appearance of vigour, and reſentment; and to aſſemble a formidable fleet, together with a conſiderable body of forces, appointed to embark on board of it; when the preparations were drawing to a concluſion, and the naval armaments were almoſt in readineſs for their departure, the duke reſigned the chief command, and determined to ſend another officer in his room; a conduct which proved baneful to the whole deſign (*n*).

Sir Edward Cecil, Grandſon to the great lord Burleigh, was the perſon of whom the duke made choice for this command. That he bore the character of a brave, and experienced ſoldier, is not to be diſputed; but his naval talents were, in all reſpects, too limited to qualify him for the ſupreme direction of ſuch an enter-

(*n*) Frankland's Annals, p. 114.—Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 196.—Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 12, 13.—Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15.—Whitlocke p. 2.— Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V 2. p. 108, 109.

enterprize (*o*). The earls of Eſſex, and of Denbigh were appointed his vice, and rear-admirals; and in order that he might enjoy dignities likely to reconcile men of ſuch quality to a full ſubmiſſion under his command, he was advanced to the rank of lord-marſhal, and, at the ſame time, created baron of Putney, and viſcount Wimbleton (*p*). It was deemed equally extraordinary, impolitic, and unreaſonable, that although there wanted not many able ſeamen, ſuch as Sir Robert Manſel, Sir William Monſon, and others, yet none of them were truſted, but only thoſe who enjoyed the favour of the duke, as if that circumſtance could have conferred merit.

The force employed was extremely formidable, and conſiſted of eighty Dutch, and Engliſh ſhips, together with ten tried regiments. It was not, therefore, at all improbable that if matters had been well concerted and wiſely executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and to the honour of the king, and miniſtry. The Spaniſh plate-fleet, having more than a million on board, was then on the homeward paſſage, and muſt unavoidably have been taken by the Engliſh, if the latter had proceeded to Tercera, where, in conſequence of the deſtruction of fifty, or ſixty galleons, they might have diſabled, for at leaſt a century, the maritime power of the Spaniards. but the Engliſh ſhips did not ſail until the month of October; and, even at that period, no particular enterprize was determined on, but every meaſure was left to the direction of men, who, in reality, were

(*o*) Clarendon, V. 1. p. 40.—Kennet, p. 12, 13.—L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of Charles, the firſt, p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 109.

(*p*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 407.—Kennet, p. 13. Frankland's Annals.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 109.

were ignorant of the nature of their duty, and, ſhortly afterwards, became divided in their ſentiments (*q*).

The lord Wimbleton, and his aſſociates ſailed from Plymouth, on the ſeventh of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five; but when they had proceeded ſome leagues to ſea, the ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, and did not arrive until after the expiration of ſeveral days, at the appointed rendezvous off Cape Saint Vincent. On the nineteenth of October, a council was aſſembled, and, in purſuance of their determinations to attack Cadiz, the earl of Eſſex, on the twenty-ſecond, ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen large ſhips, and eight gallies riding near the town. Theſe, he bravely attacked, but, for want of proper orders, and due aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh ſhips were ſuffered to retreat to Port-Real, whither the lord-marſhal did not think fit to follow them. A multitude of troops then diſembarked, and took the fort of Puntal, after which ſucceſs, an attempt was made againſt the town. The ſoldiers, having diſcovered a quantity of wine, continued to drink of it until they became intoxicated, and ſo unfit for ſervice, that if the enemy had vigilantly availed themſelves of this advantage, all their aſſailants might have periſhed by the ſword. Alarmed at this incident, the officers endeavoured to reimbark their men, and when all had been conveyed on board, it was determined to cruize off Cape Saint Vincent, for the purpoſe of intercepting the plate-fleet.

At this juncture, the majority of the troops were ſeized with ſickneſs, and in conſequence of the moſt extraordinary, and pernicious order that could poſſibly have been iſſued, two of the violently diſtempered perſons

(*q*) See Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts. Book 2.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 110.

ſons were, under the pretence of being carefully attended, put on board of each ſhip, where the infection ſpread to ſo inveterate a degree, that ſcarcely a ſufficient number of hands ſurvived to navigate the fleet to England. In the month of December, theſe unfortunate adventurers returned, with that accumulated diſgrace which was foreſeen, and foretold, previous to their departure from their own country (*r*). Not long after they had landed, a charge was exhibited againſt the general, by the earl of Eſſex, and nine other officers of diſtinction, when the lord Wimbleton attempted to exculpate himſelf, in a long anſwer. Theſe memorials are yet remaining, and ſerve only to demonſtrate that a want of experience, and unanimity had proved the ruin of the expedition (*s*). Such Proceedings increaſed the popular diſcontents, expoſed the duke to greater odium, and leſſened the reputation of the naval force of England; an event which quickly produced, as, under like circumſtances, will always be the caſe, a train of inconveniencies.

The next naval tranſaction which demands our notice hath been related by an officer who was preſent; and it is from his manuſcript that we lay it, without any material alteration, before the reader.



(*r*) See the ſeveral accounts of this voyage in the works of the authors already cited.

(*s*) This charge and the anſwer are printed in the works of lord Lanſdowne, V. 2. p. 197. Edit. 1736. 12mo. The reader who ſhall compare theſe with the reflections of Sir William Monſon on the conduct of Wimbleton, will diſcern that this lord is ſeverely, and unjuſtly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he ſhould have been acting; the officers accuſing him for having neglected to call councils, and alſo acting without applying for advice. It appears that he had no idea of naval ſervice, and that his officers were unwilling to obey him.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 111, 112.

On the ſeventh of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-five, and about four in the morning, the Palſgrave, Dolphin, and Lion anchored three leagues to the ſouthward of Surat Bar. At day-break, the mariners within the top deſcried veſſels riding at the mouth of Surat river. Theſe were, by ſome, ſuppoſed to be either Engliſh, or Hollanders; but others affirmed that they were a fleet of frigates. In an hour afterwards, they ſet ſail, ſteering full towards us, when we diſcovered, by their colours, that they were in the ſervice of Portugal. They were in number nineteen, being four galleons, and fifteen frigates, which, as the wind was unfavourable, could not yet reach us, but caſt anchor at the diſtance of a league. Our captain, perceiving their deſign, made the ſignal for a conſultation, and the maſter of each ſhip immediately repaired on board.

At this meeting (as it was afterwards reported by our commander, Mr. Richard Swanley) captain Blith remarked that it was expedient to ſet ſail, and ſtand off again to ſea, and thus deprive the frigates of an advantage. He added that if it ſhould appear that our ſhips ſailed faſter than the Portugueſe, we muſt, inſtantly, direct our courſe towards Ormus; a proceeding for which he advanced the following reaſons.

Firſt, becauſe he doubted whether the enemy had a large number of veſſels, in Swalley-Road.

Secondly, becauſe he feared that our merchants were not yet on terms of amity with the natives; a conjecture which he had too much reaſon to form, as he had received authentic intelligence that the preparations of the Dolphin, for her return to England had given general diſguſt.

Thirdly, he was not well aſſured that the Portugueſe had either made peace with the Gazurats, or planted ord-

ordnance on the ſhore adjoining to the Swalley-Sands. He remained alſo in doubt concerning the fate of the ſquadron, commanded by captain Weddel, ſince he was confident that if, at that Juncture, any Engliſh, or Dutch veſſels were at anchor in the Swalley-Road, they would not ſuffer the Portugueſe to ride there. Theſe adverſaries had directed their hoſtilities againſt them, during the courſe of the preceding year; and he now ſuppoſed that the Dutch and Engliſh had either gained ſome deciſive advantage, or wanting ammunition, had proceeded for ſuccour to the caſtle of Ormus, where they intended to remain until the neceſſary ſupplies arrived from England.

The ſignal was now made for ſailing, and, with the wind at North, our ſhips ſtood out to ſea. At four, in the afternoon, the Portugueſe admiral, and the vice-admiral-ſhip, being a faſter ſailer than the reſt, approached the Lion, which was the headmoſt veſſel of our fleet. The admiral diſcharged at her one piece of ordnance, which was returned by four ſhot, that did not reach a ſufficient diſtance, but dropped, uſeleſs, into the water. The two ſhips belonging to the enemy kept up, during the ſpace of half an hour, an inceſſant fire againſt the Lion, at the expiration of which time, ſhe had received ſeveral ſhot, both in her hull and rigging. The maſter, Richard Swanley, perceiving that the ordnance of the Portugueſe did more execution than his own, bore down ſo cloſely upon his Adverſaries that they were obliged to have recourſe to muſquets; and it was during this mode of engaging, which continued until ſun-ſet, that neither the Lion, nor her crew were the leaſt injured.

It muſt be remarked that for this ſpace of time, and even an hour afterwards, the other two adverſe

ſhips were at leaſt a league aſtern; whilſt the Palſgrave, and the Dolphin, being right ahead, kept on their courſe, and ſometimes, diſcharged pieces from their gun-room ports. The enemy obſerving that they ſtill ſtood away, came cloſe along ſide of the Lion, when an hundred men, having fire-pots, and other Inſtruments of deſtruction in their hands, leaped on board, and threw them on the decks. At the ſame time, we were ſurrounded by ſeveral of the frigates, which ſtuck Fire-pikes in the ſides of our ſhip, all of which we fortunately, extinguiſhed. Our admiral, and vice-admiral, in the Palſgrave, and Dolphin, were quickly out of ſight; the cauſe of which proceeding is beſt known unto themſelves.

The engagement continued from eight at night, until the hour of eleven, during which ſpace of time, Richard Swanley, our maſter, and four of the crew were ſlain. Twenty-three perſons, amongſt whom muſt be included two of the maſter's mates were exceedingly burnt, and all the reſt, lamenting over the deſertion of the Palſgrave, and the Dolphin, appeared driven to deſpair. At this alarming criſis, the word was given to blow up the ſhip, when, fortunately, ſome of the crew let fall the anchor, and, in the ſame moment, the tide running extremely ſtrong, the grappling irons which had been fixed to our ſhip, by the Portugueſe gave way; and thus we, for the preſent, were delivered from deſtruction. Fifty of the enemy were ſtill left upon our poops; and as theſe perſiſted, with great fury to attack us, we were obliged to blow them up. During the exploſion, the ſtern of our ſhip, from the middle deck upwards, was torn in pieces.

When the Portugueſe were effectually repulſed, and the flames extinguiſhed, we uſed all diligence in order

order to clear our ſhip, and fix the main-topſail-yard, which then lay upon the deck. Having ſucceeded in this attempt, and alſo hoiſted new ſails to ſupply the place of the former which had been conſumed by fire, we waited, in painful expectation that, at the next tide, our adverſaries would return to the attack. Concluding that the Lion would either have burnt to the water's-edge, or have ſunk in the bottom of the ocean, the Portugueſe, after having left five frigates at a conſiderable diſtance from us, gave chace, with four ſhips, to the Palſgrave, and the Dolphin. In a ſhort ſpace of time, they intercepted, and engaged them, during the ſucceeding night. At day-break, the contending ſhips were not in ſight of us.

On the morning of the eighth day, and when it was ſtill impoſſible to deſcry the Palſgrave, and the Dolphin, the officers of our ſhip agreed that Henry Croſbey, the firſt mate, under the late maſter, ſhould aſſume the chief command, until ſhe might have the good fortune to meet with captain Blithe. As the crew were too feeble to aſſiſt in heaving up the anchor, orders were given to cut the cables, and, ſhortly afterwards, although with difficulty, as much ſail was ſet as the Lion could well bear, her fore-maſt being conſiderably damaged by the ſhot fired from the artillery of the Portugueſe. In this diſtreſsful ſituation, we ſtood out to ſea.

Four of the frigates now directed their courſe towards the fleet, and the fifth bore away nearer to the land. All this day, we heared the report of cannon, but could not diſcern any of the contending ſhips. At night, we perceived the flaſhes which accompanied their frequent firings, from our top-maſt-head; but as our veſſels were to windward, we could not reach them. Perhaps, ſuch an endeavour, under

any circumſtances, muſt have proved ineffectual, as the Lion was greatly ſhattered, and all our chief men had been either killed, or ſeverely wounded.

On the morning of the ninth, and when we could neither obſerve the ſhips, nor hear the diſcharge of their artillery, our maſter judged it expedient that, in purſuance of the conſultation holden on board the Palſgrave, two days before, we ſhould ſtand for Ormus. Thither, the weather being favourable, we ſteered immediately; and, during the paſſage, our carpenter refitted the ſtern of the veſſel, and ſeveral of the men recovered of their wounds.

On the fourth of November, we arrived at Gombroon, and received intelligence from our merchants that the admiral Rufero was ſtationed, with eighteen frigates, near the iſle of Ormus. To prepare againſt the dangers which might enſue, the maſter directed the mariners to eaſe the ſhip of a conſiderable part of her burthen, in order that ſhe might mount her lower tier of guns. The bales of cloth, the boxes of coral, and three cheſts of money were immediately ſent aſhore, and ſecured within the warehouſes. Several valuable articles were detained within the ſhip, in conſequence of directions from the maſter, who obſerved that if any unfortunate event ſhould oblige him to quit the port, ſome treaſure would be left for the purpoſe of buying proviſions, and other neceſſaries for the crew. On the fifth day, the merchants, and the purſer waited on the ſultan, from whom they obtained an order that we ſhould be ſupplied with boats, and that our caſks ſhould be repleniſhed with water, of which laſt article we, on the ſeventh of November, procured an ample quantity.

On the day following, and at the firſt appearance of the morning, Rufero, with his frigates rowed towards

wards the Lion. As the weather was extremely calm, it was impoſſible to work her, and ſhe was ſo ſtationed, that only her ſtern-chacers could play upon the frigates. Theſe, however, were diſcharged in ſo ſucceſsful, and unerring a direction, that two of their frigates were ſunk before their crews could board the Lion, and two more ſhared the ſame fate, ſoon after they had dropped along-ſide of her. The Portugueſe who had leaped on board the ſhip, began a furious attack, with a general diſcharge of ſmall arms, and, immediately, threw around ſuch quantities of fire-works, that, in a moment, the maſts, ſails, and upper-deck of the Lion were in flames, and in leſs than half an hour fell down upon the combatants. The confuſion of the Engliſh, who ſaw death on every ſide, is not to be deſcribed. Some leaped overboard, and truſted to the mercy of their enemies; but the reſt ſet fire to the powder-room, and blew up the ſhip. The men who jumped into the ocean were all taken by the boats belonging to the frigates, and carried to the iſle of Ormus. On the following morning, Rufero gave orders that the heads of all the priſoners, excepting Thomas Winterburne, ſhould be cut off. This perſon received his life, and liberty, that he might convey a letter from Rufero, to the merchants at Gombroon. The number of the Engliſh who were inſtantly executed upon the ſpot, amounted to twenty-ſix. Forty-two, blown up in the ſhip, which afterwards was driven aſhore, were buried at Gombroon; and nine eſcaped, having been employed, at land, in managing the buſineſs of the Perſia company.

We now proceed to inform the reader that even at the period when the popular murmurs excited by the miſcarriage of the enterprize againſt Cadiz had not ſubſided, the duke of Buckingham fell into a ſecond

error, whilſt, he enjoyed the office of lord high-admiral of England. He was equally concerned, and incenſed by reiterated complaints that the merchant-ſhips had been delivered to the French, and employed againſt Rochelle (*t*). He, therefore, took occaſion, at the cloſe of the year, one thouſand ſix hundred, and twenty-ſix, to cauſe the ſeizure of a French ſhip, named the Saint Peter, and belonging to the port of Havre. The pretence was that her cargo conſiſted of Spaniſh effects; a circumſtance which the French poſitively denied, affirming, at the ſame time, that all the goods within the ſhip were the property of either their own merchants or thoſe of England, and Holland (*u*). In conſequence of this meaſure, commiſſioners were appointed to inveſtigate the circumſtances which related to it; and when they had reſolved that the capture was illegal, the ſhip, purſuant to a proper order, was, at length, releaſed; but not before the king of France had made ſome repriſals; an event which irritated the nation, and gave riſe to one article in the impeachment of the duke of Buckingham (*x*). The point was, notwithſtanding, compromiſed between the two ſovereigns, and the good corref-

(*t*) Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this diſtaſte conceived by the duke againſt the French. He obſerves that Cardinal Richlieu duped both the Dutch, and Engliſh, by pretending to execute a very feaſible ſcheme for the purpoſe of preventing the Spaniards from ſending any ſupplies into Germany. It was under this plea, that he procured the ſhips of the former, and then employed them againſt the Rochellers.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112.

(*u*) Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 28.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112.

(*x*) It is the fifth article of the impeachment. The Duke, in his anſwer, drawn up by Sir Nicholas Hyde, juſtifies himſelf very plauſibly.

correſpondence of their ſubjects reſtored for a conſiderable ſpace of time; yet, at the bottom, this reconciliation was far from being cordial; and ſoon the quarrel, like a wound ill-cured, broke out with more alarming ſymptoms (*y*).

The war in which the king had engaged, in order that he might procure the reſtitution of the palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to the aſſiſtance of the ſovereign of that country. As the firſt ſuccours had proved of little ſervice, Charles was called upon for additional ſupplies. At this period, the parliaments were averſe from a compliance with his demands, becauſe he refuſed to baniſh from his preſence the duke of Buckingham. Their reluctance in facilitating his views compelled him to recur to ſuch meaſures as, in the opinion of his lawyers, were ſtrictly juſtifiable. Amongſt various expedients, he obliged all the ſea-ports to furniſh him with ſhips. From the city of London, he demanded twenty, and required a proportionable contribution from other places.

This proceeding was regarded by the inhabitants as an intolerable grievance, and multitudes, who had no immediate dependance on commerce, deſerted their reſidence within the maritime towns, and retired to the inland diſtricts of the country. Their conduct rendered the burthen of thoſe who ſtayed behind ſtill more oppreſſive; and the reſult of their remonſtrances was a proclamation requiring thoſe individuals who had quitted the ſea-coaſt, to return inſtantly to their former dwellings. Such was the miſguided policy which

(*y*) Ruſhworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.—— Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 112, 113.

which led to the firſt diſturbances of this unhappy reign (z). They were quickly increaſed by the raſh management of Buckingham, who, at the time when he perceived his ſovereign embarraſſed by wars which had already been declared, involved him, not leſs abſurdly, than precipitately, in a rupture with the court of France.

The foreign ſervants of the queen, attached, with a degree of bigotry, to the Catholic religion, had not only proceeded to unwarrantable lengths for the propagation of their faith, but prevailed on their royal miſtreſs to embrace meaſures which were at once culpable, and ridiculous. On the firſt of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-ſix, Charles, yielding to the perſuaſions of Buckingham, diſmiſſed the foreign domeſtics of the queen, and immediately ſent the lord Carleton, inveſted with the rank of ambaſſador, to Paris, that he might acquaint Lewis with the reaſons of ſo abrupt a meaſure (*a*). That monarch refuſed to grant him audience, and eager to give proofs of his reſentment, iſſued orders for the immediate ſeizure of one hundred, and twenty Engliſh ſhips, which were then riding at anchor within his harbours. He alſo turned his arms againſt Rochelle, notwithſtanding that he had liſtened, not long before, to the overtures of Charles, who had interpoſed as a mediator between Lewis, and his Proteſtant ſub-

(z) Kennet, V. 3. p. 28.—Frankland's Annals, p. 206, 207.—Whitlocke, p. 78.—Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 415, 416.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 113.

(*a*) Hammond L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of Charles, the firſt, p. 58, 59.—Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 31.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, Book 4. p. 129, 130.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

ſubjects (*b*). Theſe laſt now applied to the king of England, who directed that a fleet, conſiſting of thirty ſail, ſhould immediately be equipped, for their relief. The command of this naval armament was given to the earl of Denbigh, who, not departing until the month of October, found it impracticable to execute his commiſſion; and, therefore, after having continued, during ſome time, at ſea, expoſed to tempeſtuous weather, he returned, attended by all the ſhips, into the harbour. This event not only fruſtrated the view of Charles, but caſt a blemiſh on his honour. The inhabitants of Rochelle ſuſpected the ſincerity of his intentions, and doubted whether he had ſeriouſly propoſed, at any time, to furniſh them with ſuccours (*c*).

The Duke of Buckingham, determined to leave the point beyond diſpute, aſſembled a formidable fleet, and levied a body of troops, amounting to ſeven thouſand men, in the ſummer of the ſucceeding year. With theſe, as admiral, and commander in chief, he ſailed, from Portſmouth, on the twenty-ſeventh of June, and diſembarked on the iſle of Rhee. He had, at firſt, reſolved to make a deſcent on Oleron, and even promiſed the Duke of Soubize that it ſhould be a leading object of his enterprize. It was this nobleman who proceeded early to Rochelle, and informed the inhabitants that the Engliſh fleet, and army, were haſtening to

(*b*) Dupleix Hiſtoire de Louis le Juſte, p. 298.—Le Gendre. Hiſtoire de France, Tom. 5. p. 174.—Aubrey. Hiſtoire du Cardinal Duc de Richlieu, Paris, 1660. fol. 54. 2. chap. 11.—Ruſhworth, V. 1. p. 424.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

(*c*) Kennet, V. 3. p. 29.—L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of Charles, the firſt, p. 62, 63.—Frankland's Annals.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114.

to their relief. They received this news with more indifference, than ſatisfaction. Multitudes had been corrupted by bribes from the king of France; and others had conceived ſuch terrifying ideas of his power, that they were at a loſs whether they ſhould reſolve to join thoſe approaching ſuccours which they had earneſtly demanded (*d*).

The Duke landed his troops, on the thirty-firſt of July, yet not without a violent oppoſition from De Toyras, the French governour, whom he forced to retire, although with ſome loſs. On this occaſion, the Engliſh fell into a train of errors, almoſt ſimilar to thoſe which they had committed during the expedition againſt Cadiz. The fort of La Prè, which covered the landing-place, they ſhamefully neglected, notwithſtanding that the French themſelves had left it, in the alarm of fear, expoſed to adverſaries who might have taken it, without reſiſtance. Of ſuch conſequence was the place, that if it had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, they might have prevented the French from introducing ſupplies. We learn that, at firſt, the court of Paris became exceedingly alarmed, and even Lewis ſickened with concern; but their terrors were much diminiſhed, when they heard that Buckingham, a mean proficient either in the naval, or the military arts, was too proud to take the counſels of thoſe who underſtood them better.

Having ſpeedily reduced the town of Saint Martin, the commander in chief prepared to inveſt the citadel;

(*d*) Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 426.—Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, book 4. p. 132.——Sir Richard Grenville's journal of the expedition to the iſle of Rhee, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-ſeven.—Lord Lanſdowne's Works, V. 3. p. 246.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 114, 115.

del; and ſoon afforded glaring proofs that he was unequal to the management of a ſiege. At firſt, he quartered his troops around the place, without forming an intrenchment, to which he afterwards was under the neceſſity of recurring. He, next, entered into conferences with the governour, and refuſed to communicate the ſubſtance of them to his officers; thus diſcouraging the troops, and enabling the French to deceive him by a fictitious treaty; whilſt, during the pretended negociations for its accompliſhment, the fort received a conſiderable ſupply. The Rochellers now declared for the Engliſh; a confidence not leſs untimely with regard to themſelves, than their former ſuſpicion of their allies. Their proceedings, added to the expectation of ſuccours from England, which were to be ſent to him, under the command of the earl of Holland, engaged Buckingham to remain ſo long within his camp, that his troops were much diminiſhed.

At length, on the ſixth of November, he made a general aſſault, when it appeared that the place was impregnable; at leaſt, to forces in the ſituation of the Engliſh. Two days afterwards, he reſolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the reſt of the expedition. It was made, in the ſight of an enemy as powerful with regard to infantry, and more numerous in cavalry, than his own army, over a narrow cauſeway, ſurrounded on each ſide, by ſalt-pits; yet no precaution was taken either by erecting a fort, or even by throwing up an intrenchment to cover the entrance of the paſſage. So fatal were the conſequences of this error, that numbers, expoſed to the artillery, and ſmall arms of the enemy, unfortunately periſhed. The moſt authentic accounts inform us that amongſt theſe were fifty officers, of different ranks,

ranks, two thouſand common ſoldiers, and twenty-five volunteers of diſtinguiſhed quality. With equal ſhame, and loſs, therefore, the duke concluded this inglorious expedition, and, on the ninth of the ſame month, embarked his forces, after having ſolemnly aſſured the inhabitants of Rochelle, that he would return to their relief; a promiſe which he did not live to execute. To compleat his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth harbour, he met the earl of Holland, ſailing out with the promiſed ſuccours. This lord, and all his forces, immediately returned. In whatſoever light we view the expedition to Rochelle, whether with regard to its immediate effects, or to its future conſequences, we muſt allow that of all others, at this particular period, it was the moſt fatal, and diſgraceful. To the king, it proved extenſively prejudicial, whilſt it accelerated the ruin of the duke of Buckingham. As their ſhips had been impreſſed, the merchants were diſcouraged from carrying on their commerce; and ſo inadequate was the money within the treaſury to the diſcharge of wages demanded by the ſeamen, that they flocked in multitudes to Whitehall, and diſturbed the ſovereign with their clamours (*e*).

To remedy theſe evils, a parliament was aſſembled, at the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-eight; but, as the ſole buſineſs of the ſeſſions was confined to diſputes between the monarch, and the commons, it was, at length, prorogued, without a grant of the ſupplies. In ſpite of theſe afflicting

(*e*) Kennet, V. 3. p. 38, 39, 40.—Whitlocke, p. 9.—L'Eſtrange's hiſtory of Charles the firſt, p. 68, 69, 70, 71.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.—Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 115, 116, 117.

flicting diſappointments, Charles exerted his power to the utmoſt, and prepared a naval force, in order to fulfil the promiſes which the Duke of Buckingham had made to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view, a fleet of fifty ſail was aſſembled, in the ſpring, when a large body of mariners embarked. The command of the whole armament was given, through the intereſt of Buckingham, to his brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh, who ſailed from England, on the ſeventeenth of April, and anchored in the road of Rochelle, on the firſt of May. At his arrival, he diſcovered twenty ſail of French ſhips, riding in the harbour; and being much ſuperiour in number, and ſtrength, he ſent advice, into the town, that he would ſink thoſe veſſels as ſoon as the wind veered to the weſt, and made a higher flood. On the eighth of May, the wind, and tide ſerved accordingly, and the Rochellers expected, and ſolicited that deliverance. But the earl, without remembring his promiſe, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor, and ſailed away, ſuffering four of the French ſhips to chaſe his fleet, which arrived at Plymouth, on the twenty-ſixth of May *(f)*.

This ſecond diſgraceful expedition was felt by the deluded inhabitants of Rochelle, whilſt the Engliſh beheld with equal fear, and jealouſy, the rapid, and ſucceſsful progreſs of a Roman-Catholic faction in the court. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but a captain in the fleet ſerving under the earl of Denbigh, gave in, on the ſixteenth of May, before the mayor of Plymouth, depoſitions which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, during the management of the late enterprize. This account was certified by that magiſtrate, and two burgeſſes of the town, in parliament, by whom

*(f)* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 117, 118.

whom it was communicated to the council, who addreſſed to the duke of Buckingham, as lord high-admiral of England, a letter, dated on the thirtieth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-eight, to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure that the earl of Denbigh ſhould return to the relief of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ſhips, prepared at Portſmouth, and at Plymouth. Yet, notwithſtanding the order, no fleet returned, neither were any inquiries made concerning the occaſion of ſo ſingular a diſobedience (*g*).

In ſpite of theſe repeated miſcarriages, ſuch appeared the national indignation, and complaints, and ſo earneſt were the ſupplications of the Rochellers, that it was deemed abſolutely neceſſary to equip a third fleet, for the relief of their city, which, in conſequence of a cloſe ſiege, was now reduced to the laſt extremity. The duke of Buckingham choſe to command this armament, in perſon, and, therefore, repaired immediately to Portſmouth. On the twenty-third of Auguſt, having breakfaſted with Soubize, and the general officers, he roſe, and drew nearer to the door. Whilſt he advanced, and converſed with Sir Thomas Frier, one Felton, (late a lieutenant of a regiment of foot, under Sir John Ramſay,) placed himſelf in the entry, and reaching his arm over the ſhoulder of Sir Thomas, thruſt a knife into the heart of Buckingham, who, immediately extracted this inſtrument of death, with his own hand, and having uttered the words "the Villain "hath killed me," fell down, and expired on the ſpot. Felton ſlipped away, and might have eſcaped undiſcovered,

(*g*) Kennet, V. 3. p. 48.——Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 171.—Whitlocke, p. 10.—Frankland's Annals. Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 586, 587.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 118.

vered, but that either his conſcience, or his inſolence betrayed him. Whilſt the general rumour prevailed that the murderer muſt be a Frenchman, and ſeveral began to ſuſpect that Soubize was a party concerned in it, Felton ſtepped forward, and exclaimed, "I am the "man who did the deed; let no perſon ſuffer that is in- "nocent." He had no ſooner made this confeſſion, than he was apprehended, and conveyed a priſoner to London (*h*).

Whatſoever might have been the feeling of Charles, when he was informed of the death of Buckingham, it is certain that his eagerneſs for the renewal of the enterprize, in favour of the inhabitants of Rochelle, appeared more augmented, than diminiſhed. On the day following, the king appointed the earl of Lindſay, admiral, and Monſon, and Mountjoy, vice, and rear-admirals. We learn, from an illuſtrious writer (*i*), that the care, and preſence of Charles had ſo happy an effect in facilitating the preparations for the voyage, that more expedition was uſed in the courſe of ten days, than during ſeveral of the preceding weeks. This circumſtance is an inconteſtable proof of two facts, concerning which ſeveral of our hiſtorians have expreſſed their doubts; and theſe are, firſt, that the king was ſincere, and zealous in his views; and, ſecondly, that the Rochellers were convinced of the rectitude of his intentions. The enterprize was, notwithſtanding, as unfortunate as the former. The earl



(*h*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

(*i*) Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, p. 188.—At this period, his brother, the duke of Soubize, was in England, and on the ſpot; conſequently, he muſt have been an eye-witneſs of the great preparations made, as well as of the unuſual diligence exerted on this occaſion.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119.

of Lindſay departed, with the armament, from England, on the eighth of September, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-eight, and arriving before Rochelle, diſcovered that a mole, which was full a mile in extent, had been thrown acroſs the harbour, and that the city was cloſely blockaded on every ſide. He made ſeveral ineffectual attempts to force a paſſage into the harbour; and, at laſt, on the eighteenth of October, the inhabitants, who had long languiſhed under the ſeverities of famine, were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually ſurrendered. At this juncture, the Engliſh were at hand, yet unable to aſſiſt them; and to render their reduction ſtill more afflicting, in the night, after the city had been delivered up, the ſea made a breach ſufficiently wide to have given entrance to the largeſt veſſel in the Britiſh fleet (*k*). With this expedition, ended the operations of the war againſt France; yet a peace was not concluded, until the ſucceeding year (*l*).

We

(*k*) Frankland's Annals, p. 338.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 49.—Ruſhworth, V. 1. p. 635.——L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of Charles the firſt, V. 1. p. 93.——Memoirs of the Duke of Rohan, p. 190.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 119, 120.

(*l*) Rymer's Fœdera, V. 19. p. 66—86.—In Ruſhworth's collections, under the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-nine, and at the fourth page, the reader will find a long, and pathetic letter, addreſſed, by the duke of Rohan, to the king, and imploring his farther aid on the behalf of the reformed churches in France, prior to the treaty of peace; but Charles (as he informed that nobleman in his anſwer,) having been conſtrained to diſſolve the parliament, from whom he expected ſupplies, recommended that (ſince he was incapable of aſſiſting them,) they ſhould make the moſt advantageous terms in their power, with the court of France.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 120.

We now enter on the relation of an engagement between ſix Engliſh frigates, under the command of Sir Kenelm Digby, and two Venetian galeaſſes, two galleons of the ſame nation, and ſeveral French ſhips. As the writer (*m*) is rather ſingular in his deſcriptions, we ſhall preſent them to the reader, from his own words.

"Sir Kenelm Digby, being authorized by his majeſty's ſpecial commiſſion, under the great ſeal of England, for a deſign againſt the French, then his majeſty's enemies, (the period of which deſign pointed at thoſe parts,) with ſix ſhips, of which his own went admiral, after many encounters by the way, came, on the tenth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty-eight, before Cape Conjure, where he lay at hull, fair all that night. The cape is about ten miles from Scanderoon; whence, on the morrow, in the afternoon, he ſent his boat, well armed, to deſcry the road, and to bring him ſome intelligence. This the men did, the next morning, having met with ſome Venetian boats that were fiſhing, with which Venetians, they paſſed for Malteſe; for, there were in Sir Kenelm's boat, Malteſe, and Greeks. They brought word that there were at anchor, in the road, two Venetian galeaſſes, two other galleons, two Engliſh ſhips, and four French veſſels, one of which came in the day before, being very rich, and having as yet unladen nothing. Sir Kenelm ſpent all the following night, in overſeeing the preparations for fight, and firing in his ſeveral ſhips, for that he expected a fierce onſet, the next day, from the Venetians, who had declared themſelves the guarders of that road, and were reported to have given out that they would

 "ſink

(*m*) Sir Peter Wyche's diſpatches.

" ſink all the Engliſh men of war which they ſhould
" meet, either in their own, or in the Grand Signior's
" ſeas. Which peremptorineſs, if true, including an
" intent of diſhonour to the nation, could not but
" exaſperate any true Engliſh ſpirit, eſpecially of the
" nobler ſort. This moved not yet Sir Kenelm to any
" violence of paſſion, but that with a careful tem-
" per, and diſcreet judgment, he prepared himſelf, and
" fitted his ſhips, at all points, for all occaſions."

" And here, although it be a digreſſion, ſince it may
" be worth an obſervation, (eſpecially with the cu-
" rious,) let me inſert a report of his own, with a pre-
" face of his proteſtation, that he was neither ſo ſim-
" ple, or ſuperſtitious, as vainly to build a faith upon
" any way of divination, ſuch as the Sortes Virgilianæ,
" which the ancients much relied upon, and of which
" the Roman hiſtories have many ſtrange examples,
" that make them ſeem no leſs than oracles. Yet,
" thus it happened to Sir Kenelm, that being wearied
" with cares, and deſirous to ſleep upon the poop, un-
" til the wind might ſerve to bring them in, amongſt
" other cogitations, the remembrance of theſe Sortes
" intermixed itſelf; and, by accident, one that was
" near him was reading Virgil, which Sir Kenelm tak-
" ing, having firſt conceived the chance of a number,
" for the verſe which he ſhould take, upon that leaf
" where he opened the book, theſe two following pre-
" ſented themſelves:

Æneas, celſa in Puppi jam certus eundi,
Carpebat Somnos, Rebus jam rite paratis.

" Which falling out to fit to the preſent circum-
" ſtances, and the relations which they had to the
" Trojan's enſuing fortunes, was received betwixt
" jeſt

" jeſt and earneſt, for a very good omen, and became " the inſtrument of an encouragement, by being made " the concluſion of a ſhort ſpeech to his men; for it " ſeemed to confirm their reſolutions, and prevent the " diſturbance of them, by any diſpute that might " ariſe concerning the juſtneſs of Sir Kenelm's deſign, " and proceedings (*n*)."

" But his judgment took another courſe for the " ſtrengthening of his cauſe, and that the juſtice of it " might the better command the attendance of ſuc- " ceſs, (reſpecting, notwithſtanding, his honour, be- " fore any public ſafety, which might tend to diſre- " putation,) he ſent a previous meſſage to the Venetian " general, (the galeaſſes having weighed anchor, and " being come within half a league of his ſhips,) in- " forming him that his voyage of warfare was by his " majeſty's commiſſion, and giving him aſſurance of " all reſpect, and friendſhip, and that the French " were the only objects of his attempt, for which he " had a ſufficient warrant. To the two Engliſh ſhips " he likewiſe ſent letters, to ſettle the diſquiet which " he conceived their fears had put them in, and to give

 " them

(*n*) A ſimilar circumſtance is related in Welwood's memoirs concerning Charles, the firſt, and the lord Falkland, who both tried the Sortes Virgilianæ. Being obliged to write this note from memory, I cannot inſert the ſtriking paſſage which is mentioned to have preſented itſelf to Falkland. The lines on which the king dipped are theſe:

" Hæc Finis Priami Fatorum, hic exitus illum
" Sorte tulit, Trojam incenſam, et prolapſa videntem
" Pergama tot quondam populis, terriſque ſuperbum
" Regnatorem Aſiæ; jacet ingens Littore Truncus,
" Avulſumque Humeris Caput, et ſine Nomine Corpus."

The little faith which we can place on theſe relations will not incline us to impoſe on the credulity of the reader.

" them ſatisfaction that his buſineſs was no way to
" diſturb their negociations. But before Sir Kenelm's
" meſſengers could return on board to deliver the an-
" ſwer, the admiral-galeaſs of the Venetians diſcharged
" ſeven, or eight ſhot, the firſt of which, alighting
" ſhort, was received as a ſalute, and accordingly re-
" turned by the diſcharge of a piece of ordnance;
" but ſome of the reſt hitting his ſhip, and one ſhot
" his flag, together with the arrival, and informa-
" tion of the meſſenger, rendered the deſigns of the
" Venetians more known. Sir Kenelm, to convince
" them that his long forbearance was no apprehenſion
" of the fear which he had of their ſtrength, and ad-
" vantage, but a ſtrengthening of the juſtice of his
" cauſe, gave them three, or four broadſides, in a
" very ſhort ſpace of time, which did ſo much ſpoil,
" both to the French, and the Venetians, (who found
" pretence, by this time, that their quarrel was the
" protection of the French, which they had undertа-
" ken,) that they were forced to retire, and fight at a
" more wary diſtance. In the mean time, Sir
" Kenelm played ſo well upon their galleons, that the
" men ſtowed themſelves under the hold, and left the
" veſſels to their fortune, without any guidance.
" The Galeaſſes, then coming up to their ſuccour, re-
" ceived ſuch a rude welcome that they rode away to
" ſhelter themſelves under the Engliſh ſhips that lay in
" the road; which policy was a ſure defence to them,
" for, Sir Kenelm was ſo cautious that he would rather
" loſe an opportunity of offending his enemies, than
" take hold of it, to the offence of his countrymen.
" The Galeaſſes thus leaving the action to be witneſſes
" of it only at that ſafe diſtance, the galleons were
" in great danger, their men being ſtowed under
" Hatches; but that Sir Kenelm, directing all his en-
" deavours

" deavours againſt the French, from whom he had re-
" ceived the moſt damage, gave way to their quiet,
" without much diſturbance, more than what proceeded
" from their own fears, and perceiving the French
" to come up cloſe, their ſhips being burly veſſels,
" ſome having ſix and twenty pieces of ordnance, he
" firſt directed his two leſſer ſhips to deal with them,
" but quickly taking notice of the advantage, ſent
" the rear-admiral to their ſuccour, by which means
" the three ſhips boarded and took each of them a
" ſeveral prize, the fourth French ſhip being run a-
" ground at the beginning of the fight, to which this
" ſucceſs gave an end, after three hours."

" It is remarkable that, in this fight, not one of Sir
" Kenelm's men received a hurt to death; and of the
" Venetians, and French, there were ſlain ninety nine
" perſons, of whom one was commander of the Vene-
" tian land-forces, a brave, and generous man,
" whoſe loſs was much lamented by them, and pitied
" by Sir Kenelm. The admiral-galeaſs of the Vene-
" tians was the only one of thoſe four which the Ve-
" netians lent to the king of Spain, that returned from
" the battle of the year, one thouſand, five hundred,
" and eighty-eight, where he fought with Sir Martin
" Frobiſher, in the Triumph, belonging to queen Eli-
" zabeth, whilſt the other three were ſunk, or fired,
" ſince when ſhe hath been preſerved, by putting in of
" new pieces where need required, (as they ſay the
" Athenians did by the galley of Salamines,) ſo that
" now nothing of her was remaining of thoſe times
" but the mould."

" This action, and ſucceſs of Sir Kenelm's, although
" perhaps clear in itſelf, became queſtionable by the
" Miniſters of the Grand Signior, through the com-
" plaints of the French and Venetians, ſo that the Ba-

" ſhaw of Aleppo, and the Cadi of Scanderoon took hold
" of the occaſion to practice, and exact a fine from
" the Engliſh merchants, taking alſo from the Engliſh
" conſul, at Aleppo, a large ſum, which he, through
" fear of the retention of any ſhip, delivered, with-
" out much reſiſtance, and ſo appeaſed, and calmed
" that ruggedneſs which, notwithſtanding, proved af-
" terwards an aggravation in other cauſes."

" For, ſhortly afterwards, one William Bundock,
" captain of an Engliſh ſhip, called the Safe-Bonaven-
" ture, having lain ſome time at Zant, and within
" the harbour, went out to ſea, for purchaſe, and fell
" upon a ſhip trading betwixt Meſſina and Malta, that
" belonged to Haggi Caſſum, Coſmo Orlando, and
" other ſubjects of the Grand Signior, and had letters of
" ſafe conduct from the Imperial Port. Of this ſhip,
" captain Bundock made a prize, and a complaint ar-
" rived at the port, to a ſudden diſturbance of Sir
" Peter Wyche, the Engliſh ambaſſador there reſiding.
" This complaint made the more noiſe, for that the
" Chimacham, Captain Baſhaw, and other principal mi-
" niſters, pretended themſelves intereſted therein, hav-
" ing committed monies to the charge of the captain
" of the ſhip taken, for the redemption of Turkiſh
" captives, at Meſſina, Malta, and other places. For
" this particular pleading, with their aptneſs to make
" any thing a cauſe for practices upon ſtrangers, the
" Vizir ſent his expreſs command for the detention
" of two Engliſh ſhips, then in the Port, called, the
" London, and the William, ſo to compel a reſtitution.
" On this occaſion, the ambaſſador went to the court
" of the Grand Signior, and after much arguing, and
" a ſecond viſit to the principal miniſters, when he
" made it appear what a diſreſpect it would be to his
" majeſty of England, and how unjuſt it would ſeem

" to

" to the world, a releaſe was obtained for the preſent, " but without any final determination."

" The ambaſſador, in this buſineſs, made uſe of all " fair endeavours, and policies, for the gaining of " time, until his delays bringing him into ſome ſuſ- " picion of neglect, the Janizaries a-new incenſed the " Vizir, by reviving it with a pretence of loſs, which " they received by Bundock, and procured a peremptory " order that all ſhould inſtantly be made good. When " this order was notified to the ambaſſador, by a " Chiaus, he ſeet his reply by a Druggerman. This " proceeding, notwithſtanding, gave no ſatisfaction to " the paſſion of the Vizir, who, to inſinuate himſelf " with the Janizaries, gave way to moſt of their out- " rages, ſo that the ambaſſador to prevent his houſe " from being aſſaulted, was forced to give five hundred " dollars amongſt the Janizaries; and thus all was " calmed again, until ſome following accidents of this " nature revived the memory of it."

We now proceed to the relation of thoſe afflicting circumſtances in which eight men (*o*) who had accidentally been left at Greenland, were involved during the ſpace of nearly nine months. Towards the middle of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty, the captain of theſe unfortunate voyagers commanded them to diſembark, and endeavour to procure veniſon for their ſhip-mates. Such was their ſucceſs that, during the ſpace of two days, they killed more than twenty deer. On the morrow, they loaded their ſhallop, and prepared for their departure; but ſcarcely

(*o*) Theſe were, William Fakely, a gunner; Edward Pelham, his mate; John Wiſe, and Robert Goodfellow, ſeamen; Thomas Ayres, Whale-cutter; Henry Bet, cooper; John Dawes, and Richard Kellet, landmen.

ſcarcely had they left the ſhore, when they diſcovered that the captain had ſtood out to ſea, in order to extricate his veſſel from the ſtupendous heap of ice which had been already driven upon the coaſt. They now threw their veniſon overboard, and haſtened towards Bell-Sound, the appointed rendezvous of all the Engliſh ſhips, which, at that period, were engaged amidſt the fiſheries of Greenland. To this place, they unfortunately loſt their paſſage; an event which muſt be aſcribed to the obſtinacy of one of their aſſociates, who affirmed that it was ſituated conſiderably to the ſouthward. The reſt diſcovered the error when it was too late; and all the Greenland fleet had ſailed for England.

They were now left in a country deſtitute of the neceſſaries of exiſtence, without food, or ſufficient raiment to defend themſelves againſt the ſeverity of the climate. At this alarming juncture, they unanimouſly reſolved to exert their utmoſt endeavours for their own preſervation, and to oppoſe, with hope, and fortitude, the baneful influence of deſpair. It was agreed that they ſhould avail themſelves of that favourable weather which yet laſted, and proceed to Green Harbour, for the purpoſe of obtaining veniſon to ſubſiſt on during the approaching winter. Arriving there, on the twenty-fifth of Auguſt, they repaired, at an early hour of the next morning, to Cole's Park, which was diſtant from the harbour nearly two leagues, and, at night, returned with ſeven deer, and four bears.

Emboldened by ſucceſs, they viſited the place again, and were ſo fortunate as to deſtroy a larger number of theſe animals, with all of which they came back, in ſafety, to the harbour. From hence, having loaded another ſhallop, which had been left by the Engliſh, with the boiled greaves of Whales, they departed for Bell-

Bell-Sound, where the convenience of a large tent, or ſhed of boards, erected for the lodging, and accommodation of the coopers, invited them to make preparations for a winter-reſidence. On the paſſage, they were benighted; and when they had run their boats a-ground, and taken the few precautions in their power to ſecure them, they marched into the adjacent country, for the purpoſe of diſcovering ſome comfortable ſhelter from the intenſe cold. At the appearance of the next morning, they returned, and obſerved that not only their boats were driven from the faſtenings, but that the veniſon had been waſhed over-board, and was lying on the ſhore.

The weather of the day following (the third of September,) was ſo clear that they perceived their proviſions, and, having collected them together, launched the boats, and rowed towards Bell-Sound, where, on their arrival, they engaged in the conſtruction of an habitable building. The large tent (already mentioned,) was eighty feet, in length, and fifty in breadth. Within it, and out of the materials of a ſmaller ſhed, which they had levelled to the ground, they built a warm room, the exterior part of which was fenced around with boards, bricks, and lime. In length, it was twenty feet, in breadth ſixteen; and in heighth, ten. They next divided it into ſmall cabins, the bods of which were compoſed of dried deer-ſkins. For fire-wood, they made uſe of empty caſks, and the planks of old ſhallops, ſeveral of which had been left aſhore by the crews belonging to the Engliſh veſſels.

During the courſe of ſome months, their minds were tortured by the fears of periſhing for want of food. Their proviſions were inſufficient to ſupport them until the arrival of the fleet, nor did they entertain a Hope, that, in ſo miſerable a region, any ſuſtenance

tance could be procured. They now reduced themſelves to three ſcanty meals, each week, on bear, and veniſon. Mouldy fritters, and the corrupted greaves of Whales were, at other times, their only aliment. They next felt a melancholy addition to their calamities, by the abſence of the ſun, which did not ſhine upon the country from the fourteenth of October, until the third of February. During a part of this diſtreſsful period, a faint glimmering of light might be obſerved daily, for an inconſiderable ſpace of time; but, between the firſt, and twentieth of December, they were involved in darkneſs.

Towards the cloſe of January, theſe deſponding ſufferers were reviſited by returning day-light, which gleamed dimly during the ſpace of nearly eight hours. They haſtened to examine their proviſions, and were alarmed to find that the whole ſtock was too conſiderably diminiſhed to laſt longer than the term of ſix weeks. At length the weather became tolerably fair, and the creatures which were fit for food, now ventured from their coverts. Rejoiced at their appearance, the Engliſh iſſued from a wretched habitation, in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They were ſo fortunate as to kill ſeven bears, and two ſea-horſes. In traps, they catched fifty foxes, and thirty fowls, reſembling ducks, in ſize, form, and plumage; and, likewiſe, ſixty birds, as large as pigeons. On theſe, they fared luxuriouſly.

In the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, two ſhips belonging to the port of Hull, caſt anchor in the ſound. One of the commanders, who recollected that ſome Engliſhmen had been left aſhore, ordered ſeveral of the crew to diſembark, and walk, over the ſnow, to the great ſhed, for the humane purpoſe of relieving theſe ſufferers, if they continued yet alive. They were

were on the point of lifting up their daily prayers to the ALMIGHTY, within their chamber, when one of their aſſociates, who was endeavouring to repair a damaged part of the exterior building, exclaimed, with tranſport, "our deliverers are come." Amidſt the firſt violence of their joy, all devotion was forgotten; but at length, deeply penetrated with a ſenſe of their felicity, they burſt into tears of Gratitude, and falling on their knees, returned thanks to the GREAT FOUNTAIN OF MERCY for that which they had received.

Eager to quit the land, they repaired immediately on board one of the Hull ſhips, where they waited for the arrival of the London fleet, with which they afterwards returned to England, and were rewarded by the Muſcovy company, in whoſe ſervice they had endured ſuch complicated misfortunes (*p*).

At this period, the French became ambitious of introducing within their harbours a formidable naval armament, and beheld with equal jealouſy, and concern, the augmentation of the fleets of England. The proceedings of the court of Paris took their riſe from the deep politics of Richlieu, the miniſter who had moſt effectually inveſtigated the nature of the intereſts of each European power, and who could lead them under a ſubſerviency to the views of France. He it was alſo who induced the Swedes to deſtroy the influence of the houſe of Auſtria, in Germany, and had the addreſs to engage the Engliſh to aſſiſt in that deſign, upon the plauſible pretence of affording ſuccour

(*p*) M S. written by Edward Pelham, one of the ſufferers. —Collection of voyages, Folio, V. 4. p. 752 —Harris's Coll. appendix. p. 33.—Lediard's naval Hiſtory, Folio. V. 2. p. 520, 521.

cour to the Proteſtants (*q*). Next, his agents in Holland alarmed the jealouſy of the States concerning the dominion of the Engliſh over the narrow ſeas, their claim to the ſole right either of fiſhing, and of permitting others to fiſh in them, and their expectation of receiving the honours of the flag, at a conſiderable diſtance from their own ſhores. We muſt remind the reader that the celebrated Hugo Grotius delivered to the world a treatiſe under the title of "Mare Liberum," wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to expoſe the weakneſs of the Engliſh title to the ſovereignty of the ocean, which he repreſents as a gift from GOD, and common to all nations (*r*).

On this occaſion, the antagoniſt of Grotius was the learned Selden, who, in his "Mare Clauſum (*s*)," hath demonſtrated from the principles of the law of nature, and of nations, that a dominion over the ſea may be acquired: and proved, likewiſe, from the moſt authentic paſſages in hiſtory, that ſuch a dominion hath been claimed, and enjoyed by ſeveral nations, and ſubmitted to by others for their common benefit; that this circumſtance was, in fact, the caſe of the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſland, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exerciſed, and conſtantly enjoyed ſuch a dominion; a truth which had been frequently, and moſt ſolemnly confeſſed by all the neighbouring powers.

To

(*q*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, in which this point is fully ſtated.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 121.

(*r*) Mare Liberum; ſeu de Jure quod Batavis competit ad Indica Commercia. Lug. Bat. Elzevir. 1609. 8vo. At this period the book was reprinted.

(*s*) Seu de Dominio Maris. Lib. 2 Londini. 1635. Folio.

To the learning, induſtry, and judgment ſuperior to praiſe, which may be diſcovered in the Works of this illuſtrious diſputant, we muſt aſcribe the eſtabliſhment of that now incontrovertible poſition, "that the "Engliſh poſſeſs an hereditary, uninterrupted right to "the ſovereignty of their ſeas, conveyed to them, from "their earlieſt anceſtors, in truſt for their lateſt "poſterity (*t*)."

The vaſt, and enterprizing genius of Richlieu, at once pervading the departments of the ſtate, gave new life to that branch of the adminiſtration which was immediately connected with the ſupport of commerce, and the advancement of the marine. Having already availed himſelf of the power, and induſtry of the Dutch to interrupt the trade, and debilitate the maritime ſtrength of England, he effected a negociation between his ſovereign, and the States of Holland, one leading object of which was a mutual diviſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands. With equal ſecrecy, and ſecurity, did this ſagacious miniſter facilitate his darling project of accompliſhing the eſtabliſhment of an extenſive naval force in France, under the avowed pretence of aſſiſting the Dutch in the maintenance of their claim to a joint dominion over the ſeas, and of enabling them to turn their commerce into a channel as

(*t*) Ruſhworth, A. D. 1636. p. 320.—Frankland's annals, p. 476.—Whitlocke.—L'Eſtrange.—Mr. Campbell *, after having remarked that the book written by Selden, was publiſhed in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-four, under the royal patronage, adds that it may reaſonably be inferred that Charles had formed the moſt juſt, and generous ideas concerning the naval right veſted in the ſovereign, and the people, notwithſtanding that, for the purpoſe of ſupporting them, he unfortunately adhered to meaſures at once lawleſs, violent, and unſucceſsful.

* Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 122.

as prejudicial to the Engliſh, as advantageous to themſelves. All artiſts whatſoever who had attained to any celebrity in the maritime profeſſion were invited, by the moſt liberal offers, to reſide in France, and every politic, and ſeducing meaſure was recurred to for the purpoſe of fixing them, during the remainder of their lives, in the ſervice of the crown.

The king of England had formed a juſt idea of the deſign conceived by Richlieu, and diſcerning its future conſequences, endeavoured to prevent them by aſſerting his title to the ſovereignty of the ocean, by regulating the mode of bearing flags, and by publiſhing proclamations, in order to reſtrain ſhipwrights, and other artificers from entering into a foreign ſervice (*u*). If, with theſe political precautions, Charles had united even a moderate condeſcenſion to the temper of his ſubjects, by diſmiſſing from their poſts thoſe miniſters who had incurred the popular odium, either in conſequence of their arbitrary principles, or their miſconduct, it is certain that he would have fixed the nation, and its parliamentary repreſentatives firmly in his intereſt, and, by obtaining his point, have carried the reputation of the Engliſh to heights which never were attained by any of his predeceſſors. But his diſpoſition, unequal to thoſe complying arts which make the happieſt impreſſions on the people, prevented (in conjunction with the narrow prejudices of individuals, who yet were deemed the patriots of the time,) the full accompliſhment of his laudable intentions, and converted what he deſigned for cordials, into corroſive poiſons.

Mr.

(*u*) Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 74. —Whitlocke's Memorials. p. 24.—Frankland's Annals, p. 471.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.—L'Eſtrange's Life of Charles, the firſt, p. 130, 131.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 121.

Mr. Campbell, after having obſerved that he is far from affecting an allegorical ſtyle, adds that there are ſome matters of ſo delicate a nature, and the tempers of men, at particular ſeaſons, are ſo ſtrangely turned, that it is not expedient either for them to hear, or for the hiſtorian to write even truth too bluntly. He ſubjoins that is is equally dangerous for one who undertakes ſuch a taſk as this, to be afraid of delivering his ſentiments freely, even ſuppoſing that his fears flow from an apprehenſion of injuring what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a ſtrong ſenſe, therefore, of what, in one reſpect, it becomes him to ſay for the ſervice of his country, and what, in regard to the opinion of very celebrated men, who have thought differently, he declares that he ſhould be guilty of an impropriety, by appearing poſitive in his obſervations concerning the caſe of ſhip-money, a ſubject exceedingly tender in the laſt age, and almoſt equally ſo, at preſent (*x*).

The early apprehenſions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French, and Dutch, were conſiderably heightened in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-five, by the junction of the fleets in the ſervice of thoſe powers, and the intelligence which he had received that France intended ſhortly to declare war againſt Spain; and from that circumſtance, to derive the occaſion ſo long ſought for, of dividing the Netherlands with the Dutch, all whoſe pretenſions in reſpect to the right of fiſhing, and uſing an unreſtrained navigation in the ſeas, Lewis had undertaken to defend. Charles, therefore, reſolved to remain no longer paſſive; and, in order to defeat



(*x*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Vol. 2. p. 123, 124.—The reader is deſired to compare the modern hiſtories, with thoſe written at this period.

this meaſure, and ſupport the ſovereignty annexed to the Engliſh crown, and, likewiſe the maritime credit of the nation, conceived the deſign of equipping, and ſending out to ſea a naval armament, in force ſuperior to that which had been aſſembled by his adverſaries (*y*).

Succeſs, on this occaſion, without the aſſiſtance of the commons, appeared difficult, to an extreme; and, yet ſuch obſtacles had ariſen during the preceding applications for ſupplies, that Charles deſpaired of enjoying the power to gratify his wiſhes, if he truſted ſolely to the aids which might be granted by the parliament. The lawyers whom he conſulted, having inveſtigated the nature of the caſe, under the due allowances for the dangers to which he was expoſed, declared that he might have recourſe to his prerogative. When the judges had approved of the opinion, the king directed writs to be iſſued for the levying of ſhip-money. Theſe writs were, for the preſent, directed only to ſea-ports, and places contiguous to the coaſts, requiring them either to furniſh a certain number of ſhips, or to grant an equivalent pecuniary ſupply. The city of London was directed to provide ſeven ſhips, for twenty-ſix days, and other towns were called upon, in proportion. In expectation that the people might ſubmit more chearfully to the tax, the king ordered that the pecuniary produce of it ſhould be kept apart in the Exchequer, and that a diſtinct account ſhould be given of the ſervices to which it was applied. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the national clamours were at once violent,

(*y*) Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts. p. 289.—Frankland's Annals, p. 468.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 124.

lent, and general, although inſufficient to prevent the project from being carried into execution (*z*).

As it was probable that the neighbouring powers would be as much alarmed at the equipment of ſo formidable a fleet, as the people were irritated by the meaſures taken to defray the expence of it, a letter was, in obedience to the royal mandate, addreſſed from ſecretary Coke, to Sir William Boſwell, at that period ambaſſador from the court of London, to the States-General of the United Provinces. As a naval writer (*a*) hath deemed it worthy of inſertion, we, here, preſent it to the reader.

SIR,

"By your letters, and otherwiſe, I perceive many "jealouſies, and diſcourſes are raiſed upon the pre- "parations of his majeſty's fleet, which is now in "ſuch forwardneſs, that we doubt not but within this "month it will appear at ſea. It is therefore expe- "dient both for your ſatisfaction, and direction, to "inform you particularly what was the occaſion, and "what is his majeſty's intention in this work."

"Firſt, we hold it as a principle not to be denied, "that the king of Great-Britain is a monarch at land, "and ſea, to the full extent of his dominions, and "that it concerneth him as much to maintain his ſo- "vereignty in all the Britiſh ſeas, as within his three "kingdoms; becauſe without that, theſe cannot be "kept ſafe, nor he preſerve his honour, and due re- "ſpect with other nations. But, commanding the



(*z*) Kennet's Complete Hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 81. —Whitlocke, p. 22. 24.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51.—Clarendon, V. 1. p. 68.—Ruſhworth, V. 2. p. 334, 335.—Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 36, 37.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 125.

(*a*) Mr. Campbell.

" ſeas, he may cauſe his neighbours, and all coun-
" tries, to ſtand upon their guard whenſoever he thinks
" fit. And this cannot be doubted that whoſoever will
" encroach upon him by ſea, will do it by land alſo
" when they obſerve their time. To ſuch preſump-
" tion, " Mare Liberum" gave the firſt warning
" piece, which muſt be anſwered with the defence
" of " Mare Clauſum," not ſo much by diſcourſes, as
" by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be bet-
" ter underſtood whenſoever ſtrained patience ſeeth no
" hope of preſerving her right by other means."

" The degrees by which his majeſty's dominions at
" ſea hath of later years been firſt impeached, and then
" queſtioned, are as conſiderable, as notorious."

" Firſt, to cheriſh, and, as it were, to nurſe up
" our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to
" gather wealth, and ſtrength upon our coaſts, in
" our ports, by our trade, and by our people. Then
" they were glad to invite our merchants to a reſi-
" dence, with whatſoever privileges they could deſire.
" Then they offered to us even the ſovereignty of their
" eſtates, and then they ſued for licence to fiſh upon
" the coaſts, and obtained it under the great ſeal of
" Scotland, which they now ſuppreſs. And when
" thus, by leave, or by connivance, they had poſ-
" ſeſſed themſelves of our fiſhing, not only in Scot-
" land, but in Ireland, and in England, and, by our
" ſtaple had raiſed a great ſtock of trade, by theſe
" means, they ſo increaſed their ſhipping, and power,
" at ſea, that now they endure not to be kept at any
" diſtance; nay, they are grown to that confidence,
" to keep guards upon our ſeas, and then to project
" an office, and company of aſſurance, for the ad-
" vancement of trade, and withal prohibit us free
" commerce, even within our ſeas, and take our
" ſhips,

" ſhips, and goods, if we conform not to their pla-
" carts. What inſolencies, and cruelties they have
" committed againſt us, heretofore, in Ireland, in
" Greenland, and in the Indies, is too well known to
" all the world. In all which, although our ſuffer-
" ings, and their wrongs may ſeem forgotten, yet,
" the great intereſt of his majeſty's honour is ſtill
" the ſame, and will refreſh their memories, as there
" ſhall be cauſe. For, although charity muſt remit
" wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection
" upon the public may make it a greater charity to
" do juſtice to crying crimes. All this notwith-
" ſtanding, you are not to conceive that the work
" of the fleet is either revenge, or execution of
" juſtice for theſe great offences paſt, but chiefly, for
" the future, to ſtop the violent current of that pre-
" ſumption, whereby the men of war, and free-
" booters of all nations, abuſing the favour of his
" majeſty's peaceable, and gracious government,
" whereby he hath permitted all his friends, and al-
" lies to make uſe of his ſeas, and ports, in a reaſon-
" able manner, and according to his treaties, have
" taken upon them the boldneſs not only to come con-
" fidently, at all times, into all his ports, and rivers,
" but to convey their merchant-ſhips as high as his
" chief city, and then to caſt anchor cloſe upon his
" magazines, and to contemn the commands of his
" officers when they required a farther diſtance;
" but, which is more intolerable have aſſaulted,
" and taken one another, within his majeſty's channels,
" and within his rivers, to the ſcorn, and contempt
" of his dominion, and power; and this being, of late
" years, an ordinary practice, which we have endea-
" voured in vain to reform, by the ways of juſtice,
" and of treaties, the world, I think, will now

" be ſatisfied that we have reaſon to look about us. " And no wiſe man will doubt that it is high time to " put ourſelves in this equipage upon the ſeas, and " not to ſuffer that ſtage of action to be taken from us " for want of our appearance."

" So, you ſee the general ground upon which our " counſels ſtand. In particular, you may take notice, " and publiſh, as cauſe requires, that his majeſty, by " this fleet, intendeth not a rupture with any prince, " or ſtate, nor to infringe any point of his treaties, " but reſolveth to continue, and maintain that happy " peace wherewith GOD hath bleſſed his kingdom; " and to which all his actions, and negociations have " hitherto tended, as, by your own inſtructions, you " may fully underſtand. But withal conſidering that " peace muſt be maintained by the arm of power, " which only keeps down war, by keeping up domi- " nion; his majeſty, thus provoked, finds it neceſ- " ſary, for his own defence, and ſafety, to re-aſſume, " and keep his ancient, and undoubted right, in the " dominion of theſe ſeas, and to ſuffer no other " prince, or ſtate to encroach upon him, thereby aſ- " ſuming to themſelves, or their admirals, any ſove- " reign command, but to force them to perform due " homage to his admirals, and ſhips, and to pay them " acknowledgments, as in former times, they did. " He will alſo ſet open, and protect the free trade both " of his ſubjects, and Allies, and give them ſuch ſafe " conduct, and convoy as they ſhall reaſonably re- " quire. He will ſuffer no other fleets, or men of " war, to keep guard upon theſe ſeas, or there, " to offer any violence, or take prizes, or booties, or " to give interruption to any lawful intercourſe. In a " word, his majeſty is reſolved, to do no wrong " ſo to do juſtice, both to his ſubjects, and friends,

" within

" within the limits of his ſeas. And this is the real, " and royal deſign of this fleet, whereof you may " give part, as you find occaſion, to our good neigh- " bours in thoſe parts, that no umbrage may be taken " of any hoſtile act, or purpoſe to their prejudice, in " any kind. So, wiſhing you all health, and happi- " neſs, I reſt ———

Whitehall, on the ſixteenth of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-five.

It is natural to imagine that leſs care was taken to ſatisfy the minds of the people in England, relative to the genuine intent of the tax, levied for the equipment of a fleet ſufficiently formidable to accompliſh theſe neceſſary purpoſes, ſince, otherwiſe the public welfare ſeemed to be ſo nearly concerned that public acquieſcence, at leaſt, might have been expected. It is notwithſtanding true, that Charles, anxious to ſuppreſs the clamours of the nation, directed the lord keeper, Coventry, to remind the Judges, previous to their departure, on the ſummer-circuits (*b*), of the expediency of endeavouring to allay the popular fears concerning the tax of ſhip-money. We learn from Whitlocke, that they followed theſe injunctions, but without effect; yet the ſame author acknowledges that the money was aſſeſſed, and levied with great equality, and caution.

With the aſſiſtance of this ſupply, Charles, in May, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-five, equipped two fleets, the one of forty, and the



(*b*) Memorials, p. 24.—The ſpeech of the lord keeper to the Judges may be ſeen in Sanderſon's hiſtory of Charles the firſt, p. 204, 205, 206.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 129.

other of twenty ſail. The admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the firſt fleet were Robert, earl of Lindſay, Sir William Monſon, and Sir John Pennington. The ſecond fleet was commanded by the earl of Eſſex. With the former, Lindſay proceeded from Tilbury-Hope, on the twenty-ſixth of May. His inſtructions were to give no Occaſion of hoſtility, and properly to reſiſt every act of violence which might tend to the prejudice of the naval rights inveſted in the ſovereign, and his people. On the laſt day of the ſame month, the French, and Dutch ſquadrons, joined off Portland, having openly declared that it was their determination to aſſert their own independency, and to diſpute that prerogative which the Engliſh claimed within the narrow ſeas; yet, no ſooner were they informed that the Engliſh fleet was endeavouring to deſcry them, than they departed from the coaſt, and approached nearer to their own harbours (*c*).

The earl of Lindſay ſent a bark towards the ſhores of Britany, for the purpoſe of obſerving the motions of the French, and Dutch armaments. From the period at which the bark returned, until the firſt of October, the Engliſh fleet protected the ſurrounding ſeas, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually aſſerted that ſovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have always claimed. The fortunate operations of this marine equipment not only ſerved to fill the minds of Foreigners with juſt ideas of the naval conſequence of Britain, but allayed the Jealouſy of the people, who now perceived that it was not the intention

(*c*) Letters, and diſpatches of Thomas, earl of Strafford, V. 1. p. 416, 417, 429, 446.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, Book 2. p. 290.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 130.

tion of the crown to turn the appropriation of the tax from its declared object (*d*).

Charles, who beheld with pleaſure the ſucceſſes of his fleet during the courſe of this year, was yet ſenſible that if, at the commencement of the next, he ſhould neglect to keep, upon the ſeas, a navy not leſs conſiderable than the former, the ſquadrons of the French, and Dutch, would openly inſult his ſubjects, and endeavour to diſpute, by force, their title to the dominion of the ocean. In order, therefore, to obtain ſupplies equal to the equipment of a formidable marine, he again directed that writs ſhould be iſſued for the levying of ſhip-money; and, to render the aid more extenſive, what had before been rated as a particular proviſion, to be raiſed by the reſpective ports for their own immediate ſafety, was now converted into a national tax, which became the more grievous, becauſe not united with the authority of parliament. In itſelf, the burthen was not enormous, and, at the moſt, raiſed only two hundred, and thirty ſix thouſand pounds, a year, which did not amount intirely to twenty thouſand pounds, a month, throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an univerſal aid, and the aſſeſſing, and collecting it, according to parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppreſſion, and rendered it extremely odious, notwithſtanding that the neceſſity was generally allowed, and that the benefits reſulting from the care taken of the narrow ſeas, which had afforded matter of inquiry, and expoſtulation, to every parliament

(*d*) A clear and full account of this expedition hath been written by Sir William Monſon. See Naval Tracts, p. 289.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 131.

ment which the king called, could never be denied (*e*).

In order effectually to remove the doubts which might have been conceived by his own ſubjects, and to prevent the influence of any falſe ſurmiſes amongſt foreign nations, relative to the deſign of this powerful armament, Charles deemed it neceſſary to ſignify his intentions to the world in a manner, at once the moſt public, and authentic; that at one, and the ſame time, it might appear what he himſelf demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his anceſtors, relative to points for the ſupport of which theſe demands were iſſued. The inſtrument ran thus:

A PROCLAMATION FOR RESTRAINT of FISHING UPON HIS MAJESTY'S SEAS, and COASTS, WITHOUT LICENSE.

"WHEREAS our Father, of bleſſed memory, king James, did, in the ſeventh year of his reign over Great Britain, ſet forth a proclamation touching fiſhing, whereby, for the many important reaſons therein expreſſed, all perſons, of what nation, or quality ſoever, (being not his natural-born ſubjects,) were reſtrained from fiſhing upon any of the coaſts, and ſeas of Great Britain, Ireland, and the reſt of the iſles adjacent; where moſt uſually heretofore fiſhing had been, until they had orderly demanded, and obtained licenſes from our ſaid father, or his commiſſioners, in that

(*e*) Kennet's complete Hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 81.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 51.—Frankland's Annals, p. 477.—Whitlocke, p. 24.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 131.

that behalf, upon pain of ſuch chaſtiſement as ſhould be fit to be inflicted on ſuch wilful offenders; ſince which time albeit neither our ſaid father, nor ourſelf have made any conſiderable execution of the ſaid proclamation, but have, with much patience, expected a voluntary conformity of our neighbours, and allies, to ſo juſt, and reaſonable propoſitions, and directions, as are contained in the ſame.

And, now, finding by experience, that all the inconveniencies which occaſioned that proclamation, are rather increaſed, than abated; we, being very ſenſible of the premiſes, and well knowing how far we are obliged, in honour, to maintain the rights of our crown, eſpecially of ſo great conſequence, have thought it neceſſary by the advice of our privy-council, to renew the aforeſaid reſtraint of fiſhing, upon our aforeſaid coaſts, and ſeas, without Licence firſt obtained from us, and by theſe preſents to make public declaration that our reſolution is, at times convenient, to keep ſuch competent ſtrength of ſhipping upon our ſeas, as may (through the bleſſing of GOD,) be ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther incroachment upon our regalities, and aſſiſt, and protect thoſe our good friends, and allies, who ſhall, henceforth, by virtue of our licences, (to be firſt obtained,) endeavour to take the benefit of fiſhing upon our coaſts, and ſeas, in the places accuſtomed."

Given at our palace of Weſtminſter, on the tenth day of May, and in the twelfth year of our reign of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſix, the king aſſembled a fleet of ſixty ſail, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral,

Sir

Sir John Pennington, vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom, rear-admiral. They ſailed firſt to the Downs, and, from thence, to the north, where the Dutch buſſes were fiſhing upon the coaſt. The earl required them to forbear, and not finding an immediate compliance, diſcharged ſome ſhot amongſt their veſſels. Alarmed at the violence of this proceeding, the Hollanders deſired Northumberland to be their mediator with the king, and to permit them to continue fiſhing, during the remainder of the year, for which liberty they declared themſelves content to pay the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds, and expreſſed alſo an inclination to obtain a grant from Charles, permitting them to fiſh there, for the time to come, in conſideration of the payment of an annual tribute *(f)*.

Such is the moſt authentic account which can be collected from the leaſt partial hiſtorians relative to the cauſes, and conſequences of this important expedition. In the journal kept, and ſigned by the earl of Northumberland (*g*), are ſeveral memorable particulars. On the appearance of this fleet, the Dutch fiſhing-buſſes, in number two hundred, took licences, notwithſtanding that the year was far advanced. He exacted from them,

(*f*) Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, V. 3. p. 84.—Whitelocke, p. 25.——Frankland, p. 477.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 117.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 134.——At this period, the king, equipped a ſquadron to cruize againſt the Sallee-pirates, who had not only diſturbed the commerce of the Engliſh, but daringly attacked their veſſels within ſight of their own coaſts. On this occaſion, the men of war in the ſervice of Charles were aſſiſted by a fleet belonging to the emperor of Morocco. The pirates, too feeble to contend againſt ſo powerful a force, were intirely exterminated.

(*g*) This was lately preſerved, and is, perhaps, ſtill, in the paper-office.

them, as an acknowledgment, twelve pence, for each ton, and he affirmed that they departed well ſatisfied. It was pretended by the Hollanders, in the reign of Charles, the ſecond, that this was an act of violence, and that no concluſions could be drawn from it, in ſupport of the claims advanced by the crown of England, ſince their countrymen had not paid money, becauſe the compoſition was juſt, but, becauſe they were defenceleſs. The journal of Northumberland ſets this pretence intirely aſide, and proves not only that they were at firſt protected by a ſquadron of ten ſhips of war; but, alſo, that, on the twentieth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſix, Dorp, the Dutch vice-admiral, arrived with a fleet of twenty ſail, and, inſtead of interrupting the proceedings of the Engliſh, ſaluted them, by lowering his top-ſails, ſtriking his flag, and firing his guns, after which ceremony, he went on board the flag-ſhip, and was received, by Northumberland, with every mark of hoſpitality, and reſpect. It is farther mentioned in the journal, that when the earl had departed from the North, and caſt anchor in the Downs, he received notice that a Spaniſh fleet of twenty-ſix ſail, were proceeding to the port of Dunkirk. For the purpoſe of reconnoitring theſe, he diſpatched the Happy Entrance, to which ſingle ſhip the whole Armada paid the teſtimonies of reſpect which were claimed by the Engliſh men of war whenſoever they appeared.

It was the intention of Charles annually to have renewed this mode of levying money, and of aſſembling fleets, under the admirals of which he thought of placing numbers of the young nobility, in order that they might become more capable of conferring ſervices on their country, in the hour of impending danger.

Theſe

Theſe views (*h*) were quickly fruſtrated by the clamours of the people, who expreſſed the moſt violent abhorrence of the means recurred to for the collection of the tax. In the remarkable caſe of Mr. Hampden, it was rendered evident that a conſtant, and regular exaction of ſhip-money, unauthorized by parliament, muſt prove dangerous to the conſtitution, and to the freedom of the ſubject. At this important juncture, the king felt the neceſſity of relinquiſhing his deſign, yet availed himſelf of every prudent method to fix the popular attention on the juſtice of the Engliſh title to the dominion of the ſea (*i*). It was at this period that Charles iſſued an order that a copy of Mare Clauſum, the book written by the learned Selden, ſhould be kept in the council-cheſt (*k*), that another copy ſhould be depoſited in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as a perpetual evidence of our indiſputable claim to the ſovereignty of the ſurrounding ocean.

Happy (obſerves a naval writer (*l*),) would it have proved, if the king had, on this occaſion, convened a parliament, and, after excuſing the manner in which the money was levied, had ſhewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the deſigns of the French, and Dutch defeated. It may fairly be preſumed that the ſalutary effect

(*h*) Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 299.—Warwick's memoirs, p. 53.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 135.

(*i*) Ruſhworth's Collections.—Frankland's Annals.—Clarendon's Hiſtory.——Whitlocke's Memorials.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

(*k*) See the order of council, in Frankland's Annals, p. 476.

(*l*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 136.

effect of ſuch an addreſs to parliament would have appeared in a legal proviſion for the maintenance of theſe fleets; a circumſtance which would have ſecured the commerce, whilſt it eſtabliſhed the naval reputation of the realm; but affairs took a different direction, to the extreme detriment of the ſtate. Some courtiers gave juſt, and violent offence, to prudent men, by repreſenting, in order to obtain a lucrative employment, the royal wiſdom as infallible, and the regal power as irreſiſtible; whilſt others, that they might become popular, heightened every little error into a grievous crime, and magnified ſuch irregular meaſures as were recurred to, through neceſſity, into deliberate acts of tyranny. Thus, were thoſe nations plunged in blood, whoſe unanimity had rendered them rich, powerful, happy, and arbiters of the fate of Europe.

D'Eſtrades hath obſerved, in his negociations, that he was ſent into England, towards the cloſe of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſeven, with a private commiſſion from the cardinal de Richlieu, who was anxious to prevail on Charles to embrace a neutral part, whilſt the combined fleets of France, and Holland, attacked the maritime places of the Spaniſh Netherlands, and had the effrontery to promiſe him the moſt lucrative advantages, in reward for his inactivity. The king anſwered, with equal firmneſs, and prudence, that he could never ſuffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality ſo prejudicial to his own honour, and the intereſt of his kingdoms; that he would keep a fleet in the Downs, with fifteen thouſand men, ready to be tranſported to the relief of the firſt town which ſhould be inveſted by the arms either of the French king, or of the States; and that as to the aſſiſtance which his eminence had offered him againſt any domeſtic diſturbance, he thanked him for it; but thought

thought it quite unneceſſary, ſince he depended intirely on his own authority, and the laws of the land, for the ſuppreſſion, and puniſhment of ſuch rebellious enterprizes (*m*).

The vindictive cardinal no ſooner received the account of this conference, from his agent, than he reſolved to take an immediate revenge, and diſpatched, without delay, to Edinburgh, Abbè de Chamber, his almoner, whom he had inſtructed to encourage the covenanters, in their deſign, with the hopes of aſſiſtance from France, and to improve the correſpondence which d'Eſtrades had formed amongſt them during his ſhort reſidence in England. This arduous commiſſion was executed, by De Chamber, with ſuch fidelity, and addreſs, that the prince of Orange obſerved to d'Eſtrades, that Richlieu had employed too politic, and fortunate an inſtrument in Scotland, by whoſe practices the intereſts of Charles, in that kingdom, were intirely ruined (*n*).

Few

(*m*) Lettres, Memoirs, et Negociations, de Monſieur le Comte d'Eſtrades: a Bruxelles, 1709. 12mo. Tom. 1.—The count's letter to the cardinal, in which the king of England's anſwer is contained, bears date, from London, on the twenty-fourth of November, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſeven.—Campbell's Lives of the admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(*n*) Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1638. p. 840.——Frankland's Annals, p. 768——Whitlocke, p. 33.—Memoires de Monſieur le Comte d'Eſtrades, Tom 1.——The reader will find theſe facts fully proved, if he pleaſes to peruſe the letter addreſſed by the cardinal to the count, and dated Rouel, on the ſecond of December, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſeven. It is an anſwer to the count's letter already cited. In theſe memorials alſo is a letter from d'Eſtrades, to Richlieu, dated Hague, on the twenty-firſt of January, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-one.—Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs,

p.

Few naval tranſactions of importance aroſe from this period, until the commencement of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-nine, when the Spaniards equipped a formidable fleet, conſiſting of ſixty-ſeven ſail of large ſhips, manned with twenty-five thouſand ſeamen, and having on board twelve thouſand land forces, deſigned for the relief of Flanders. This armament, proceeding up the channel, was interrupted, and attacked by a Dutch ſquadron, amounting only to ſeventeen men of war, commanded by Martin (the ſon of Herbert) Van Tromp who continued the engagement until the prevailing force of ſuch a ſuperiority of numbers obliged him to ſheer off towards Dunkirk, where being joined by more ſhips, he gave battle to the Armada, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, and, after a furious conteſt, forced the Spaniards on the Engliſh coaſt, at a ſhort diſtance from the port of Dover (*o*).

Van Tromp, on being informed that the proviſion of the fleet were almoſt expended, and that the ſtock of powder, and ball was conſiderably reduced, ſteered his courſe towards Calais, where he was liberally ſupplied by the governor, and from whence he returned,



p. 129. 140.—Lord Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, V. 3. p. 93.—See likewiſe the letters of Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, ambaſſador at the court of Paris, to Sir Francis Windebank, ſecretary of ſtate, in the Sidney papers, V. 2. p. 562. 599. 646.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 137.

(*o*) The Dutch hiſtorians obſerve that Charles miſtook his true intereſts when he croſſed the views of France, and Holland, and diſcovered a more prevailing attachment to the Spaniards; but experience hath fully evinced that the king judged right, and, with great reaſon, apprehended more danger from the conjunction of the French, and Dutch, than from the declining power of Spain.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 138.

in order to attack the enemy. At his approach, the Spaniards entered within the South Foreland, and put themſelves under the protection of the caſtles. On this occaſion, the Spaniſh reſident importuned Charles that he would oblige the Dutch to forbear hoſtilities, for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of eſcaping to their own coaſts; but the king being in amity with both powers, was reſolved to remain neuter; and, whereas the Spaniards had hired ſome Engliſh ſhips to tranſport their ſoldiers to Dunkirk; ſtrict orders were iſſued in conſequence of the complaints made by the Dutch ambaſſadors, that no ſhips, or veſſels, belonging to the ſubjects of the crown of England, ſhould receive any Spaniards on board, or paſs below Graveſend, without a licence.

With great difficulty, the admiral Oquendo found means for the eſcape of twelve large ſhips, on board of which were four thouſand men. They proceeded ſilently, during the night, through the Downs, round by the North Sand-Head, and the back of the Godwin. The Dutch, who had left that paſſage unguarded, remarked, in vindication of their neglect, that the Engliſh had aſſured them that no ſhips of any conſiderable burthen could venture to ſail that way, by night. The two armaments had now continued in their ſtation nearly three weeks, when Charles ſent the earl of Arundel to the Spaniſh admiral, who was deſired to retreat, on the firſt fair wind. At this period, the naval force of the Dutch, was augmented to an hundred ſail, by ſhips which had arrived from Zealand, and from Holland. When Van Tromp diſcovered an inclination to engage the enemy, Sir John Pennington, the chief commander of the Engliſh fleet, which then lay in the Downs, and conſiſted of thirty-four men of war, acquainted him that he had received orders

to

to act in defence of either of the two parties, which ſhould be firſt attacked. This tranſaction plainly diſcovers how much it imported England to have maintained a ſuperior fleet, at ſea; a meaſure which was prevented by the general diſſatisfaction conceived againſt the tax of ſhip-money, and the religious diſturbances in Scotland. It is probable that Sir John Pennington, who, during that Æra, was accuſed of miſconduct, availed himſelf of every circumſtance within his power, to ſupport the dignity of the Britiſh flag.

At the expiration of two days, the Spaniards, who preſumed on that protection which they had hitherto enjoyed, fired ſeveral ſhot at a barge wherein Van Tromp was then ſitting. They next diſcharged a cannon, the ball from which killed one of the mariners belonging to the Dutch veſſel. His dead body was immediately ſent to Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards, the firſt aggreſſors, had violated the neutrality which ought to have been obſerved within ſo ſhort a diſtance from the harbours of the king of England. Soon afterwards, Van Tromp, having received freſh orders from the States, reſolved to attack the enemy; but, previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, addreſſed to Pennington a letter, in which, having remarked that the conduct of the Spaniards compelled him to prepare inſtantly for engaging, he intreated that admiral to keep his promiſe, and act in defence of the Dutch, on whom the Armada had firſt fired. He added that, although Pennington might not think proper to comply with his requeſt, he truſted that he would, at leaſt, permit him to engage the adverſary; otherwiſe he ſhould have juſt cauſe of complaint to all the world, concerning ſo manifeſt an injury (*p*).



(*p*) Emmelyn Leeven van Fred. Hen. fol. 55.—Lettres d'Eſtrades, tom. 1. p. 40.—Le Clerc. Hiſtoire des provinces

When this letter had been delivered to the Engliſh admiral, Van Tromp weighed, and ſtood towards the Spaniards, in ſix diviſions, cannonading them furiouſly, and vigorouſly preſſing them at the ſame time, with his fire-ſhips, ſo that he immediately forced the whole Armada to cut their cables. Of fifty-three ſhips, which were the intire number, twenty-three ran aſhore, and ſtranded in the Downs; of theſe, three were burnt, two ſunk; and two periſhed on the ſhore. One was a great galleon, (the vice-admiral of Galicia) commanded by Don Antonio de Caſtro, and mounted with fifty-two braſs guns. The Engliſh manned the remainder of the twenty-three ſhips, (which had been deſerted by the Spaniards,) in order to prevent them from being taken by the Dutch. The other thirty Spaniſh ſhips commanded by Don Antonio de Oquendo, and Lopez, the admiral of Portugal, ſtood out to ſea, and continued their courſe, in good order, until a fog aroſe, of which the Dutch availed themſelves, and interpoſing between the admirals, and their fleet, engaged furiouſly, until the weather became clear, when the man of war, commanded by Lopez, was blown up, by two fire-ſhips, which, in purſuance of orders from Van Tromp, had been prepared for that purpoſe. When Oquendo perceived the admiral ſhip of Portugal in flames, he inſtantly bore away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and a ſmall number of other ſhips. Of the thirty Spaniſh veſſels, five were ſunk during the engagement; eleven were taken, and ſent to Holland; three periſhed near the coaſt of France, and one near Dover. The remaining ten eſcaped. As the firſt hoſtility had been indiſputably committed by the Spaniards, it became a plea, advanced by the Dutch, in their juſtification; and alſo ſerved

vinces Unies. Liv. 12. p. 193, 194.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 140.

ſerved as a ſufficient argument to defend the conduct of the Engliſh government, which otherwiſe would have appeared repugnant to the law of nations, in ſuffering one ally to deſtroy another, within its naval juriſdiction (*q*).

An indefatigable hiſtorian (*r*) hath deemed it neceſſary to remark that, in fact, the people of England were not ſorry for this misfortune which befel the Spaniards, although the court endeavoured, by every proper meaſure, to prevent it. He adds that their ſatisfaction was grounded on ſurmiſes that this formidable fleet was a ſecond Armada, fitted out nominally againſt the Dutch; but, in truth, prepared for the deſtruction of the heretics, in general. At the firſt glance, this may appear a wild, and extravagant ſuggeſtion; but, perhaps, the reader will, in ſome meaſure, be diſpoſed to give it his aſſent, ſhould we inform him that, when the next parliament was convened, a proof appeared to ſtrengthen the ſuſpicion, and a popiſh book was produced, in which, amongſt other ſuperſtitious paſſages, were prayers for the holy martyrs, who periſhed in the fleet ſent out againſt the heretics of England (*s*). Be this as it may, the



(*q*) See Sir John Pennington's relation of this engagement in Frankland's annals. p. 793, 794.—Whitlocke, p. 31, 32.——Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 119, 120.—Memoirs de Monſieur le Comte d'Eſtrades, tom. 1.——See his letter to the cardinal de Richlieu, informing him of the victory gained over the Spaniſh fleet. It is dated from Bergen-op-zoom, on the twentieth of September, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-nine.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 140, 141.

(*r*) Mr Campbell.

(*s*) Ruſhworth, A D. 1639. p. 974.—Prynne's royal Favourite, p. 59.—Fiery Jeſuits, 4to. 1667, p. 118.—— Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, p. 142.

bare report, undoubtedly, proved more than ſufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their reſentments againſt the Spaniards. Several of our own writers have affected to repreſent the conduct of the Dutch as derogatory, on this occaſion, from our ſovereignty on the ſurrounding ocean; but foreigners have intimated no circumſtance of this nature (*t*), although it muſt be allowed that the affairs of government were then in ſuch confuſion, as to render it extremely doubtful whether Charles could have properly reſented an indignity, in caſe the Dutch had offered it.

Mr. Campbell remarks that he was on the point of following the example of ſeveral of our annaliſts, and leaving unnoticed the expedition, undertaken, during the courſe of this year, by the marquis of Hamilton, againſt the Scots. In itſelf it is of little conſequence, yet ſerves to ſhew how difficult, on this occaſion, is the diſcovery of truth. A prelate (*u*). whoſe veracity as a writer is not unqueſtionably eſtabliſhed, hath compoſed a plauſible relation of the enterprize. He obſerves that the duke embarked at Yarmouth, towards the middle of April, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-nine; and that he was attended by nearly five thouſand men, amongſt whom not more than two hundred knew how to fire a gun. Concerning the number of ſhips, or their burthen, he is intirely ſilent; and only acquaints us that the troops were tranſported in the colliery-veſſels, and that they arrived at the Frith of Forth, on the firſt of May. There, Hamilton remained for a conſiderable ſpace of time, treating unſuccefsfully with

(*t*) Nanis's hiſtory of Venice, book 11. p. 472, 473.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 142.

(*u*) Biſhop Burnet's Memoirs of James, and William, Dukes of Hamilton, p. 121, 139.

with the Scots. When the ſeaſon was loſt, he returned, without having executed his commiſſion (*x*).

A diſcerning contemporary writer (*y*) hath entered into a widely different detail, which may be here inſerted, as it is ſhort, and not unworthy of the notice of the reader. "Hamilton was to have been a diſtinct "general both by ſea, and land, and with a good "fleet was to block up the Scots ſeas; nay, to my "knowledge he promiſed ſo to viſit his countrymen on "their coaſts, as that they ſhould find little eaſe, or "ſecurity, in their habitations. For, he had three "good Engliſh regiments on board of him, but the "very choice of his ſhips ſhewed that he had more "mind to make war upon the king's treaſure, "than upon his own country, or countrymen; for, "he had choſen ſome of the ſecond, or third rate, "whereas the leaſt frigates would have done the great-"eſt ſervice; thus, by the very bulk of his ſhips, "obliging himſelf to an inactivity. One might well "have expected that he who had ſo prodigally, as a "commiſſioner, laviſhed his majeſty's honour, and "unhinged the government, would have vigorouſly "employed theſe forces under his command, to have "reſtored both; and that a man of his importance "would have found ſome party ready to have counte-"nanced, and aſſiſted him; but, inſtead thereof, when "he comes, and anchors in the Frith, his mother, "(a violent ſpirited lady, and a deep preſbytereſs,) "comes on board of him, and, ſurely ſhe had no "hard taſk to charm him. Afterwards, the great



(*x*) See Ruſhworth. A. D. 1639. p. 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935.—Kennet. V. 3. p. 99.—Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 1. p. 114. 120, 121.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 30.—Davis's Hiſtory of the civil wars of England, p. 11.

(*y*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 131, 132.

"ſhips (like the great formidable log, let down to "be a king,) lying ſtill, he had ſeveral viſits from "many of the great men, who were moſt active "againſt the king, as if he had been rather returned "from an Eaſt India voyage, than come as a powerful "enemy."

From this period, the fleet ceaſed to be dependant on the king; and therefore, it may be proper to conclude, here, the naval hiſtory of king Charles the firſt.

We now enter on the neceſſary obſervations concerning the progreſs of commerce, the increaſe of the marine, and the eſtabliſhment of colonies, during the tranſient ſovereignty of this unhappy prince.

Previous to the commencement of the civil wars, Charles added, amongſt others, one ſhip to the royal navy of England, which on account of its ſize, and ſeveral remarkable particulars, muſt be mentioned, in this work; and the rather, becauſe few hiſtorians have admitted the deſcription.

"This famous veſſel was conſtructed at Woolwich, "in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-"ſeven. She was, in length, by the keel, one hun-"dred and twenty feet; in breadth, forty-eight feet; "in length, from the fore end of the beak, to the af-"ter end of the ſtern, two hundred, and thirty-two "feet; and in heighth, from the bottom of her keel, "to the top of her lanthorn, ſeventy-ſix feet. She "bore five lanthorns, the biggeſt of which would "hold ten perſons upright; had three fluſh-decks, "a fore-caſtle; a half deck; a quarter-deck; and "a round-houſe. Her lower tier thirty ports; "her middle tier, thirty ports; her third tier, "twenty-ſix ports; fore-caſtle, twelve ports; half-"deck, fourteen ports; thirteen ports more within "board, excluſive of ten pieces of chace- ordnance, forward,

" forward, and ten right aft, and many loop-holes in " the cabins, for muſket-ſhot. She had eleven anchors, " one of which was of the weight of four thouſand, and " four hundred pounds. She was of the burthen of one " thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſeven tons. She was " built by Peter Pett, Eſquire, under the direction of " captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of " the navy (z)."

It appears from Sir William Monſon, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of that æra, who were competent judges of theſe matters, that the trade of Great Britain had increaſed exceedingly, during the firſt fifteen years of the reign of Charles, inſomuch that the port of London, only, could have ſupplied

(z) A true deſcription of his majeſty's royal ſhip, built in this year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-ſeven, at Woolwich, in Kent; to the great glory of the Engliſh nation, and not paralleled in the whole chriſtian world. Publiſhed by authority. London, 1637, 4to. This little piece is addreſſed to Charles the firſt, by its author, Thomas Heywood, who appears to have been employed in contriving the emblematical devices, or deſigns, and in compoſing the mottos with which the veſſel was embelliſhed.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 145.—The following is a liſt of the ſhips added to the royal navy, by Charles the firſt.

| Ships. | Men in Harbour. | Men at Sea. |
|---|---|---|
| The Ten Whelps | 3 | 60 ſome 70 |
| Henrietta Pinnace | 3 | 25 |
| Mary Pinnace | 3 | 25 |
| Charles | 9 | 250 |
| Henrietta Maria | 9 | 250 |
| James | 9 | 260 |
| Victory | 9 | 250 |
| Leopard | 7 | 170 |
| Swallow | 6 | 150 |
| Sovereign | | |

plied an hundred ſail, capable of being eaſily converted into men of war, and well furniſhed with ordnance (*a*). The trade to the Eaſt-Indies, which was only in its infancy, previous to the demiſe of James, the firſt, now became extremely lucrative; and the Engliſh ſhips gave law, in thoſe parts, to the veſſels of almoſt every foreign nation. The trade to Guinea grew likewiſe conſiderably advantageous to the Engliſh ſubjects; and their commercial intercourſe with Spain, after the concluſion of the war, was equally ſucceſsful (*b*). It muſt be acknowledged that conſiderable diſputes aroſe between the government, and the merchants, relative to the cuſtoms, which were conſidered by ſome of the miniſters, as dependent on the crown, and liable to be taken ſolely by virtue of the prerogative; whereas others conceived, as moſt of the merchants themſelves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied, but by the conſent of parliament. Yet theſe very diſputes ſhewed that trade was in a flouriſhing condition; for, if the cuſtoms had not riſen to a conſiderable height, and beyond what they did in former times, no miniſtry would have run the hazard of ſuch a conteſt (*c*).

One

(*a*) Naval Tracts, p. 293.

(*b*) Idem. Ibid.

(*c*) Mr. Campbell obſerves that many of our able writers of Engliſh hiſtory, particularly ſuch as lived in thoſe days and have diſcourſed of them, ſpeak with rapture of the great felicity of the times, and of the wealth, and proſperity of the nation, at the period mentioned in the text. He refers only to few authorities, but adds that it would not be difficult to aſſemble a cloud of witneſſes, in ſupport of what hath been aſſerted.—Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 1. p. 74, 75, 76.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 62, 63, 64.—Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 5.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, p. 19. 21.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 1.—Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles

One of the principal ſources of our naval ſtrength, during that æra, was our colonies, to the encouragement, and augmentation of which, even thoſe accidents highly contributed, which might have proved otherwiſe fatal to ſociety; ſuch as our civil, and eccleſiaſtical diviſions, which induced numbers of ſober, induſtrious, and diſcerning individuals, to prefer liberty, and whatſoever they could raiſe in diſtant, and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneaſy ſituation in which they found themſelves at home (*d*).

The colony of Virginia had ſtruggled under great difficulties, from the time that it became ſubject to the direction of a company, until Charles, at his acceſſion, veſted the adminiſtration of it in a governour, council, and aſſembly, who were bound to act in ſtrict correſpondence with the legal forms preſcribed under the conſtitution of Great Britain. During a ſhort ſpace, the proſperity of Virginia was unmoleſted. At length, Sir John Harvey, whom the king had appointed governour, proceeded to ſuch tyrannical extremes, that the irritated coloniſts had recourſe to equal violence, and, in the year, one thouſand ſix hundred, and thirty-nine, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent a priſoner to England. Charles, enraged at theſe proceedings, directed Harvey to return inſtantly to his government, and peremptorily refuſed to hear the complaints that were alleged againſt him (*e*).

Yet

bles in England, p. 63. — Farther to ſatisfy the Reader, he is referred to that admirable Picture of the State of Europe, in general, and of England, in particular, left us, by the earl of Clarendon, in his life. Edit. 1759. V. 7. p. 70, 71.

(*d*) Neale, in his hiſtory of the puritans, obſerved that the ſeverities exerciſed by archbiſhop Laud, drove thouſands of families to New-England.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 147.

Yet this re-eſtabliſhment was effected ſolely with a view to ſupport the dignity of the crown; and, ſhortly afterwards, Sir John Harvey was ſucceeded by Sir William Berkley, whoſe adminiſtration, guided by juſtice, and lenity, reſtored the happineſs of the colony. That of New England received its name from Charles, when he was prince of Wales, and was better ſettled during the reign of James, than any other of the plantations. When his ſucceſſor had aſcended the throne, it flouriſhed ſtill more conſiderably, and was conſtantly ſupplied with large draughts of people; ſo that by degrees, it became divided into four governments, under which (it hath been ſuppoſed,) there exiſted twenty-five thouſand inhabitants; from whence we may infer that the commerce carried on between this colony, and the mother-country, muſt have been very conſiderable, even at this early period (*f*).

The papiſts, in England, perceiving themſelves expoſed to numerous ſeverities, and dreading ſtill greater evils, were anxious to enjoy with other nonconformiſts, an aſylum in the new world. Hence, aroſe the ſettlement of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted a part of Virginia, between thirty-ſeven, and forty degrees of north latitude. It was granted by Charles, on the twentieth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and thirty-two, to the anceſtor of the late lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland from the queen of England, Henri-

(*f*) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 372.—Hiſtory, and preſent ſtate of Virginia, by colonel R. Beverly, p. 48, 49.—Hiſtory of the Britiſh Plantations in America, by Sir William Keith, baronet, p. 144, 145.—Hiſtory of the Britiſh ſettlements in North America, by William Douglas, M. D. Vol. 1. Sect. 8.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 148.

Henrietta Maria. It was more eaſily, and more ſucceſsfully planted than any former colony had been. Leonard Calvert, the brother to the lord Proprietor, was the firſt governour, and continued to exerciſe his authority, until that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him, and until the parliament ſent one of their adherents to ſupplant him (*g*).

The Sommer-Iſlands, which were planted in the laſt Reign, and ſettled under a regular government, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred and nineteen, flouriſhed exceedingly, the country being fertile, and pleaſant, and the air much more wholeſome than in any other part of America (*h*). The iſland of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted, at the commencement of the reign of Charles, was granted to the earl of Carliſle; and ſuch was the encouragement which he gave to all adventurers, that the place ſpeedily became populous, and rich (*i*). To this period, alſo, may we fix the ſettlement of Saint Chriſtopher, and Nevis.

Relatively to the coinage, it may be neceſſary to obſerve that in the ſecond year of the reign of Charles, the firſt, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, of twenty-three carats, three grains, and a half fine, and half a grain, allay, was coined into forty-four pounds, and ten ſhillings, by tale; namely, into roſe rials, at thirty ſhillings, a piece; ſpur-rials, at fifteen ſhillings, a piece; and angels, at ten ſhillings,

(*g*) Britiſh Empire in America, V. 1. p. 323.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 148.

(*h*) General Hiſtory of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-Iſles, by captain John Smith, London, 1627. Folio. Book 5.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 149.

(*i*) True, and exact Hiſtory of the iſland of Barbadoes, by Richard Ligon. London, 1657. Folio. p. 43.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 149.

lings, a piece. A pound-weight of crown-gold, of twenty-two carats, fine, and two carats, allay, was coined into forty-one pounds, by tale; namely, into unites, at twenty ſhillings; double-crowns, at ten ſhillings, or Britiſh crowns, at five ſhillings, a piece. A pound of ſilver of the old ſtandard of eleven ounces, two penny-weights, fine, into ſixty-two ſhillings, by tale; namely, into crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, half-ſhillings, two-pences, pence, and half-pence.

The gold coins of this king (as appears from the above indenture,) are roſe-rials, ſpur-rials, angels, unites, double, and Britiſh crowns. The ſilver coins are crowns, half-crowns, ſhillings, ſix-pences, two-pences, pence, and half-pence; as, alſo, ten, and twenty-ty-ſhilling-pieces, peculiar to this reign which have the figure of Charles, on horſeback (*k*).

(*k*) See Rapin's hiſtory of England, 8vo. V. 10. p. 544.

# MEMOIRS

OF

# Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

THIS celebrated officer, deſcended from an ancient, and noble family, was the third ſon of Sir Edward Manſel, Knight, by his wife, the lady Jane, daughter to Henry, earl of Worceſter (*a*). He entered early into the ſea-ſervice, under the patronage of the illuſtrious lord Howard of Effingham, high-Admiral of England. During the expedition to Cadiz, his gallantry attracted the notice of the earl of Eſſex, who rewarded him with knighthood; and, thenceforward, conſidered him as a favourite, appointing him, previous to his departure, on the iſland-voyage, to the command of the Mary-Honora (*b*). On his return, he adhered to his former patron, the earl of Nottingham, and was, frequently employed, at ſea, during the reign of Elizabeth, but, more particularly,

(*a*) Dugdale's Baronage, V. 2. p. 293.

(*b*) Birch's Memoirs of queen Elizabeth, V. 2. p. 50. —Stowe, p. 775.—Sir William Monſon's naval Tracts, p. 189.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 150.

cularly, for the defence of the coaſt, a ſervice in which his prudence, and intrepidity, attracted the admiration of his fellow-ſubjects, and the cenſure of his enemies (*c*). When, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and two, he attacked ſix of the Spaniſh gallies, on their paſſage to Flanders, ſunk three, and diſperſed the reſt, the Dutch, and after them, the French hiſtorians, miſrepreſented his behaviour. Sir Robert, eager to vindicate his injured honour, drew up a full relation of his conduct, and addreſſed it to the lord high-admiral. Following the example of a naval writer (*d*), we here preſent an extract, from what he deems a curious, and authentic paper, to the reader.

"On the twenty third of September, being in the "Hope, and having in my company the Advantage "only of the queen's ſhips, which captain Jones "commanded, and two Dutch men of war, I rode "more than half channel over, towards the coaſt of "France, upon a north-weſt, and ſouth-eaſt line, "myſelf being neareſt that coaſt, captain Jones next "me, and the Dutch men of war a ſea-board, and "to the Weſtward of him. The ſmall force, at that "time preſent, and with me, remaining thus diſpoſed "for the intercepting of the Gallies, having diſmiſſed "the Dutch men of war that ſerved under me, upon "their own intreaty, to re-victual, and trim, and having employed the reſt of the queen's ſhips, upon "eſpecial ſervices, I deſcried, from my top-maſt-"heads, ſix low ſails, which ſome made for gallies, "whilſt others affirmed them to be ſmall barks that had "ſtruck their top-ſails, and were bound from Dieppe, "towards the Downs. To which opinion, although I "inclined moſt, yet I directed the maſter to weigh, "and

(*c*) Camden, p. 895.
(*d*) Mr. Campbell.

" and ſtand with them, that I might learn ſome news " of the gallies, which, by your lordſhip's advertiſe- " ment ſent me, I knew had either paſſed me that " night, or were near at hand, unleſs the ſea had " ſwallowed them up in the ſtorms which had raged, " three days before. Having ſet myſelf under ſail, " the weather grew thick, which obliged me to laſk " ſome two points from the wind, towards the Eng- " liſh coaſt, leſt the continuance of that dark wea- " ther might give them power to run out a-head of " me. About eleven o'clock, the weather cleared, " when I diſcovered them plainly to be the Spaniſh " gallies ſo long time expected, at which time, with " the reſt, I plied to receive them, by croſſing their " fore-foot, as they ſtood along the channel, which " they endeavoured, until they perceived that, by the " continuance of that courſe, they could not eſcape " the power of my ordnance."

" All this time, theſe two fly-boats were between " them, and me; and (as the ſlaves report that ſwam " aſhore at Dover,) they determined, with three gal- " lies, to have boarded each of thoſe ſhips; and could " have executed that reſolution, but for the fear of " her majeſty's great galleon, (as they termed the " Hope,) whoſe force that they ſhunned in that kind, " (conſidering the diſadvantage that twice ſix of the " beſt gallies that ever I ſaw, have by fighting againſt " one ſhip of her force,) I do as much commend, as " otherwiſe, I do deteſt their ſhameful working, in " that, full of cowardlineſs, and weakneſs, they " rowed back to the weſtward, and ſpent the day, by " running away, in hopes that the darkneſs of the " night would give them liberty ſufficient to ſhun the " only ſhip they feared; or that was indeed in the ſea, " all that time, to give them the cauſe of fear, I

" mean between them and Dunkirk, or Nieuport. This " error only of theirs bred their confuſion, as you may " perceive by the ſequel."

" For, they no ſooner began that courſe of rowing " back again, but I inſtantly made ſigns for captain " Jones, in the Advantage, belonging to the queen, to " come to me, whom I preſently directed to repair to " Calais-Road, and thence to ſend the Alarm unto the " army of the States, aſſembled before Sluys, and to " adviſe ſuch men of war as kept on the coaſt of " Flanders, upon any other occaſion, to ſtand off to " ſea, to meet with the gallies, in the night, which " ſhould be chaced by me, with my lights in my " top-maſt-heads, and a continual diſcharging of " my ordnance. Captain Jones having ſhaped his " courſe, according to my directions, I gave orders " for hoiſting, and trimming of my ſails, by the wind, " to keep ſight of the gallies; and the two fly-boats, " being ſtill a weather of me, did the like."

" Which chace we held, until ſun-ſetting, obſerv- " ing this courſe following, all the day. They, be- " ing a weather of me, kept their continual boards, " that the gallies were always between them, and my- " ſelf being to leeward made ſuch ſhort turns, as I " kept all the afternoon in a manner even in the very " eye of their courſe, between them, and the place " of their deſign, ever diſcharging my beſt ordnance " to warn the Anſwer, belonging to her majeſty, that " rid, by my directions, at the Downs, upon impor- " tant ſervice, as your lordſhip knoweth; and the " Flemings that were there, having left the ſea, upon " unknown grounds to me, (yet ſent from Portſmouth, " by the moſt provident direction of her ſacred ma- " jeſty, to await the coming of the gallies, upon ad- " vertiſements that her highneſs received, of their be-

" ing

" ing to put to ſea,) to ſet ſail, who elſe had received " no underſtanding of the gallies, neither came they " within ſhot of them until after night; howſoever " the reputation of the ſervice is wholly challenged by " them."

" Having given your lordſhip an account how this " day was thus ſpent by me, from eight o'clock, until " the evening, and with theſe only helps, I beſeech " your lordſhip to be pleaſed to underſtand that with " the ſetting of the ſun, I could both diſcern the ſhips " laſt mentioned, under ſail, at the Downs, and the " gallies to have ſet their ſails, directing their courſe " cloſe aboard of our ſhore, each of them being out of " ſight of the other; and my Dutch conſorts, by this " time, to have been left by the gallies to a ſtern-" chace. When I perceived them to hold that courſe " which would bring them within ſhot of the Anſwer, " and the reſt that were in the Downs, I held a clean " contrary courſe from them, towards the coaſt of " France, to confirm the ſecure paſſage they thought " to find on our coaſt, which I continued, until the " report of their battery gave me aſſurance of the " gallies being engaged with them."

" How the battery began, who began it, how it was " continued, how ended, and to whom the reputation " of the ſervice is due, I leave to be conſidered by " your lordſhip, by the peruſal of the true diſcourſe " following. The Anſwer, belonging to the queen, " which captain Broadgate commanded, as ſhe rid more " ſoutherly, at the Downs, than the Flemings, ſo came " ſhe firſt to the gallies, and beſtowed twenty-eight " pieces of ordnance, in them, before the Flemings " came in, who, at length, ſeconded him with very " many ſhot."

"During this battery of ours upon the galfies, "which I ſo term, becauſe they never exchanged one "ſhot, at the very firſt report of the Anſwer's ord- "nance, I directed the maſter of my ſhip to bear up "with the ſouth end of the Godwin, with which di- "rections, I delivered my reaſons publicly, as I ſtood "on the poop of my ſhip, namely, that if I ſtood di- "rectly in, the gallies, before I could recover the "place, would either be driven aſhore, or ſunk, and ſo "there would prove no need of my force; or elſe, "by their nimble ſailing, they would eſcape their "ſhips, of whom (once getting a-head,) they could "receive no impediment; for, there was no one ſhip, "but the Advantage, in the ſea, that could hinder "them from recovering any port in Flanders, or the "eaſt-countries, (Sluys only excepted,) unleſs I ſtayed "them at that Sand-head."

"Having recovered as near that place as I deſired, "I ſtayed at leaſt a quarter of an hour, before I could "either ſee the galley, hear, or ſee any of thoſe ſhips, "their lights, or the report of their ordnance, which "made me, and all my company, hold opinion that "they had outſailed the Anſwer, and the reſt of the "Flemings, and ſhunned ſight of me, by going a ſea- "board of my ſhip, which I ſo verily believed, as I "once directly determined to ſail for Sluys, with hope "only that the preparation which I knew the States "had there, would be able to prevent their entrance "into that place. Whilſt I remained thus doubtful, "or rather hopeleſs to hinder their recovery of Dun- "kirk, or Nieuport, in caſe they had been a ſea-board "of me, ſome of my company deſcried a ſingle gal- "ley, plying from the ſhore, to get a-head of my "ſhip. When ſhe approached within caliver-ſhot, I

"diſ-

" diſcharged about thirty pieces of ordnance, of my " lower, and upper tier, at her alone; myſelf, with " many others in my ſhip, ſaw when her main-yard " was ſhot aſunder, heared the report of many ſhot " that hit her hull, heard many of their moſt pitiful " outcries, which when I perceived to continue, and, " inſtead of making way from me, I forbore ſhoot- " ing, and commanded one that ſpoke the Portugueſe " language, to tell them that I was contented to re- " ceive them to mercy; which I would accordingly " have performed, had not the other five gallies offered " to ſtand a-head of me, at that very inſtant, and there- " by would have left me, as they had both the firſt " two Dutch ſhips, and, afterwards, the Anſwer, with " the reſt of the Flemings, had I omitted any ſmall " time, of executing the advantage I had, of their " being on my broadſide, which, as appears, was ſo " effectually employed, (howſoever the night wherein " this ſervice was performed, might hinder the parti- " cular mention of their hurts,) as none can deny, " but that GOD pleaſed thereby only to work their " confuſion. For, ſince that time, none hath ſaid, " or can ſpeak of any one ſhot made towards them; " yet four of them are ſunk, and wrecked, the fifth " paſt doing the enemy ſervice, and the ſixth they " are forced to new-build at Dunkirk, where, (if I be " not much deceived,) ſhe will prove more charge- " able, than profitable, if the default reſt not in our- " ſelves."

" The diſagreement between the Dutch captains " themſelves, touching the ſtemming, and ſinking of " the gallies, (whereof one challenged before your " lordſhip, and in many other public places, to have " ſtemmed, and ſunk two himſelf,) and the printed " pamphlet, containing the ſtemming, and ſinking of

" three gallies, gives the reputation thereof to three " ſeveral captains, amongſt whom no mention is made " of the firſt; and whereas there are but two in all " ſunk, I leave to be reconciled amongſt themſelves, " and to your lordſhip, whether that the ſame of right " appertaineth not to her majeſty's ſhip, the Hope, in " reſpect of the allegations before mentioned, every " particular whereof, being to be proved by the oaths " of my whole company, and maintained with the ha- " zard of my life, with that which followeth."

" Firſt, as the ſhooting of the ſingle galley's main- " yard; my beſtowing above thirty pieces of ord- " nance, upon that one galley, within leſs than cali- " ver-ſhot."

" Secondly, that they in the galley made many la- " mentable outcries, for my receiving them to mer- " cy."

" Thirdly, that I would accordingly have received " them, but for giving them over, to encounter with " the other five gallies, which elſe had left me to a " ſtern-chace."

" To theſe reaſons, I add the aſſertion of the vice- " admiral himſelf, who told me (whatſoever he ſpake " in other places,) that one of the gallies, which he " ſtemmed, had her main-yard ſhot aſunder, before " his coming on board of her; by whomſoever ſhe was " then ſtemmed, your lordſhip may judge who ruined " her, conſidering ſhe made no reſiſtance by his own " report, but by crying to him for mercy."

" Touching the other galley ſtemmed, and ſunk, I " have already proved how ſhe (as all the reſt) had got " a-head of the Anſwer, of the queen's, not named, " and the reſt of the States men of war with her, who " challenge the whole credit of this ſervice. They " (as all other ſeamen,) cannot deny but that the

" gal-

" gallies will outſail all ſhips, in ſuch a loome gale " of wind, and ſmooth ſea, as we had that night."

" The gallies then being quicker of ſail than they, " how could they, by any means poſſible, fetch them " up, but by ſome impediment? Impediment they re- " ceived none, but by my ordnance, which amounted " to fifty great ſhot at thoſe five which came laſt from " the ſhore, when all the ſhips were above a mile " aſtern."

" Some, notwithſtanding, out of their detracting " diſpoſitions, may, perchance, ſay that the two which " were wrecked at Nieuport, would have periſhed by " ſtorm, although they had not been battered: " whereto, although I have ſpeedily anſwered, firſt, in " ſhewing that they might have recovered any of the " places thereabouts, before eight o'clock that night, " but for me, and then the ſecond time, before the " morning, had they not been encountered by me " alone, at the South Sand-Head; yet for further proof " that they miſcarried by our battery only, I ſay, that " if one of the gallies which received leaſt damage by " our ordnance, did outlive Friday's ſtorm, continu- " ing until Saturday noon, being driven amongſt the " iſlands of Zealand, to recover Calais, then ſurely thoſe " two (unleſs they had been exceedingly torn,) would " have made ſhift to have recovered the ports of Nieu- " port, Graveling, or Dunkirk; eſpecially ſince from " the place where I battered them, they might have " been at the remoteſt of thoſe places, about four " hours before any ſtorm began. But ſuch ſeemed " their haſte to ſave their lives, as their thought ran " of a ſhore, and not of a harbour."

" Now, that I have delivered unto your lordſhip " the whole, and true diſcourſe of this buſineſs, I ſhall " forbear to trouble your patience with any farther

" relation of that night, and next day's ſpending my " time (although the ſame, in her chace, had like to " have coſt her majeſty her ſhip, and the lives of as " many as were in her,) and conclude with the admi- " ration of their not holding her majeſty's ſhip, nor I, " (her unworthieſt ſervant,) and then, and yet, by her " highneſſes grace, and your lordſhip's favour, ad- " miral of the forces in that place, am not once men- " tioned, eſpecially ſince the ſix gallies might ſafely " have arrived, before ſeven o'clock, that night, at " any of the ports of Flanders, to the Weſtward of " Oſtend. And that the Dutch ſhips had not come from " an anchor in the Downs, but for the ſigns (Signals,) " they received from me. Then, that the force of " her majeſty's ſhip, wherein I was, enforced them to " keep cloſe aboard the Engliſh ſhore, whereby thoſe " ſhips in the Downs, had power given them to come " to fight, which fight was begun by the Anſwer, be- " longing to the Queen."

" And, laſtly, ſince the gallies eſcaped their battery, " and had gotten a-head of thoſe ſhips above a mile at " leaſt, and never received any impediment after, but " only by me, who lingered them (as you have heard,) " until the coming up of thoſe ſhips that challenge to " ſtem them; which being granted, I cannot ſee how " any other credit can be rightly given them (for that " ſtem, I mean,) than to a lackey for pillaging of " that dead body which his maſter had ſlain."

Mr. Campbell advances three motives for the propriety of inſerting this long relation. Firſt, becauſe the paper is very curious in itſelf, and well drawn (*e*). Next,

(*e*) We cannot implicitly aſſent to one part of this aſſertion. The language is obſcure almoſt throughout the whole quotation, and, in ſome places, the reader may be on the point of thinking it unintelligible.

Next becauſe it reflects honour on the memory of Sir Robert Manſel; and, particularly deſerves a place within a naval work. Laſtly, as it ſhews the correctneſs of thoſe times, when every important circumſtance was examined, and ſifted to the bottom; a proceeding which rendered officers ſo anxious to preſerve their characters, that they were always ready to publiſh a ſtrict relation of their conduct, in that explicit manner which ſilenced calumny, and took away the neceſſity of inquiry.

When James, the firſt, ſucceeded to the throne, Sir Robert Manſel, retained his poſt of vice-admiral, to which he had been advanced through the intereſt of the earl of Nottingham. To this illuſtrious patron, he firmly, and gratefully adhered, when the enemies of the former had prevailed on his ſovereign to iſſue a commiſſion, equally detrimental to his reputation, and authority, for the purpoſe of diſcovering, and correcting abuſes in the department of the marine. From this invidious mode of inquiry, Manſel adviſed the earl of Nottingham to diſſent, and thus, incurring the indignation of the court, was committed priſoner to the Marſhalſea, where he remained during the ſpace of ſome months (*f*). It muſt, however, be confeſſed that the commiſſion was followed by ſalutary conſequences, and that the detection, and amendment of numerous abuſes, proved the means of ſaving, ſoon afterwards, to the crown, the annual ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds (*g*). It was, on this occaſion, that Sir

(*f*) A. D. 1613.—Winwood's memorials, V. 3. p. 460. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 159.

(*g*) This circumſtance is affirmed (as a fact,) by James, in his ſpeech, addreſſed to the parliament, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty. (See Frankland's Annals, p. 49.)

Sir Robert adviſed the lord high-admiral to reſign his office, perceiving, that, as his abilities were enfeebled, a longer continuance in it might become more, and more detrimental to the public, and to himſelf.

In order to prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the reſignation of the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Manſel adviſed the duke of Buckingham to obtain the poſt; and when this aſpiring favourite pleaded his youth, and inexperience, replied that, in times of peace, the beſt ſervice which could be performed was an aſſiduous attention to the repairs of the navy; that, at the firſt entrance into office it might be ſufficient to rebuild the neceſſary ſhips, and correct abuſes; and that habit would, at length, render him ſo intimately converſant with the buſineſs of his department as to perform his duty, whenſoever he might be called, by future wars, to action. When the duke ſucceeded Nottingham, he preſented his counteſs with three thouſand pounds; and her huſband obtained a penſion, amounting to one thouſand pounds. In conſequence of this tranſaction (*h*), Sir Robert Manſel

p. 49.) The king rewarded the ſeveral commiſſioners with the honour of knighthood, for the ſervices rendered, at this juncture, to the nation, and for the great pains which they had taken. The names of theſe gentlemen were Fortcſcue, Oſborn, Gaughton, Sutton, and Pitts,—(See Camden's annals of the reign of James, the firſt, under the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and nineteen)—Sir William Monſon, who deviſed the meaſure, was ſeverely, and unjuſtly cenſured by ſeveral of his contemporaries. A ſimilar commiſſion, which demonſtrates the zeal of the ſovereign for the proſperity of the marine, was directed in the ſecond year of the reign of Charles, the firſt, to James, earl of Marlborough; George, duke of Buckingham; Robert, earl of Lindſay, and other lords.—Rymer's Fœdera, V. 18. p. 758.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 160.

(*h*) A. D. 1616.

ſel was appointed, through the intereſt of Buckingham, vice-admiral, for life.

Yielding to the ſagacious counſels of this experienced officer, the duke prevailed on James to inveſt perſons of approved abilities in the maritime department, with a commiſſion for the management of the navy. It is reaſonable to infer that, during the ſubſequent confuſion in every branch of government, this meaſure alone prevented the ruin of the fleet. Even during the impeachment of Buckingham, it became the leaſt exceptionable article of his defence(*i*).

In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and twenty, Sir Robert Manſel commanded the fleet equipped, for the reduction of the pirates of Algiers. As this enterprize hath been already mentioned (*k*), let it be deemed ſufficient to remark that a naval writer (*l*) imagines that the admiral was more unfortunate, than criminal. It is admitted that he adviſed the meaſure from a generous, and public ſpirited motive; the deſire of exalting the naval reputation of the Engliſh, and of delivering their commerce from the injuries to which it had been expoſed by the depredations of theſe lawleſs rovers; yet we learn that he was ſent abroad with ſo limited a commiſſion, and attended by ſuch inexperienced officers, (advanced, imprudently, through the intereſt of courtiers,) that his deſigns, although ſagaciouſly concerted, were marred by their miſconduct.

That

(*i*) Frankland's Annals, p. 188.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*k*) See from the commencement to the thirteenth page of the fourth volume of this work.—And alſo an account of this expedition, printed by authority. 1621. Quarto. —Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 34.—Frankland's Annals, p. 55.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 161.

(*l*) Mr. Campbell.

That he employed all means, within his power, to facilitate the accompliſhment of the enterprize, hath been affirmed by a multitude of hiſtorians who were, at once, his contemporaries, and his admirers.

This unfortunate event, added to the unmerited indifference of Buckingham, gave riſe to that neglect which he experienced during the reign of Charles, to whom it hath been imputed, as a dangerous error, that he did not once avail himſelf of the naval ſervices of Sir Robert Manſel (*m*). This accompliſhed ſeaman continued, notwithſtanding, in the poſt of vice-admiral. He died, without iſſue, ſoon after the commencement of the civil wars (*n*) (*o*).

(*m*) Kennet, V. 3. p. 13.——L'Eſtrange's Hiſtory of Charles the firſt, p. 17.——Ruſhworth's Collections, V. 1. p. 195.

(*n*) Engliſh Baronetage, V. 1. p. 489.—Mr. Campbell remarks, in a note, that the knowledge of Sir Robert Manſel muſt have been very extenſive, and the reputation of his conduct, and intrepidity firmly eſtabliſhed, as we find him, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-two, recommended, by Sir John Pennington, to the king, as the propereſt perſon to ſeize the fleet for the royal ſervice; his authority, as vice-admiral of England, added to the reſpect paid him by the ſeamen, being, as was ſuggeſted, likely to meet with little reſiſtance from the power of the earl of Warwick, who had found means, in the preceding year, to bring the navy under the dominion of the parliament; but Charles was apprehenſive leſt the advanced age, and infirmities of Manſel, might, notwithſtanding that his courage, and integrity were unqueſtionable, render the attempt hazardous. At this period, Sir Robert reſided at Greenwich. —Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 675.

(*o*) As moſt of the naval tranſactions in which Sir William Monſon was engaged have been circumſtantially related, we ſhall not introduce his memoirs in a work, where much important matter muſt be confined to very narrow limits.

MEMOIRS

# MEMOIRS

OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

CONTINUATION OF

## The FIFTH PERIOD.

### NAVAL, COMMERCIAL, and MISCELLANEOUS TRANSACTIONS, during the CIVIL WARS.

WHEN the diſputes between the king and parliament, had been carried to ſuch violent extremes that they prepared for war, the poſſeſſion of the fleet became the firſt object of their attention, from a conſciouſneſs that the party under which it ſerved would be conſidered, by foreign princes, as the ſovereign power (*a*). At this period, the earl of Northumberland was lord high-admiral; and the poſt had been conferred on him by Charles, to indulge the wiſhes of the commons, who had declared him

(*a*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 217.—Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 477.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49.—Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles of England, p. 91.

him worthy of their confidence; a circumſtance, which probably, contributed not a little to the grant of the commiſſion during pleaſure only, although the reaſon given for this limitation, by the ſovereign, was a deſign to confer the office on his ſon, the duke of York, ſo ſoon as he ſhould become of age (*b*). Sir Robert Manſel, an officer of approved loyalty, valour, and experience, but aged, and infirm, was vice-admiral of England. Sir John Pennington filled the poſt of vice-admiral of the fleet, then at anchor in the Downs, and Sir John Minnes was rear-admiral. Theſe officers were well affected to the royal cauſe. The parliament had formed a project for diſpoſſeſſing the ſovereign of his navy, and even carried it into execution, notwithſtanding that Charles had won the approbation of the ſeamen, whoſe wages he conſiderably raiſed, and for whom he expreſſed, on all occaſions, a particular eſteem (*c*). As this extraordinary meaſure was attended by conſequences the moſt important, and ſerviceable to the intereſts of the parliament, we ſhall preſent the reader with a brief, and impartial account of the ſteps which led to its accompliſhment.

In the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-one, the parliament deſired, or, in effect, directed the earl of Northumberland to provide a formidable fleet, for the ſecurity of the nation, by ſea, and appropriated an ample fund for this ſervice. They, next, requeſted that he would appoint the earl of Warwick, admiral of this armament, on account of

(*b*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 480. V. 5. p. 136.—Lord Strafford's Letters, V. 1. p. 54. 67.

(*c*) May's Hiſtory of the Parliament of England, Book 2. p. 49. 53. 91.—Coke's Detection, p. 152.—Kennet, V. 3. p. 125.—Clarendon, V. 2. p. 478. 674. 680.---Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

of his own indiſpoſition, which rendered it impoſſible for him to command in perſon (*d*). This proceeding was reſented by Charles, who inſiſted that Sir John Pennington ſhould not relinquiſh his command; but Northumberland paid ſuch reſpect to the recommendation of the parliament, that, availing himſelf of the power derived to him from his commiſſion, he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and formally raiſed him to the command of it. Succeſsful in this important point, the parliament expreſſed an inclination to diſplace Sir John Pennington, and give the poſt of vice-admiral to captain Cartwright, the comptroller of the navy. This officer refuſed to undertake the ſervice, until he had obtained the permiſſion of the king, who, being applied to, commanded him to decline it. On this occaſion, the parliament immediately conferred the office of vice-admiral on Batten, a violent oppoſer of the royal cauſe. Thus, in the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-two, was the navy transferred from the ſovereign to the parliament; yet Charles concluded that he could recover it, at any time; an infatuation which may account for his ſuffering Northumberland to remain in office, until, being more alarmed, he yielded to the neceſſity of diſplacing him (*e*).

At this period, the Providence, the ſole veſſel in the poſſeſſion of Charles, was diſpatched, by the queen, from

(*d*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 57.—Sir William Dugdale's ſhort view of the late troubles of England, p. 91.—May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 49.—Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 442. 478.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

(*e*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 218.——Heath's Chronicle, p. 31.—Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 2. p. 480. 482.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 171, 172.

from Holland, with ſupplies. Arriving in the Downs, ſhe came in ſight of the fleet, a ſhip from which chaced her into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her aſhore. Inflamed with indignation at this extraordinary violence, the king reſolved on an attempt to ſeize the navy, and ſucceſs would, probably, have been the conſequence, if the execution of the deſign had proved equal to the contrivance; but, through the miſconduct of Sir John Pennington, it miſcarried, and ſerved only to defeat the hopes which Charles had formed of embracing a more favourable occaſion for the accompliſhment of his views. Warwick now availed himſelf of the opportunity for which he long had wiſhed, and diſmiſſed from the naval ſervice all perſons who had diſcovered the leaſt attachment to the Royaliſts *(f)*.

The parliament, as they had manifeſted great care, and induſtry, in eſtabliſhing the ſecurity, ſo they ſhewed not leſs wiſdom in the management of the fleet, which was always preſerved in good order, whilſt the ſeamen were liberally, and regularly paid. In the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-three, vice-admiral Batten, having received intelligence that the queen intended to ſail from Holland, to the North of England, in a Dutch man of war, endeavoured, notwithſtanding that the States were at peace with Great Britain, to intercept her on the paſſage. In this attempt he failed, but chaced the ſhip into Burlington Bay, and, having diſcovered that the queen was landed, and lodged in a houſe, upon the key, he diſcharged his ordnance againſt it, in ſo unerring a direction, that ſeveral of the ſhot paſſed through her chamber, and ſhe

*(f)* May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, Book 2. p. 94, 95.—Clarendon, V. 2. p. 673.—Whitelocke, p. 60.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 172.

ſhe was obliged, although much indiſpoſed, to retire, for ſafety, into the open fields (*g*). This ſervice, which was performed in the month of February, proved extremely grateful to the parliament, becauſe it diſcovered with what zeal the officers of the fleet, at leaſt, endeavoured to promote their intereſts.

It was recommended to the king, by thoſe who were extremely anxious for the proſperity of his affairs, during the time when the treaty for peace was in agitation at Oxford, in April, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-three, to ſeize the opportunity which then preſented itſelf, of attaching the earl of Northumberland to his ſervice, from a perſuaſion that the meaſure might be attended with the happieſt conſequences in favour of the royal cauſe. It is obſerved by Clarendon, that Mr. Pierpoint, who was endued with the moſt ſolid underſtanding, rather deſired than propoſed the meaſure; and that the earl himſelf had proteſted, in confidence to ſecretary Nicholas, that he wiſhed only to receive ſo great an inſtance of the favour of his ſovereign, that he might be the more enabled to re-deliver, into his hands, the fleet which the parliament had found means to take poſſeſſion of, and which he doubted would hardly be ſeized from them, at leaſt ſo ſoon, by any other expedient whatſoever. A multitude of untoward circumſtances prevented Charles from acceding to the propoſition. He was exceedingly offended at the former carriage of Northumberland; he could not entertain a favourable opinion of his power, even amidſt his own party, when he recollected that he had not ſufficient



(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſtory, V. 3. p. 143.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 42.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 85.—Ruſhworth, A. D. 1643. p. 156.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 173.

intereſt to procure an enlargement of the time ſtipulated for the treaty; and he apprehended that he might ſuffer, in his honour, by ſuch a conceſſion to a perſon who had ſo unworthily requited the many graces which he had hitherto beſtowed on him. Another, and ſtill ſtronger motive for his rejecting this propoſal, was the promiſe which he had given to the queen, at her departure for Holland, to receive no perſon into favour, or truſt, who had diſobliged him, without her privity; and although that princeſs landed in England about the time when the treaty began, or rather on the twenty-ſecond of February, which preceded it, yet ſhe did not arrive at Oxford, until the thirteenth of the following month of July, the day on which the parliament received that memorable defeat, in the Action at Round-way Down; and for want of her preſence, this overture, that might have proved of the utmoſt importance to the cauſe of Charles, was unhappily rejected (*h*).

In September, of the ſame year, the parliament commanded the earl of Warwick to attempt the relief of Exeter, a ſervice which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent ſucceſs. Sailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying ſuccours into the place, he found ſome works thrown up near the ſhore, which prevented him from annoying the beſiegers ſo much as he expected. Still deſirous of engaging in ſome action of importance, he remained on this ſtation, until the tide fell, when he was forced to depart, leaving behind

(*h*) Life of Edward, earl of Clarendon, V. 1. p. 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158.—Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 225, 226, 290, 291.—Ruſhworth's Collections. A. D. 1643, p. 275.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 46, 47.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 170.

hind three of his ſhips, one of which was burnt; but the remaining two were taken by the royaliſts (*i*). On the coaſt of Devonſhire, his ſervices were more important. There, he not only ſecured Plymouth, and other places, but had the addreſs, during the whole time that he commanded, to keep the fleet firm in the intereſts of the parliament (*k*).

Whilſt the Preſbyterians retained the aſcendant, the concerns of the navy were on a proſperous eſtabliſhment. To this party, the earl of Warwick, and all his officers proved intirely devoted. Every ſummer, a powerful ſquadron was equipped to ſerve, as occaſion might require, and thus, the commerce of the nation became conſiderably protected (*l*). But, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-eight, and whilſt the power of the independents was the moſt prevailing, the direction of affairs became turned into a different channel, and it was reſolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithſtanding the ſervices which he had performed, and to beſtow the poſt of admiral on Colonel Rainſborough (*m*).



(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 336.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 94.—May's Hiſtory of the Parliament, Book 3. p. 58, 59.—Whitlocke, p. 72.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

(*k*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 3. p. 281. 336.—Ruſhworth's Collections—Whitlocke. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 176.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 132.—Ruſhworth's Collections.—Whitlocke.—Heath.—Hiſtory of Independency, p. 1, 2.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

(*m*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 122. 132.—Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 822.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 236.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 175.—Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs of the two laſt years of the Reign of Charles, the firſt, p. 53.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 182.—Campbell' Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

This officer, who had been bred a ſeaman, and was the ſon of a commander of diſtinction, quitted the regiment of foot in which he then ſerved, with the army of the parliament. When the news of this promotion in the navy had reached the Downs, the ſeamen were in great confuſion. The earl of Warwick, and Batten, his vice-admiral, inflamed by a ſenſe of inſult, and the proſpect of their diſmiſſion, ſought rather to increaſe than ſoften the general diſcontent. When Rainſborough, and his officers appeared, they aſſiſted in the ſeizure of their perſons, and, having driven them aſhore, did not openly oppoſe the conduct of the ſeamen, who were reſolved to depart immediately for Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they ſtiled their Admiral, becauſe the intention of the king to advance him to that command was not unknown (*n*).

Although Charles, at this period, was a priſoner; and, notwithſtanding that his affairs appeared deſperate, yet if the revolt of the fleet had been properly conducted, the iſſue might have proved favourable to his cauſe; yet ſuch were the proceedings of the ſeamen, that it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſuppoſe how few advantages were drawn from an event ſo promiſing in its nature. It muſt be confeſſed that the parliament, upon the firſt intimation of the growing diſſaffection amongſt the ſailors had directed that half of the uſual proviſions ſhould be put on board the fleet. Yet it will

(*n*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the rebellion, V. 5. p. 136, 137.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 308.—Dr. Bates's Elencus Motuum, p. 100.—Ruſhworth, p. 1131.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316—Sir William Dugdale's Hiſtory of the late troubles of England, p. 283.—Davies's Hiſtory of the civil Wars in England, p. 231.—Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 168.—Sir John Bowring's Memoirs, p. 146.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 177.

will appear that this want might eaſily have been remedied, when it is conſidered that the county of Kent was in arms for Charles, and that many of the inhabitants had repaired to the ſhips, with a determination to act in his defence (*o*). Yet, as the ſpirit of reſiſtance to the authority of parliament, originated ſolely from the ſeamen, few officers ſeemed deſirous of adhering to their party, when they declared for Charles. In want of chiefs, and not inclined to ſeek advice from men who were not uſed to naval ſervice, they loſt the time in fruitleſs deliberations concerning the meaſures to be purſued, and, thus, imprudently, gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which this unexpected event had thrown them. The firſt reſolution of the commons was that the earl of Warwick ſhould be immediately reſtored to his title, and command, and he, accordingly, received orders to draw together a fleet, without the leaſt delay (*p*).

This revolted armament (if, properly, it may be ſo called,) which, at length, ſailed for Calais, conſiſted of ſeventeen powerful veſſels, to oppoſe which the parliament had not a ſufficient force (*q*). The ſea-



(*o*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 136.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars in England, p. 231.—Coke's Detection. p. 185.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

(*p*) Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 237.—Dugdale's ſhort view of the Troubles of England, p. 284.—Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1131.—Whitlocke, p. 308.—Life of Doctor John Barwick, p. 102.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, p. 102.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

(*q*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 137, 138.—Heath's Chronicle.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 231.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 178.

men left a ſhip riding before the harbour of this place, for the purpoſe of receiving on board the prince of Wales, and then departed for Holland. Soon afterwards, the prince, and his brother, the duke of York, repaired to the ſhip, attended by ſeveral perſons of quality, their companions in exile. Inſtead of deliberating concerning the ſervice in which the fleet might moſt prudently be employed, the perſons aſpiring to their chief command were buſied in intrigues, and the contending parties ſo infatuated the ſeamen, that the ſpirit of loyalty, by which they were at firſt induced to embrace this extraordinary meaſure, became intirely extinguiſhed (*r*).

In the midſt of theſe diſputes, admiral Batten arrived, with the Conſtant Warwick, one of the beſt ſhips in the navy of the parliament, and ſeveral officers of note. On this occaſion, the prince of Wales conferred the honour of knighthood on Batten, and appointed him rear-admiral, his brother, the duke of York, having before advanced the lord Willoughby, of Parham, who was alſo a new convert from the parliament, to the poſt of vice-admiral (*s*). As the fleet now amounted to about twenty ſail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two ſchemes were propoſed. The firſt was to ſail to the Iſle of Wight, and to reſcue the king, which might, moſt probably, have been effected; the other, to enter the river Thames, in order to awe the city of London, by interrupting their commerce, and to enfeeble the parliament

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 138, 139. Echard—Rapin.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

(*s*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 140.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 179.

liament by obſtructing their ſupplies of ſeamen from the outward-bound ſhips. This meaſure, whether deemed the moſt practicable, or the moſt profitable, was immediately carried into execution (*t*).

At its commencement, the ſucceſs of this enterprize proved extremely favourable, and the fleet under the prince, took numbers of rich prizes, near the mouth of the river, particularly a ſhip, bound for Rotterdam, laden with cloth, and valued at forty thouſand pounds. Soon afterwards, he entered into a treaty with the city, which, at length, ended in a compoſition for the prizes (*u*). Meanwhile the earl of Warwick had fitted out a formidable fleet, at Portſmouth, with which he ſailed into the Downs, and caſt anchor in ſight of the prince of Wales. Great, but ineffectual endeavours were uſed by both parties to ſeduce the ſeamen from their reſpective fleets. At one period, the prince had reſolved, and even attempted to give battle to the enemy; but when the wind changed, and the officers reported that the proviſions fell ſhort, it was judged expedient to proceed towards Holland, where the fleet arrived, in ſafety; but ſo divided in opinion were the commanders, that no new courſe could be reſolved on (*x*). The earl of War-



(*t*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 141.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 315.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 237.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 182.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p, 180.

(*u*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 156, 157.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 327.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

(*x*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 159.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241.—Whitlocke, p. 327. Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1251. 1254.—Sir Richard Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 171.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 183.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 180.

wick, who had foreſeen their proceedings, and was ſenſible that they could not obtain ſupplies of money, ſufficient for the payment of the wages due to the ſailors, chaſed them to their retreat, and ſent a meſſage to the States, requiring them to compel certain ſhips, which had revolted from the parliament of England, to put to ſea.

At ſo critical a juncture, the States were at a loſs what conduct to purſue. Unwilling to offend the admiral in the ſervice of the parliament, they were yet ſenſible that they could not, without incurring the ſevereſt cenſures, permit the prince of Wales to be inſulted, not only near their coaſts, but even within their harbours. In the mean time, it became difficult to prevent thoſe hoſtilities which the two parties, at once excited by hatred, and by neceſſity, were eager to commit, and the rather, becauſe each, elated with the hope of victory, concluded that ſeveral of the adverſe ſhips would at length deſert, and engage under the ſame banner. The firſt meaſure reſolved on by the States, was to direct the admiralty of Rotterdam to equip, with all poſſible expedition, a formidable naval armament, which, falling down the river, might prevent the two fleets from coming to an engagement. At the ſame time, they ordered four deputies to wait upon the admirals, and, in their name, deſire that no violence which would affect the ſovereignty of the republic, might be committed either on the ſhore, or within ſight of any of their harbours.

On this occaſion, the prince of Wales appeared the moſt ſubmiſſive, becauſe a number of the ſailors, who had been badly paid, deſerted, and even ſeveral of the ſhips, and officers, formerly in the ſervice of the parliament, had now returned to it. His whole force

conſiſted only of fourteen veſſels, all poorly equipped; and with theſe, he retired under the cannon of Helvoet, determined rather to avoid, than offer inſults (*y*).

The earl of Warwick who, at this juncture, had haughtily inſiſted that all perſons ſerving on board the fleet, commanded by the prince of Wales, were deſerters, and ought immediately to be delivered up, on a ſudden, relinquiſhed his pretenſions, and perceiving that no effectual ſervice could be accompliſhed, ſtood out to ſea, and, ſhortly afterwards, returned to England, when the royal fleet was put abſolutely under the command of prince Rupert, who determined to render the war piratical; and thus, this extraordinary event, which, properly managed, might have been the means of preſerving the ſovereign, and the king-

(*y*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 197.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 241, 242.—Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1268. 1274. 1278. 1294. 1297. 1307. 1319.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. V. 1. p. 139, 140.—At this period, a pamphlet made its appearance, at London, and was, undoubtedly, written with a view to render the earl of Warwick ſuſpected by his party. It was intitled "A declaration of the earl of "Warwick, whilſt that nobleman was on the coaſt of Hol-"land, with his fleet, intimating a reſolution to join the "prince, in caſe the treaty of Newport, in the iſle of "Wight, did not take effect." Warwick was ſo much offended by the aſperſions which it contained, that he oppoſed it with a counter-declaration, dated from on board the Saint George, in Helvoet-Sluice, and on the eleventh of November, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-eight. Herein, he teſtifies all imaginable obedience to the parliament, his abhorrence of ſuch a conduct, as inconſiſtent with his duty, and the peace of the kingdom, and a ſolemn aſſurance of his perſevering to the laſt, in ſupport of their cauſe. This declaration, with letters to the ſame purport, he forthwith tranſmitted to England.—Ruſhworth, p. 1326.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 181.

kingdom, brought no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided the maritime force, and rendered precarious the commerce of the nation. Theſe tranſactions happened betwixt the latter end of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-eight, and the cloſe of the enſuing month of December, about which time, prince Rupert quitted the Dutch coaſt, in order to repair to Ireland. On this expedition, he fortunately ſucceeded, taking ſeveral prizes, during the paſſage, and, at length, arriving at the port of Kinſale (*z*).

The parliament had now recovered their ſovereignty at ſea, where they kept ſuch powerful ſquadrons continually cruizing, that it was not deemed prudent for the prince of Wales to venture his perſon on that element, in order to proceed for Ireland, where his preſence was become neceſſary (*a*). The earl of Warwick, who had ſerved the parliament, with fidelity and ſucceſs, was removed from the command of the fleet, now given to officers of the army, amongſt whom were Blake, Dean, and Popham, men, who, by the propriety of their conduct, not only gained the affections of the ſailors, but acquired more ſpeedily than could have been imagined, an extenſive knowledge of the naval arts (*b*).

Prince

(*z*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 201. 205, 206, 207.——Ruſhworth's Collections, A. D. 1648. p. 1361. 1366. 1389. 1428.——Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 349. 361. 374.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 182.

(*a*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 323, 324.——Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 389, 397.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 240.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p 183.

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 383.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 290.—In the two hundred, and ſeventh number

of

Prince Rupert was engaged in cruizing, and taking prizes during the greater part of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and forty-nine (*c*), a period whilſt the wars were carried on, with unremitted violence, in Ireland. As a majority of the inhabitants of this kingdom had eſpouſed the intereſts of the parliament, the latter directed their admirals, Blake, and Popham, to block up the royal veſſels, in the port of Kinſale; a commiſſion which they executed ſo effectually, that prince Rupert, deſerted by numbers of his men, was reduced to the moſt complicated diſtreſs. Perceiving that his cauſe had become deſperate, that the whole kingdom of Ireland was, in a manner, ſubdued, that all hopes of ſuccour were loſt, and that no advantageous terms could be expected from the conquerors, he embraced the deſperate reſolution of forcing a paſſage through the fleet belonging to the enemy, and effected it, on the twenty-fourth of October, but with the loſs of three ſhips. He now ſailed towards the coaſt of France (*d*), where he continued to obſtruct the commerce, and ſeize the veſſels of the Engliſh, acting intirely from the dictates of his own will,

of the "Moderate Intelligencer," (a paper publiſhed at this period,) is the act at large, appointing Blake, Popham, and Dean, or any two of them, to be admirals, and generals of the fleet at ſea. Conſult their inſtructions in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 134.

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. 256.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 391.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 298.—Moderate Intelligencer, No. 227. In this paper, violent complaints are made concerning the many prizes daily taken by the prince, as well on the coaſts of Cornwall, as in the Iriſh ſeas.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 183.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 338, 339.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 32.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 429.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 254.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 184.

will, and neither demanding, nor receiving the leaſt inſtruction from the king.

It was the intention of prince Rupert, (and, probably, with a view of privateering,) to proceed into the Mediterranean (*e*). When he had reached the coaſt of Spain, his fleet ſuffered exceedingly by a ſtorm, which drove five of his ſhips into the port of Carthagena, where they were ſurrounded by the Spaniards, who, after having committed many acts of plunder, obliged ſeveral of the Engliſh ſeamen to enter into their ſervice (*f*). A ſquadron belonging to the parliament, and under the joint command of Blake, and Popham, arrived ſoon afterwards at Saint Andero, when

(*e*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 289.—Whitlocke's Memorials.—A brief relation of ſome affairs, and tranſactions, civil, and military, both foreign and domeſtic, No. 10. p. 101. 103.—No. 14. p. 152.

(*f*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. V. 5. p. 339. —Whitlocke.—Heath.—Campbell.—Mercurius Politicus, N. 3. p. 579.——From this laſt publication, we learn, amongſt other particulars relating to prince Rupert, that whilſt he lay in the road of Toulon, in February, of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-one, ſoliciting leave to enter that port, with his ſhip, the admiral, in order to procure a maſt, and other neceſſary repairs, having been ſeparated from his brother, in a ſtorm near Majorca, after the great defeat given to his ſhips, by Blake, the five captains of the veſſels mentioned in the text, arrived there, againſt whom the prince was ſo highly incenſed as to have it in conſideration, to call them to an account at a council of war, for their lives, as well for their Miſconduct in that buſineſs, as for their having left ſeventy of the mariners behind them, who were unwilling to ſerve the parliament; and who beſought them, with the utmoſt earneſtneſs to ſuffer them to attend them to Toulon, profeſſing to aſk no more than bread and water on the journey, notwithſtanding that the officers were in poſſeſſion of large ſums of money.

when the former of theſe admirals addreſſed a letter, in violent language, to the king of Spain, demanding an immediate ſurrender of ſuch ſhips, and men, ſerving under prince Rupert, as might be within his power, and threatening, in caſe of a refuſal, immediately to commence hoſtilities. To this letter, a courteous anſwer was returned; and Blake received, at the ſame time, as a teſtimony of the reſpect paid to him by the king of Spain, a ring valued at fifteen hundred pounds (*g*). Blake now followed prince Rupert into the river of Liſbon, where, in September, and October of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty, he ruined the Brazil fleet, and compelled the Portugueſe to force the prince out of their port, from whence he ſailed to Carthagena. Thither was he purſued by Blake, but, being obliged, for want of proviſions, to put to ſea, eſcaped to Malaga, where he made prizes of ſeveral Engliſh veſſels. On his arrival, the admiral drove one of theſe aſhore, burned two others, and obliged the prince to ſave himſelf by flight (*h*).

Having

(*g*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5. p. 339, 340.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 185.

(*h*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 449. 463. 470. 475. 484, 485. Heath's Chronicle, p. 267. 275.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 233.—Bates's Elencus Moruum, Part 2. p. 73.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 14. p 221.—See two original letters of Sir Henry Vane; one to Cromwell, then at the head-quarters, in Scotland; and the other to Thomas Scott, the Regicide, each dated on the twenty-eighth of December, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty, with the news of Blake's having ruined prince Rupert's fleet, and the great terror which this defeat had occaſioned in the different courts of Europe, particularly thoſe of Spain, and Portugal, both of whom, in conſequence thereof, diſpatched ambaſſadors to England, to acknowledge the Power of the parliament. The Spaniſh miniſter, at his audience,

Having once more ſtood out to ſea, the latter cruized againſt the Spaniards, Genoeſe, and Engliſh (*i*), from whom he took ſeveral rich prizes, and then proceeded to the Weſt-Indies, whither his brother, prince Maurice, with a ſmall ſquadron, had ſailed before. In thoſe ſeas they alſo committed many daring hoſtilities, until prince Maurice, in the Conſtant Reformation, caſt away (*k*), and Rupert, diſcovering that the few ſhips which he had left were ſo leaky, and rotten, that it was ſcarcely poſſible that they could keep the ſea, prepared for his return to France, and, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, arrived at the port of Nantes, with a man of war, and three other ſhips, which he was obliged to ſell, in order that he might become enabled to pay the wages of the ſeamen (*l*). Such was the fate of about twenty-five large ſhips, the numerous crews of which had deſerted with them from the ſervice of the parliament. The reader will eaſily judge how great a loſs the nation (engaged ſoon afterwards in a Dutch war) muſt have ſuſtained on the occaſion.

Admiral Blake, on his return to England, received the thanks of the houſe, and in conjunction with Dean,

audience, preſented the houſe with a complete narrative of the loſs which the prince had ſuſtained at Carthagena.—See Nicholls's Collection of State Papers, p. 40, 41, 42.

(*i*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 5.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 293.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 494.—Life of prince Rupert.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 186.

(*k*) Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 299.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 223.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2. p. 74.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 430.

(*l*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 513. 515.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 186.

Dean, and Popham, was inveſted with the ſupreme power at ſea, during the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-one (*m*). The firſt exploit ſuggeſted by the parliament was the reduction of the iſlands of Scilly, which were ſtill holden for the king, by Sir John Grenville. The privateers fitted out from thence had proved extremely detrimental to the commerce of the nation, and therefore were the proper objects of the vengeance of the parliament, but there was another incident which gave them much concern, at this juncture, and this was the arrival of a Dutch ſquadron there, conſiſting of twelve men of war, commanded by Van Tromp (*n*). The pretence of ſending him was to demand ſatisfaction of the governour for about twenty prizes which, in a ſhort ſpace of time, had been carried into his ports, by his privateers; but the true deſign was to treat with him for the iſlands; a meaſure which, if ſucceſsful, might have been attended by fatal conſequences. Blake, in the Phœnix frigate, and in conjunction with a ſmall fleet, commanded by Sir George Ayſcue, ſailed thither, in the month of May, and ſoon executed his commiſſion, the governour being glad to deliver up his charge on honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all which he could reaſonably expect (*o*).

From

(*m*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 488, 489.—The thanks of the parliament, with a full approbation of their ſervices, although not ſucceſsful, on the coaſt of Portugal, had likewiſe been tranſmitted to Blake, and Popham, whilſt at ſea, in a letter from the ſpeaker, dated from Whitehall, on the twelfth of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 155.—Campbell.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 284. 288, 289.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 326.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 253.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2. p. 77.

(*o*) The original articles, within a MS. folio of two ſheets, are ſtill preſerved in the library of the ſociety for pro-

From the iſlands of Scilly, Blake proceeded, with the fleet, to Jerſey, and arriving there in the month of October, attacked, and intirely reduced it, previous to the concluſion of the year. He alſo took Cornet-Caſtle, the only place which held out for Charles, in Guernſey. Thus, in this quarter, was the ſovereignty of the ocean ſecured by the ſquadrons of the parliament (*p*).

Sir George Ayſcue, having reinforced his fleet with ſeveral ſhips, now ſailed towards the Weſt-Indies, in order to reduce ſuch of the plantations as had declared for the king. He was accompanied by colonel Allen, a native of Barbadoes, who had been ſent to demand relief from the parliament for perſons in that colony, and in the leeward iſlands, who had oppoſed the royaliſts. On the ſixteenth of October, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-one, the fleet arrived in Carliſle-Bay, in Barbadoes, and immediately ſeized fourteen Dutch merchant-ſhips.

Francis, lord Willoughby, of Parham, whom we have already mentioned, was governour of the iſland, for the king, and manifeſted ſo firm a reſolution to defend it, that Ayſcue did not, until the ſeventeenth of December, attempt to diſembark the forces. On this occaſion, nearly forty of his men were ſlain; and with them, fell colonel Allen. When the troops had landed, the governour thought proper to capitulate, and obtained ſuch fair conceſſions that Ayſcue, on this account, became afterwards ſuſpected by the parliament (*q*). Whilſt he remained at Barbadoes, he ſent ſome

propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. 2. p. 187.

(*p*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 465.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 518, 519.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 343.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 326.

(*q*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 527. 531.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 385.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 306.—Bates's

ſome ſhips, under the command of captain Dennis, to reduce Virginia; an enterprize which, after ſlight difficulties, was attended with ſucceſs. Sir George likewiſe ſubdued the leeward iſlands, and, having fully executed his commiſſion, returned to Europe, ſoon after the commencement of the Dutch war (*r*).

The cauſes of this rupture have been differently related, in conformity to the paſſions, prejudices, and opinions, of different hiſtorians (*s*). It appears that the old commonwealth became quickly jealous of that which had ariſen, and felt apprehenſions that whatſoever advantages might accrue to other ſtates, Holland was not likely to gain the leaſt benefit by the change of government in England. On the other ſide, the parliament were equally anxious for the maintenance of their newly-acquired ſovereignty, and expected the moſt extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which they correſponded (*t*). The murder of



Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 78.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 254.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 188.

(*r*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 466, 467.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 327.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 532. 534. 536. 542.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 197.

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 285, 286. 308. 314.—Dugdale's ſhort View of the late Troubles of England, p. 402. 403.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, chap. 98.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 344, 345, 346, 388, 389.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 363, 364.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2. p. 75, 76.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 256. 262.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 19.

(*t*) See the propoſals made by Oliver Saint John, and Walter Strickland, ambaſſadors from the commonwealth to the ſtates-general, at the Hague, dated on the tenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-one.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 182.—Nicholls's State Papers,

doctor Doriſlaus, whom they ſent in a public character to the ſtates, had irritated them to a ſevere degree; nor were they leſs incenſed at the reception given to Saint John, and the reſt of their ambaſſadors. In this temper, they ſcarcely paid the leaſt regard to the remonſtrances of the Dutch, concerning their act of navigation, which was, undoubtedly, a well-concerted meaſure, both for preſerving, and for extending the Engliſh commerce. The ſtates were alſo exceedingly alarmed, when they obſerved that the parliament inſiſted on the ſovereignty of the ſea, on the right of fiſhing, and of licenſing to fiſh, manifeſting, at the ſame time, a diſpoſition for carrying to its utmoſt heighth the point of ſaluting by the flag, and purſuing, on every occaſion, ſo declared a conduct, that the ſtates were convinced of their intention to act, on the plan of Charles, with this great advantage of raiſing money in much larger ſums, and with leſs trouble than was experienced by that prince (*u*).

In the ſpring of the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, matters had proceeded to the laſt extre-

Papers, p. 39, 40, 41, 42.—Letters of State, and other papers, in Milton's proſe works, V. 2. edit. 1753. Quarto. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 189.

(*u*) If the reader be inclined to enter deeply into the reaſons on which the Dutch war was grounded, he may conſult Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 457, 458, 459, 460.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 487. 491, 492. 495, 496.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 187. 195.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, and other writers, on one ſide. ——For the Dutch party are Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 215, 216. 220, 221. 245, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253.—Le Clerc. Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. liv. 13. p. 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315.—Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. p. 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61.—Lives of the Dutch Admirals.

extremity; yet it was then warmly diſputed (and it hath not yet been abſolutely determined) who were the aggreſſors. From the beſt compariſon of facts ſtated in all the authentic accounts tranſmitted to us, by both parties, it appears probable that the firſt offence proceeded from the Dutch. In ſupport of this conjecture, ſeveral reaſons might be adduced; but we ſhall particularly inſiſt on their great, and ſecret preparations for a war. It is certain that the ſtates had one hundred, and fifty ſhips of force, at ſea; whereas the Engliſh parliament equipped only the uſual ſquadron (conſiſting of twenty-five ſhips, under the command of admiral Blake,) for the purpoſe of guarding, and protecting the narrow ſeas (*x*).

The firſt effuſion of blood in this quarrel, was occaſioned by commodore Young, who had fired on a Dutch man of war, becauſe the captain of it withheld the payment of the cuſtomary honours to the Engliſh flag. This event took place on the fourteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, and proved extremely honourable to the nation. Young had acted with the utmoſt caution, and given the Dutch commander every opportunity which he could have deſired of avoiding the commiſſion of hoſtilities. He ſent an officer to perſuade him to ſtrike, when the captain replied that the ſtates had threatened to take off his head, if he ſubmitted. An engagement now began, at the cloſe of which the Dutch ſhip, ſeverely damaged, was obliged to ſtrike. Two Dutch men of war, and twelve merchantmen were at hand, yet did not interfere. When theſe had taken in their flags, commodore Young departed,



(*x*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 314, 315.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

without attempting to ſeize a ſingle veſſel. This tranſaction would have proved more the object of public notice, if an engagement of greater conſequence had not happened ſoon afterwards (y).

The admiral Van Tromp was at ſea with a fleet amounting to more than forty ſail, aſſembled (according to report,) for the protection of the Dutch commerce. When this officer arrived, on the eighteenth of May, within the Downs, he obſerved a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of major Bourne, to whom he ſent word that he was forced thither, by ſtreſs of weather, and received for anſwer that the truth of this aſſertion would beſt appear by the ſhortneſs of his ſtay. On the nineteenth, Van Tromp, with his fleet, bore down upon Blake, in Dover road, and when he approached, the Engliſh admiral, who had received intelligence of his arrival, from Bourne, fired thrice at his flag. Van Tromp immediately returned a broadſide, when hoſtilities commenced, and Blake almoſt ſingly maintained an engagement during four hours. At length, his fleet, taking the advantage of a favourable change of weather, came up, and ſupported the conteſt with great vigour, and reſolution. When it had laſted from four, in the afternoon, until nine, at night, Bourne arrived with his eight ſhips, and the Dutch immediately bore away.

In this battle, the victory was clearly on the ſide of the Engliſh, as the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs, there

(y) Young's letter to the parliament, dated from on board the Preſident, in Plymouth Sound, and, on the fourteenth of May, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two. —Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 533.—The perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life, and Actions of Oliver Cromwell, p. 167.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 191.

there being two ſhips, in the ſervice of the ſtates, taken, and one diſabled; whereas the Engliſh loſt none; yet the inequality of force was great, the Dutch fleet conſiſting, at firſt, of forty-two ſhips, and the armament under Blake only of fifteen, and, even at the cloſe of the action, this laſt officer was not aſſiſted by more than twenty-three ſail. Each of the admirals wrote to their reſpective maſters an account of this tranſaction; and it muſt be confeſſed that no fact mentioned in the letter drawn up by Blake can be diſproved, whilſt Van Tromp either falls into miſtakes, or deviates purpoſely from the truth, and particularly where he obſerves that the ſquadron commanded by Bourne amounted to twelve large ſhips. Let it alſo be remarked that, although he conſiders Blake as the aggreſſor, he confeſſes that the Dutch flag was flying, during the whole of the engagement (z). The ſtates themſelves were ſo ſenſible of their error, and at the ſame time ſo mortified that their fleet, notwithſtanding its ſuperiority, had been ſucceſsfully reſiſted, that they apologized for the tranſaction, and ſent over another ambaſſador, the Heer Adrian Paauw, to proceed on the treaty. But, as the demands of the parliament were carried, in the opinion of the Dutch, to the moſt extravagant lengths, all thoughts of peace were relinquiſhed by both parties; and, on the eighth of July, the war was proclaimed in Holland (a),

Mean while, the Engliſh, in virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of repriſal for the late da-

 mages,

(z) This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with the letters, and other papers of both admirals annexed. Quarto. 1652.—Campbell.

(a) Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 407.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 535.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 193.

mages, affronts, and hoſtilities received from the ſtates-general, and their ſubjects, took ſeveral Dutch Ships. On the eleventh of June, Blake brought in eleven merchantmen, with their convoy, all of which were on their paſſage, from Nantes. On the day following, the captains Taylor, and Peacock, in two Engliſh frigates, engaged two Dutch ſhips of war, near the coaſt of Flanders, for refuſing to ſtrike. Of theſe, one was taken, and the other ſtranded (*b*). On the thirteenth of the ſame month, Blake took twenty-ſix veſſels, in the ſervice of the Dutch merchants, with their convoys, homeward-bound, from France. On the fourth of July, vice-admiral Ayſcue (who, in his late return from the reduction of Barbadoes, had taken ten merchant-ſhips, and four men of war,) attacked the Saint Ubes fleet, amounting to about forty ſail, of which nearly thirty were either taken, or burnt, or ſtranded, and plundered, on the French coaſt.

Whilſt the ſtates, with the utmoſt diligence, were preparing a fleet of ſeventy men of war, under the command of their admiral Van Tromp, Blake, attended by ſixty ſhips, proceeded, purſuant to his orders, towards the north, for the purpoſe of diſtreſſing the Dutch fiſheries. Sir George Ayſcue (who ſubſequent to the deſtruction of the Saint Ubes fleet, had taken five Dutch veſſels, in the ſervice of the merchants,) was left with the remainder of the Engliſh armament, conſiſting only of ſeven men of war, and ſtationed in the Downs. Whilſt Blake triumphed in the north, Van Tromp, with his whole naval force, entered the mouth of the Thames, in hopes either of ſurprizing Ayſcue, or of

(*b*) The parliament were ſo pleaſed with the gallant behaviour of the captains Taylor, and Peacock, that they directed the ſpeaker to write them letters of thanks, on the occaſion.

of inſulting the coaſt. Prevented from the execution of this deſign, he directed his courſe northwards, in order to intercept Blake; but his ſhips were diſperſed by a ſtorm, and five of his frigates were ſeized by Blake, on his return towards the ſouth (*c*).

The people in Holland were extremely diſſatisfied with the conduct of the admiral Van Tromp, which is the caſe, in all free countries, where a commander in chief proves unſucceſsful. On this occaſion, he acted wiſely, and agreeably to the dictates of a nice ſenſe of honour, firſt, by juſtifying himſelf to the ſtates, and next, by laying down his commiſſion, to gratify the people. The chief objection againſt him was his confined knowledge of the naval arts; and this engaged the ſtates to caſt their eyes upon De Ruyter, the ableſt officer of his profeſſion. He accepted of the command, but accepted it unwillingly, becauſe he perceived that, as affairs were then ſituated, the ſuperiority reſted with the Engliſh (*d*). In the mean time, the parliament took care to ſtrengthen the fleet under the command of Sir George Ayſcue, ſo that it increaſed to thirty-eight ſail, of which only two were large men of war, and the reſt frigates, or fire-ſhips. With theſe, he put to ſea, in ſearch of the Dutch, took ſeveral rich prizes, and, at length, whilſt he was cruizing off Plymouth met with De Ruyter, who, attended by a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home nearly ſixty veſſels, in the ſervice of the merchants. The Dutch



(*c*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 258, 259.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 194.

(*d*) Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. V. 6. p. 461.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 538.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 419, 420.—Davies's Hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 329.—Manley's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 264.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 194.

commander took twenty of theſe laſt, into his line of battle, and was then in readineſs for action. At four, in the afternoon, of the ſixteenth of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, the fight began, when Ayſcue, with ten ſhips, charged through the Dutch fleet, and, having thus obtained the weather-gage, renewed the attack, until night. On this occaſion, the remainder of the Engliſh armament was generally inactive; but moſt of the officers who engaged were wounded, and particularly, the vice-admiral, Peck, who loſt his leg, and expired ſoon afterwards. The Dutch ſuffered extremely, and ſeveral of their beſt veſſels were ſcarcely able to keep the ſea. Sir George Ayſcue, who had loſt only one fire-ſhip, chaſed his adverſaries, during a great part of the enſuing day, and, afterwards, returned to Plymouth-Sound, for the purpoſe of refreſhing his men, and repairing his ſhips (*e*).

The Dutch drew up a particular account of this tranſaction, in which the Engliſh undoubtedly, reaped ſome advantages, and might have availed themſelves of greater, if all their captains had fulfilled their duty. Of this, the parliament were convinced; but, by a refined ſtroke of policy, choſe rather to aſcribe the fault to a ſingle man, than endanger the obedience of the fleet, by puniſhing a number. On this principle, they diſmiſſed that gallant ſeaman, Sir George Ayſcue, yet

(*e*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 541, 542.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, Part 2, p. 175.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 15.—Le Clerc. tom. 2. p. 322.—Neuville. tom. 3. liv. 10. chap. 10.—La Vie, et les Actions memorables du Sieur Michel de Ruyter, Duc, Chevalier, et l'Amiral General des Provinces Unies. Amſterdam, 1677. Partie 1. p. 9, 10, 11, 12.

yet gently, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and a penſion of three hundred pounds a year. Theſe were paid with the moſt rigid punctuality; notwithſtanding that the diſguſt conceived againſt Ayſcue for having granted to the Lord Willoughby ſuch favourable terms, was one chief cauſe of his removal *(f)*.

The war was no longer confined to the coaſts of Britain, but ſpread itſelf almoſt into every ſea; and each wind brought the news of freſh deſtruction, and ſlaughter. Towards the concluſion of the ſame month, the Dutch admiral, Van Galen, with eleven ſhips of war, intercepted, and attacked the Engliſh commodore, Richard Bodley, attended by three men of war, a fire-ſhip, and three merchantmen, homeward-bound, from Scanderoon, and Smyrna. The firſt engagement began in the afternoon, off the iſland of Elba, on the coaſt of Tuſcany, and laſted until night, when no conſiderable advantage had been gained by either party. The Dutch hiſtorians aſſert that three of their men of war, being ſeparated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up ſo as to have a ſhare in the ſecond engagement. On the other ſide, the Engliſh departed from their merchantmen, which being heavy, and richly laden, were ordered to proceed, with all poſſible expedition, to the neareſt harbour.

The next morning, the four remaining Engliſh ſhips were vigorouſly attacked by the eight Hollanders, and returned the aſſault with great fury. Van Galen, at firſt, cloſely engaged Bodley, but, being diſabled in his rigging, and having received three ſhots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the Dutch hiſtorians acknowledge,) to ſheer off. Another of

(*f*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.——Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 196.

of the largeſt Dutch ſhips renewing the attack, was ſo violently aſſailed, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt. Immediately the Engliſh frigate, the Phœnix, boarded the diſabled Hollander, but, being too weak, was taken, after a ſharp fight, during a full hour, wherein moſt of her men were either killed, or wounded. Mean while Bodley, being again boarded by two of the Dutch ſhips at once, defended himſelf ſo reſolutely, that they were beaten off with a dreadful ſlaughter of their men, and the loſs of both their captains (*g*). When the enemy retreated, Bodley, with the three remaining ſhips, (on board of which an hundred men had been either killed, or wounded,) followed the merchantmen to Porto Longone, where the Dutch ſoon afterwards arrived, and buried three of their captains, who had been ſlain during the engagement. In this neutral harbour, the adverſe fleets rode peaceably together, for a conſiderable ſpace of time (*h*).

Admiral Blake, who was now in the channel, ſeverely annoyed the enemy; and, as ſome hoſtilities had been committed on the coaſt of Newfoundland, by the French, attacked a formidable ſquadron of their ſhips, which were proceeding to the relief of Dunkirk, and either took, or deſtroyed them all; in conſequence of which victory that important place fell into the hands of the Spaniards (*i*). The Dutch perceiving that their

(*g*) This fact is affirmed by their own hiſtorians.

(*h*) Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 365.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 15, 16.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, part 2. book 2. p. 266.—Baſnage, Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 263.—Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 4. p. 65, 66.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 219.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 197.

(*i*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 463.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 325.—Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars,

their commerce was thus almoſt irrecoverably deſtroyed, and alarmed at the approach of greater evils, equipped another fleet, the command of which was given to De Wit, who received orders to join De Ruyter, the officer appointed to convoy, homewards, a large number of veſſels in the ſervice of the merchants. When the two fleets had united, and attended the trading ſhips to their reſpective ports, the admirals expreſſed a determination to attack the Engliſh navy, and Blake afforded them a proper opportunity of carrying it into execution. Yet when the former expected, and had prepared for the commencement of hoſtilities, the Dutch covered themſelves behind a ſand-bank; a circumſtance which did not prevent Blake from engaging them, on the twenty-eighth of September.

He divided his fleet into three ſquadrons, of which the firſt was commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by vice-admiral Penn, and the third by rear-admiral Bourne. At three, in the afternoon, the fight began, when the Engliſh

wars, p. 329, 330.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. p. 264.—Memoires de Montglat, tom. 3. p. 321, 322.—Martiniere. Hiſtoire de Louis XIV. tom. 2. p. 215. —The count d'Eſtrades, (Memoirs, tom. 1.) in a letter addreſſed to cardinal Mazarine, and dated from Dunkirk, on the fifth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, informs his eminence that Cromwel had made him an offer, by one Fitz-James, a colonel of his guards, to furniſh fifty men of war; to join the king's army with fifteen thouſand foot; to pay two millions; and to declare war againſt Spain, if they would ſurrender Dunkirk to him rather than to the Spaniards, which propoſal the cardinal approved, as appears by his anſwer to the count, (dated from Poictiers, on the ſecond of the ſucceeding month of March,) and which (as he obſerves,) would have been accepted, if monſieur de Chateauneuf had not oppoſed it ſo violently that the queen could not be induced to give her conſent.

Engliſh were rendered ſenſible of their temerity, in engaging under ſuch inſuperable diſadvantages. The Sovereign, a new ſhip, and ſeveral others ſtruck inſtantly on the ſands, but being extricated, ſtood farther out to ſea, when De Wit, diſdaining the ſecurity of his ſtation, bore down in readineſs for a fairer conteſt, which was begun by Bourne, and ſeconded as gallantly by the remainder of the fleet. A Dutch man of war attempting to board the Sovereign was ſunk, at the firſt broadſide; and, ſoon afterwards, two other ſhips ſhared the ſame fate, whilſt a third (the rear-admiral,) was taken by captain Mildmay. When De Wit perceived that a fourth veſſel had been blown up, he prepared to ſheer off, and was purſued by the Engliſh fleet, until the cloſe of evening. At day-break, they continued the chace, and until they had ſailed within twelve leagues of the Dutch ſhore, when, perceiving that the adverſe fleet had entered Goree, Blake, and his brave aſſociates, returned in triumph to the Downs, and from thence into the harbour; having loſt nearly three hundred men (*k*). Such alſo appeared the number of the wounded, and for the reception of theſe, the parliament (who had already ſent letters of thanks to the admiral, and his officers,) took care to provide hoſpitals, near Deal, and Dover (*l*).

On this occaſion, the Dutch hiſtorians obſerve that none of the ſhips belonging to the States were loſt. They, notwithſtanding, admit that one was taken; but

(*k*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars of Great Britain, and Ireland, p. 330.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 426, 427.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 199.

(*l*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 327.

but add that this veſſel, being afterwards deſerted, was brought ſafely into the harbour. De Wit fairly confeſſed the loſs, and charged it, firſt, on the criminal behaviour of no leſs than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle; and, next, on the falſe intelligence received by the States; the Engliſh fleet being more numerous, and compoſed of ſhips of greater bulk than he expected. Theſe excuſes were certainly juſt, and yet the popular clamours were exerted ſo ſeverely againſt the admirals, that De Ruyter became deſirous of reſigning his commiſſion, and De Wit, a prey to grief, fell into a dangerous, and lingering illneſs. In the ſpace of ſix weeks, the States, with equal prudence, and reſolution, repaired, and augmented their fleet to eighty ſail, the command of which was given to Van Tromp, who (if we can rely on the aſſertions of ſome hiſtorians,) was reinſtated by the intereſt of the king of Denmark, from which potentate the Hollanders received, on this condition, a promiſe of being ſupplied with a formidable ſquadron of his own ſhips (*m*).

This prince had very unadviſedly engaged himſelf in a quarrel with the parliament, by detaining (at the requeſt of the Dutch,) a fleet of twenty Engliſh ſhips in the harbour of Copenhagen. At firſt he pretended that he had embraced this meaſure from a regard for their own ſafety, and, therefore, commodore Ball was ſent, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail, to convoy them home, when the king of Denmark declared his reſolution to keep them, and the fear which he was under, for the conſequences of this ſtrange, and inconſiderate ſtep,

(*m*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. tom. 1. p. 260, 261.—Le Clerc. Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. p. 323, 324 ——La Vie de Ruyter, partie 1. p. 151 —— Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.

ſtep, induced him to offer his aſſiſtance to the Dutch. This circumſtance proved favourable to the latter, as the Engliſh had filled their ports with prizes taken from the States, who, thus ſeverely ſuffering, were eager to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of a foreign power, and, in haſte, directed Tromp to ſail with the men of war, for the purpoſe of convoying a fleet of about three hundred merchantmen through the channel (*n*).

It being now the beginning of November, Blake, who imagined that the ſeaſon of action was paſſed, had detached twenty of his ſhips for the ſecurity of the Newcaſtle colliers. Twelve more were ſent to Plymouth, and fifteen retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had ſuſtained, during a ſtorm. Van Tromp, having received intelligence of theſe proceedings, and that Blake was attended only by thirty-ſeven ſhips, moſt of which were thinly manned, reſolved to attack him in the Downs, not far from the place where he had engaged before (*o*). On the twenty-ninth of November, he preſented himſelf before the Engliſh fleet, and Blake, after having aſſembled a council of war, reſolved to commence hoſtilities, notwithſtanding the ſuperior numbers of the enemy; but, the wind riſing, he was obliged to defer fighting, until the next day, previous to which his ſhip rode not far above Dover-Road. In the morning, both fleets plied Weſtward, and Blake preſerved the weather-gage.

(*n*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 545, 546.—Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 330.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2. p. 174.——Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 1. p. 129.——Manley's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 266.—Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 289, 290.——Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 13. p. 68.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 200.

(*o*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 229, 230.——Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 437, 438.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 201.

ther-gage. At eleven, the fight began with great fury, but, unfortunately, only half of the ſmall fleet belonging to the Engliſh could proceed to action. The Triumph, on board of which the admiral commanded, the Victory, and the Vanguard, ſuſtained almoſt the whole fire of the enemy, being attacked by twenty men of war at once; yet they fought until the cloſe of evening. Towards the concluſion of the battle, the Bonaventure, commanded by captain Hookſton; and the Garland, commanded by captain Batten, clapped Van Tromp aboard, killed his ſecretary, and purſer, by his ſide, and had certainly taken his ſhip, if they had not been boarded by two Dutch flags, in conſequence of which, after the deaths of the captains, both the Engliſh veſſels were obliged to ſtrike. Blake, who beheld this circumſtance with indignation, puſhed ſo far to their relief that he would probably have ſhared the ſame fate, if the Vanguard, and Sapphire had not effectually aſſiſted, and, at length, brought the Triumph clear off (*p*). The Hercules was run aſhore during the retreat; and, unleſs the night had ſheltered them, moſt of the ſhips that came to action muſt have been loſt; but taking the advantage of the darkneſs, they ſailed firſt to Dover, and from thence into the river.

Admiral Van Tromp, having remained during the ſpace of at leaſt a day within the Downs, proceeded towards Calais, took part of the Barbadoes fleet, together with ſeveral prizes, and then ſailed to the iſle of Rhee, bearing a broom at the top-maſt-head, to intimate that he would ſweep the Engliſh veſſels from the ſurface of the narrow ſeas (*q*). There appears not, how-

(*p*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551.—Coke's Deteſtion, V. 2. p. 16, 17.—Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 330, 331.

(*q*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 261.—Le Clerc. Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. p. 324.

however, ſuch reaſon for boaſting as the Dutch writers would ſuggeſt. Their fleet indeed enjoyed ſeveral advantages, yet they bought their ſucceſs extremely dear, one of their beſt veſſels being blown up, and two of their admiral-ſhips almoſt intirely diſabled (*r*).

The parliament evinced their ſteadineſs by careſſing Blake, after his defeat, and appointing him, in conjunction with Deane, and Monk, their general at ſea, for the enſuing year. In order that the navy might the more ſpeedily be manned, they iſſued a proclamation, offering conſiderable rewards to ſuch as entered themſelves within the ſpace of forty days; and they alſo increaſed the wages of the ſailors, from nineteen, to twenty-four ſhillings, a month. This meaſure was attended by the moſt ſalutary effects, and previous to the expiration of ſix weeks, a large armament was in readineſs to put to ſea, forty ſhips having been ſtationed, with Blake, in the river, and twenty more at Portſmouth. On the eleventh of February, both fleets joined near Beachy-Head, and thence, admiral Blake ſailed overagainſt Portland, where he lay acroſs the channel, in order to receive Van Tromp, at his return. This tranſaction aſtoniſhed the Dutch admiral, who did not conclude it poſſible that the parliament could, after the late defeat, have equipped a naval force, ſufficiently numerous, and powerful, to oppoſe his armament, with which, attended by two hundred, and fifty merchant-men, under convoy, he ſailed up the channel, and found Blake ſo ſtationed as to deprive him of the power of avoiding an engagement. The Engliſh, and Dutch hiſtorians have differed widely in their accounts

324, 325.—Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. p. 69, 70.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 202.

(*r*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 330.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.——Echard's hiſtory of England, book 3. cap. 1. p. 701.

counts concerning the ſtrength of their reſpective fleets; but from the letters of the admirals, it may be inferred that they were nearly equal, each amounting to about twenty ſail (*s*).

The generals Blake, and Deane, were both on board of the Triumph, and, with twelve ſtout ſhips, led their fleet, and fell in firſt with the Dutch, on the eighteenth of February, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, at about eight in the morning. They were moſt violently aſſaulted before the reſt of the ſhips came up, although gallantly ſeconded by Lawſon, in the Fairfax, and Mildmay, in the Vanguard. On board of the Triumph, Blake was wounded in the thigh, by a piece of iron which had been diſcharged from a cannon, and which, afterwards, tore the coat, and breeches of general Deane. Captain Ball, who commanded the ſhip, was ſhot dead, and fell at the feet of Blake. His ſecretary, Mr. Sparrow, was, likewiſe, killed, whilſt he was receiving orders. Excluſive of theſe, an hundred ſeamen were ſlain, and moſt of the reſt ſeverely wounded. The Triumph was ſo extremely ſhattered as to have been rendered unable to bear any conſiderable part in the action of the two ſucceeding days (*t*).

On board of the Fairfax, which was much damaged, an hundred men were killed. The Vanguard alſo loſt her captain, and numbers of the crew. The Proſperous, mounting forty guns, was boarded, and taken



(*s*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 464.—Davies's hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 439.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, Tom. 1. p. 298.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 203.

(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551.—Echard.—Rapin.—Campbell.

by De Ruyter; but, as his own veſſel was, in that moment, boarded by an Engliſh man of war, captain Veſey, in the Merlin firigate, entered the Proſperous, and retook her. The Aſſiſtance, vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron, was diſabled at the commencement of the action, and brought off to Portſmouth, whither the Advice quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the ſea. Van Tromp who, during a conſiderable ſpace of time, engaged Blake, loſt moſt of his officers, and his ſhip was ſo ſhattered as to become unfit for ſervice. De Ruyter loſt his main, and fore-top-maſt, and very narrowly eſcaped being taken. One Dutch man of war was blown up; ſix more were either ſunk, or fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and the rigging of theſe was ſo clotted with blood, and brains, that it was impoſſible to behold them, without horror (*u*).

The night of Friday was ſpent in repairing the damages, and making the neceſſary diſpoſition for a ſecond engagement. On Saturday morning, the enemy was again obſerved, ſeven leagues off Weymouth, whither the Engliſh plyed, and came up with them in the afternoon, about three leagues to the north-weſt of the Iſle of Wight. Van Tromp had drawn his fleet together, and ranged it in the form of a half-moon, incloſing the merchant-ſhips within a ſemi-circle, and, in that poſition, he maintained a retreating fight. The Engliſh made ſeveral deſperate attacks, ſtriving to break through, and ſeize the merchantmen. At length, theſe laſt, perceiving that De Ruyter's ſhip, ſeverely damaged, had been towed out of the fleet, and that they could no longer be protected, made ready for their departure,

(*u*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 300.—Le Clerc. Tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville, tom. 2. Liv. 10. chap. 10.

parture, and, in order that they might ſail with greater expedition, caſt a conſiderable part of their cargo into the ſea. From the letter written by Blake, we learn that the engagement laſted during the whole night, and that eight men of war, and fourteen merchant-ſhips were taken from the enemy (*x*).

On Sunday morning, the Dutch were near Boulogne, and the battle was renewed, although no material advantages were gained by either party. Van Tromp had ſheered off, in the dark, with his merchantmen, to Calais Sands, where he anchored, that day, with forty ſail. Availing himſelf of favourable winds, and of the tides, he proceeded homewards, the Engliſh fleet purſuing, but ſlowly; for Blake, although he did not fear his adverſaries, yet judged it prudent to avoid their ſhallow coaſts. The captains Lawſon, Marten, and Graver, notwithſtanding took, each, a Dutch ſhip of war, and Penn ſeized ſeveral of their merchantmen. On the whole, Van Tromp, and his aſſociates triumphed at the cloſe of the firſt engagement, were deprived, during the ſecond day, of thoſe advantages which they had gained, and, in the third action, were expoſed to an abſolute defeat. Although their own accounts make mention but of nine, yet it is certain that they loſt eleven men of war, and thirty merchantmen, and that fifteen hundred men were killed, and an equal number wounded. The Engliſh preſerved their whole fleet, except the Sampſon, which, being diſabled, was deſerted by captain Button, and the crew, and, ſoon afterwards, ſunk. The number of men loſt was nearly equal to that of the Dutch (*y*).



(*x*) Davies's hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 331.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 17.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 205.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 301.—La Vie de Ruyter, V. 1. p. 22,

It is remarkable that, in this fight, Blake, who had been long a land officer, made uſe of a large body of ſoldiers, whoſe bravery, and good conduct, anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations; yet it is obſerved that this precedent will only ſerve for wars ſimilar to that in which he was engaged, when the troops, not ſuffered to languiſh in inactivity, were called to battle almoſt from the moment that they arrived on board. The nation contributed with equal chearfulneſs, and liberality, to the relief of the wounded ſeamen; and the Dutch, on their ſide, rewarded Van Tromp, yet not beyond his merit, for the gallantry which he had diſplayed (z).

Meanwhile, the naval force in the ſervice of the parliament, proved leſs fortunate in the Streights, where an Engliſh, and a Dutch ſquadron lay together in the road to Leghorn. An action happened there which deſerves to be related, as it will diſcover as much true bravery, and maritime ſkill in the Engliſh officers as ever rendered a victory conſpicuous. It is the province of an hiſtorian to celebrate merit rather than ſucceſs (a).

Commo-

p. 22, 23, 24, 25, 36, 27, 28, 29, 30.—Holland's Mercurius Van Het Jaar. 1653. p. 44.

(z) Heath's Chronicle, p. 335.——The States preſented Van Tromp with a gold chain, valued at two thouſand guilders. Evertſon, and De Ruyter were gratified with fifteen hundred guilders each, and leſs gratuities were beſtowed on other officers.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 553.

(a) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V 2. p. 206. The Engliſh ſquadron under commodore Appleton conſiſted of ſix ſhips, the names, and force of which, were as follow:

| Ships. | Guns. | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| The Leopard | 52 | 180 |
| Bonaventure | 44 | 150 |
| Sampſon | 36 | 90 |

The

Commodore Appleton, being at anchor near the Dutch, availed himſelf of the advantages of his ſituation, and ſent three boats, manned with reſolute ſeamen, and commanded by captain Cox, for the purpoſe of recovering the ſhip Phœnix, which had been taken from the Engliſh, in the action near Elba, and which, at this time, made a part of the ſquadron belonging to the enemy. On the twenty-ſixth of November, the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, the Phœnix was boarded by the Engliſh, when the Dutch were ſo ſurprized that they made but little reſiſtance, and young Van Tromp, who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water, to avoid being taken. This action was performed with ſuch expedition that, before the Dutch, who lay next to her, were well apprized of what had happened, ſhe was conveyed off. The great duke of Tuſcany, when informed of the particulars, declared that the enterprize was a violation of the neutrality of that port, and ordered the Engliſh either to reſtore the Phœnix, or to depart immediately. To depart was dangerous; for, Van Galen, with the whole ſtrength of the enemy, in thoſe ſeas, conſiſting of ſixteen men of war, a fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout merchantmen, (the crews of which were offered a ſhare of the booty, if they would engage,) lay ready, before the harbour, to intercept them (*b*).



| Ships. | Guns. | Men. |
|---|---|---|
| The Levant-Merchant | 28 | 60 |
| Pilgrim | 30 | 70 |
| Mary | 30 | 70 |

(*b*) Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 552.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 16.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 269.—Heath's Chronicle, p. 330, 331.—The grand-duke, by his letters, of the ſeventh, and ninth of December, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-two, and more at large

The Engliſh rather choſe to run all hazards than to deliver up the ſhip. With this reſolution, they immediately ſent advice to commodore Bodley, who lay at the iſland of Elba, with two men of war, a fire-ſhip, and four merchantmen which were in the former engagement with Van Galen. It was ſoon afterwards agreed between the two commanders that Bodley, with his ſmall ſquadron (although unfit for action, partly from the loſs of men in the late fight, and partly on account of the merchant-ſhips, under their convoy, which were laden with fifteen hundred Bales of ſilk, and other valuable goods,) ſhould appear about the time fixed upon, within ſight of Leghorn, in order to amuſe the Dutch, and thereby, if poſſible, to draw them from before the harbour, and thus open a paſſage for Appleton to eſcape. Purſuant

large, by Signor Almeric Salvetti, his miniſter in England, complained loudly of the violation of his port, and the behaviour of Appleton on the occaſion, and inſiſted on a proper ſatisfaction. The parliament were ſo highly offended at the miſconduct of the commodore, that they referred the whole matter to the council of ſtate, who ſent immediate orders to him to return home by land, without the leaſt delay. They alſo wrote a moſt obliging anſwer to the grand duke which bears date on the fourteenth of the ſame month, and which they diſpatched on purpoſe, by an expreſs, teſtifying their great concern at the event, and aſſuring him that ſuch a courſe ſhould be taken with the commodore, as would ſufficiently manifeſt to all the world that they could not leſs brook the violation of his right, than the infringement of their own authority, which had beeen trampled upon, in this inſtance, contrary to thoſe repeated commands to their chief officers, and captains arriving in his ports, which was to carry themſelves with the moſt reſpectful obſervance poſſible. And, relatively to the ſhip Phœnix, they promiſed that after an audience granted to Appleton, and a farther conference with the Tuſcan reſident, they will pronounce ſuch a ſentence as ſhall be agreeable to juſtice, and Equity.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 208.

ſuant to this agreement, Bodley, on the ſecond of March, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, arrived within ſight of the place. On the third, he cauſed three, or four of his beſt ſailers to approach the enemy, who were ſtationed before the port; whereupon the whole ſquadron (as was expected,) ſtood out to ſea, and gave them chace. In the moment that Appleton obſerved this proceeding, he weighed anchor, and got under ſail; but his operations were too rapid, and the Dutch, ſuſpecting his deſign, immediately gave over the chace, and, tacking about, fell upon the ſquadron, with nine of their men of war, whilſt the reſt obſerved the motions of Bodley.

At the firſt encounter, an unfortunate ſhot, from the ſhip commanded by Van Galen, ſet fire to the Bonaventure, which, blew up, although not unrevenged, for, at the ſame time, the ball of the piece diſcharged by one of the Engliſh, on board of the laſt veſſel, ſhattered the leg of Van Galen ſo ſeverely, that he expired, ſoon afterwards. Meanwhile, Appleton was attacked by two of the Hollanders at once, againſt whom he maintained a cloſe fight, during five hours, with ſuch reſolution, that both the Dutch ſhips were, at length, ſo diſabled, that they ſcarcely fired a ſhot. Van Galen employed the laſt remains of life in attempts to aſſiſt his ſquadron, and was in great danger from a fire-ſhip belonging to the diviſion under the command of Bodley.

At this juncture, the Hollanders who were engaged with Appleton, being reinforced by another ſhip, renewed the attack with greater vigour. Several Dutch hiſtorians have remarked that Appleton, perceiving himſelf oppreſſed by ſuch unequal numbers, after having made all poſſible reſiſtance, ran down, and would have blown up his ſhip, but that, being hin-

dered by his ſeamen, he was obliged to yield. The young Van Tromp, attacking the Sampſon, was beaten off, after a deſperate engagement, but the Sampſon was ſoon afterwards burnt by a fire-ſhip. The Levant Merchant being encountered by one of the veſſels in the ſervice of the enemy, beat her off, and ſtranded her. But, being at length taken, together with the Pilgrim, (which had loſt her main, and mizen-maſts in the fight,) the Mary, left alone, eſcaped, and joined the neareſt ſhips in the ſquadron, under the command of Bodley. Thus ended the engagement (*c*).

Adhering to the opinion of Mr. Campbell, we muſt remind the reader that before we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is abſolutely neceſſary to take notice of the great change made in the civil government, by Cromwell, who, on the twentieth of April, in the year one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, entered the houſe of commons, and diſſolved the parliament, by force (*d*). The hiſtorian (*e*) remarks that the action, ſtupendous in itſelf, appears to have ſtricken too many of our own, and of foreign writers with a want of diſcernment.

He

(*c*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 551, 552, 553.—Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies. This writer informs us that the body of admiral Van Galen was tranſported into Holland, and buried at Amſterdam, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory, at the expence of the ſtates.

(*d*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 478.—Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 456.—Whrtlocke's Memorials, p. 554.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 1. p. 161.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 367.—Dugdale's ſhort view of the troubles of England, p. 405.——Bulſtrode's Memoirs, p. 194.

(*e*) Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 210.

He adds, that they attributed to Cromwell whatſoever was done after the murder of the king; and the Dutch hiſtorians particularly impute this war to him, and, amongſt other reaſons for his diſſolving the parliament, make this to have been one; that he ſuſpected that they were inclined to peace *(f)*, whereas, in truth, two governments were never leſs alike, than thoſe of the parliament, and the protector. The former acted upon national principles; the latter from private views. The Dutch war was the war of the parliament, begun upon the old quarrel, which Charles would have proſecuted, had he enjoyed the power. It muſt be confeſſed that Cromwell carried on the war, but it was only until he could make ſuch a peace as ſerved his purpoſes; and the noble hiſtorian hath juſtly remarked that it was the proceeding of the parliament, who perſiſted in carrying on the war, which compelled Cromwell to act ſooner than he would have done, from a foreſight that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not ſo eaſily be overturned at home, by their own creatures (*g*).

It is granted that the Dutch did not inſtantly receive any great benefit from the ſudden revolution, but let us remark that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in the meaſure. The government of the parliament (howſoever their authority might have been acquired,) was a government of order, and of laws; the government of the general, who became afterwards protector,

(*f*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 303. This ſame error runs through all the Dutch hiſtorians.

(*g*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, (V. 6. p. 464.) where he proves that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and (p. 476) where he inveſtigates the cauſes which haſtened him in the execution of his project.

protector, was intirely military. It is not, therefore, a matter of ſurprize that both the navy, and the army were ſatisfied with his conduct (*h*). From this change of adminiſtration, the enemy derived ſome advantages. Van Tromp convoyed a large fleet of merchantmen to the North (for they were now forced to follow that paſſage, rather than ſail along the channel,) and, although the Engliſh fleet chaſed him to the heighth of Aberdeen, yet it anſwered no purpoſe; and he not only eluded their purſuit, but returned in ſafety to the Downs, taking ſeveral prizes, and next, diſcharging his ordnance againſt Dover Caſtle (*i*). This ſcene of triumph laſted but a ſingle week. Van Tromp arrived before the laſt place, on the twenty-ſixth of May, and, at the concluſion of the month, received intelligence of the approach of Monk, and Deane, with the ſquadrons under their command, conſiſting all together of ninety-five ſail of men of war, and five fire-ſhips (*k*). The Dutch armament amounted to ninety-eight men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips; and, at the head of both fleets, were officers the moſt celebrated for conduct, and reſolution, in either navy, ſo that it was generally conceived that an engagement muſt prove deciſive.

In

(*h*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 339, 340.—Warwick's Memoirs compared with Whitlocke.—Cromwell received the moſt flattering addreſſes from almoſt every part of the united kingdom, when he diſſolved the parliament; but no perſons appeared more cordial in their congratulations, or profeſſed greater ſubmiſſion than the officers of the army, and Navy.—Davies's hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 333.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 211.

(*i*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487.—Davies's hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 336.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 556, 557.

(*k*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 334.

In the morning of the ſecond of June, the Engliſh approached, and, immediately, with great fury, attacked the enemy. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the firſt broadſide from the Dutch carried off the gallant admiral Deane, whoſe body was almoſt cut in two by a chain-ſhot. Monk, with great preſence of mind, caſt his cloak over the body; and, on this occaſion, appeared the wiſdom of having both admirals on board of the ſame ſhip (*l*); for, as no flag was taken in, the fleet did not receive the leaſt notice of the accident, but the fight continued with the ſame warmth as if it had not happened. The blue ſquadron charged through the enemy, and, once, rear-admiral Lawſon was on the point of taking the ſhip commanded by the Dutch officer, De Ruyter. Even after he was obliged to quit his own ſhip, he ſunk another, (carrying forty-two guns,) the captain of which was named Buller. The action continued very hot, until three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confuſion, and Van Tromp was reduced to the neceſſity of maintaining a kind of running fight, until nine in the evening, at which time a powerful veſſel, commanded by Cornelius Van Velſen, blew up. This calamity increaſed the conſternation of the Hollanders; and, although Van Tromp uſed every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired on ſuch ſhips as drew out of the line, his proceedings ſerved rather to augment, than leſſen their defection. In the night-time, Blake joined the Engliſh fleet, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips, and thus bore a part in the action of the ſecond day (*m*).

On

(*l*) Gumble's Life of general Monk.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 212.

(*m*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487. —Whitlocke's Memorial, p. 557.——Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2.

On the morrow, Van Tromp embraced every meaſure, conſiſtent with his honour, to avoid engaging, but, at eight in the forenoon, the Engliſh fleet approached, and attacked the Hollanders with great fury. During the ſpace of four hours, the battle laſted without intermiſſion; and vice-admiral Penn boarded Van Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been ſeaſonably relieved by De Wit, and De Ruyter. At length, the Dutch fell again into confuſion, and an abſolute flight enſued, when they ſought a ſhelter on the flat coaſt of Newport, from whence, with great difficulty, they eſcaped to Zealand. From the accounts of our own hiſtorians, we learn that ſix of the beſt ſhips in the ſervice of the States were ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; and that ſix alſo of their principal captains, and upwards of fifteen hundred men were made priſoners. Amongſt the ſhips, was a vice, and two rear-admirals (*n*). The Dutch writers, indeed, confeſs only to the loſs of eight men of war. On the ſide of the Engliſh, the ſole officers of

V. 2. p. 466.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 34.—Davies's hiſtory of the Civil Wars, p. 337.—Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament, called by the authority of general Cromwell, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, p. 27.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 269.

(*n*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 345.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 267.—Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2.—Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 60, 61.——See Van Tromp's letter to the States, in Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 270.—Conſult alſo letters ſent by the States, to their miniſters, at foreign courts, and dated from the Hague, on the ſixteenth of June, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three. Thurloe's State Papers, p. 273.—Mercurius Politicus, No. 158. p. 2516, 2517.—Echard, p. 705.—Kennett, V. 3. p. 208.—Rapin.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 214.

of diſtinction ſlain were admiral Deane, and one captain. Of the private men, but few fell, and not a ſhip was miſſing; ſo that a more compleat victory could ſcarcely be obtained, or, perhaps, deſired. Be it, alſo, obſerved that the ſhips belonging to the enemy were now blocked up in their ports, and that the approach of a formidable, and adverſe fleet had this farther bad conſequence, that it excited domeſtic tumults. It cannot, therefore, appear extraordinary that the Dutch, whilſt under ſuch circumſtances, ſent ambaſſadors into England, to negotiate a peace, on any terms (*o*). Theſe Cromwell received with great haughtineſs, addreſſed them in high terms, and aſſumed to himſelf the reputation of former victories, in which he bore but an inconſiderable part, but which, at this juncture, he, with deep policy, converted to his own advantage (*p*).

The States were, notwithſtanding, far from truſting intirely to negociations, but, at the period when they treated, laboured, with the utmoſt diligence, to repair their paſt loſſes, and to equip a new fleet. This taſk was extremely difficult; and, in order to effect it, they were

(*o*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 308, 309.—Le Clerc. Annales Hiſtoriques des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. Liv. 13.—Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. Liv. 10. chap. 11, 12.—La Vie de Ruyter, part 1. p. 30. —Innumerable letters, in the firſt volume of the State Papers, collected by Thurloe, deſcribe the great uneaſineſs which the Dutch were under, when they perceived their ports blocked up; and they likewiſe contain accounts of popular tumults, the conſequences of this event, and of the great pains taken by the miniſter from the States in England, for the purpoſe of accompliſhing the concluſion of a peace. See p. 293, 294, 295. 307. 315, 316, 317, 318. 324. 340, 341.

(*p*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 487, 488. Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, V. 1. p. 311. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 215.

were forced to raiſe the wages of the ſeamen, although their commerce was at a full ſtop. They came down in perſon to their forts, ſaw their men embark, paid them previous to their entrance into the ſervice, and promiſed that if they would engage once more, they never ſhould be deſired to aſſiſt again (*q*).

Yet even theſe meaſures would ſcarcely have proved ſucceſsful, if the indefatigable attention of De Witt, in the equipment of the newly-conſtructed veſſels, and the ſkill, vigilance, and liberality of Van Tromp (who, whilſt he repaired the old ſhips, by order of the States, gave every bounteous encouragement to the ſeamen,) had not contributed more than any circumſtance whatſoever to the ſetting out of a freſh fleet, in the latter end of July, conſiſting of more than ninety ſhips; a warlike preparation, which then excited wonder, and now is ſcarcely credible. Theſe were victualled for five months, and intended by the States to block up the Engliſh ports, and, thus, oblige the ſquadrons of a powerful enemy to retire from the harbours of the Dutch. Yet it was reſolved that Van Tromp ſhould ſail to the mouth of the Texel, where De Ruyter, with twenty-five ſail of powerful ſhips, was ſhut in by the Engliſh fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their ſtation, and give the Dutch ſquadron an opportunity of coming out (*r*).

On the twenty-ninth of July, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, the Dutch fleet appeared

(*q*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346.—Thurloe's State Papers, V. 1. p. 301. 307. 325. 367.

(*r*) Baſnage. Annales des Provinces Unies, tom. 1. p. 308. 312.—Le Clerc. Hiſtoire des Provinces Unies, tom. 2. Liv. 13. p. 334.—Neuville. Hiſtoire d'Hollande, tom. 3. chap. 13.—Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488.—Thurloe's State-Papers, V. 1. p. 359. 364. 392. —Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

peared in ſight of the Engliſh, who exerted every endeavour for the purpoſe of engaging them, but, Van Tromp, having in view the releaſe of De Wit, rather than a battle, remained at ſo conſiderable a diſtance that it was ſeven at night before General Monk, in the Reſolution, and, attended by about thirty ſhips of different rates, came up with him, and charged through his whole fleet. As it grew dark ſoon afterwards, all hoſtilities ceaſed for the remainder of the night, Monk ſailing to the South, and Van Tromp to the Northward, which laſt motion not being ſuſpected by the Engliſh, he not only joined the ſquadron commanded by De Wit, but obtained the Weather-Gage (*s*). The day following proved hazy, and tempeſtuous, nor was it poſſible, whilſt the waves were violently agitated by the wind, that the fleets could not come to action. The Engliſh, in particular, found it difficult to avoid running on the coaſts belonging to the enemy (*t*).

On Sunday, the thirty-firſt of July, the weather became favourable, and the Engliſh, and Dutch engaged with great fury. The battle laſted during, at leaſt, eight hours, and was more violently fought than any throughout the whole war. The Dutch fire-ſhips were managed with great dexterity, and, by them, many of the large veſſels in the Engliſh fleet were in the utmoſt danger of periſhing. The Triumph was ſo effectually fired that moſt of her company caſt themſelves into the ſea; and yet thoſe few who remained on board

(*s*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 346, 347.—Proceedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653. p. 28.——Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.

(*t*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 347.—Davies's hiſtory of the civil wars, p. 347.—Gumble's Life of Monk.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 216.

board were ſo fortunate as to extinguiſh the flames (*u*). Lawſon violently attacked De Ruyter, killed, and wounded more than half of his men, and ſo diſabled his ſhip that it was towed out of the fleet; yet the admiral did not quit the ſcene of action, but returned in a galliot, and went on board of another ſhip. About noon, Van Tromp was ſhot through the body, by a muſket-ball, as he was giving orders (*x*). This event miſerably diſcouraged his countrymen, and, at two o'clock, they retreated, in great confuſion, having but one flag hoiſted in the whole fleet. The lighteſt of the Engliſh frigates purſued them cloſely, until the Dutch admiral, perceiving that they were ſmall, and of no great force, turned his helm, and reſolved to engage them, when ſome larger ſhips bore down to their aſſiſtance, and he was taken (*y*). When the ſcattered fleet, in the ſervice of the States, had recovered the Texel, the night was conſiderably advanced. The Engliſh fearing the flats, rode warily at the diſtance of ſix leagues.

This victory, althoug it proved a fatal diminution of the naval force of Holland, was not attended by a loſs

(*u*) Clarendon.—Whitlocke.—Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366.

(*x*) Clarendon's hiſtory of the Rebellion, V. 6. p. 488, 489.—Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 562.——Ludlow's Memoirs, V. 2. p. 468.—Coke's Detection, V. 2. p. 35.—— Bates's Elencus Motuum, part 2. p. 176.—Manley's hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 268.—Skinner's Life of General Monk, p. 48.—Journal of the proceedings of the Dutch fleet, written by vice-admiral De Wit, and addreſſed to the States, on the eleventh of Auguſt, in the year, one thouſand, ſix hundred, and fifty-three, N. S. in Thurloe's Collection, V. 1. p. 392.—Leven Van Tromp, part 3.—La Vie de Ruyter, part 1. p. 32, 33.—Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, V. 2. p. 217.

(*y*) Heath's Chronicle, p. 348.

loſs; but, from better intelligence, it appeared that four of theſe had eſcaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburgh. Their loſs, however, was very great: five captains were taken priſoners, and between four and five thouſand men killed, twenty-ſix ſhips of war either burnt or ſunk. On the ſide of the Engliſh there were two ſhips only, *viz.* the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, ſix captains, and upwards of five hundred ſeamen killed. There were alſo ſix captains, and about eight hundred private men wounded. The Dutch writers diſpute many of theſe points, and ſome of them will not allow that they loſt above nine ſhips. The contrary of this, however, appears from de Witte's letter to the ſtates, wherein he owns many more; confeſſes, he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he aſſigns two reaſons; firſt, that the beſt of their ſhips were miſerably ſhattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like poltrons.

Some very ſingular circumſtances attended this victory. There were ſeveral merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occaſion to employ them, thought proper to ſend their captains to each other's ſhips, in order to take off their concern for their owners veſſels and cargoes; a ſcheme which anſwered his purpoſe well, no ſhips in the fleet behaving better. He had likewiſe obſerved, that in moſt engagements much time and many opportunities were loſt, by taking ſhips and ſending them into harbour; and conſidering that ſtill greater inconveniencies muſt ariſe from their nearneſs to the enemy's coaſt, and diſtance from their own, he iſſued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they ſhould not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the ſea, while their ſhips were ſinking.

Monk was ſo active, that in his letter to Cromwell, dated the 2d of Auguſt, 1653, he takes notice, that of five Dutch flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* thoſe of Tromp, Everſon, and de Ruyter; and ſo long he continued in the heat of the diſpute, that his ſhip was at laſt towed out of the line: and, moſt of the great

veſſels had been ſo roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coaſt any longer, without danger of their ſinking.

The parliament, who were of Cromwell's appointment, on the 8th of Auguſt, 1653, ordered gold chains to be ſent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewiſe to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawſon; they alſo ſent chains to the reſt of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of Auguſt was appointed for a day of ſolemn thankſgiving; and, Monk, being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feaſt in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. As for the ſtates, they ſupported their loſs with inexpreſſible courage and conſtancy; they buried Tromp very magnificiently at the public expence, and, as ſoon as the return of the Engliſh fleet permitted, ſent de Witte with a fleet of fifty men of war and five fire-ſhips to the Sound, in order to convoy home a fleet of 300 merchantmen, there aſſembled from different quarters.

This he performed, though the Engliſh fleet did all that was poſſible to intercept him: but the joy, which the Dutch conceived upon this occaſion, was ſoon qualified by accidents of another ſort; for an Engliſh ſquadron, falling in with a large fleet of merchantmen in the mouth of the Ulie, took moſt of them, and admiral Lawſon, ſailing to the north, deſtroyed their herring fiſhery for that year, and either took or ſunk moſt of the frigates ſent to protect them; beſides a great ſtorm drove thirteen of their beſt men of war from their anchors, ſo that, running on ſhore, they were loſt.

The negotiation carried on by the Dutch miniſters at London met at firſt with many difficulties. The terms preſcribed were many, and in their nature hard, inſomuch that it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the Dutch could ever have ſubmitted to them; but an accident delivered them out of their diſtreſs. The parliament on the 12th of December, 1653, took a ſudden reſolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord-general Cromwell, who ſoon after took upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy, under the title of Protector. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon

upon ſofter conditions, though he affected to make uſe of high terms, and to behave towards their ambaſſadors with a great deal of haughtineſs, which, for the ſake of their country's intereſt, they knew well enough how to bear.

This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the 4th of April, 1654, in which, it was in the firſt place ſtipulated, that ſuch as could be found of the perſons concerned in the maſſacre at Amboyna ſhould be delivered up to juſtice. They acknowledged the dominion of the Engliſh at ſea by conſenting to ſtrike the flag, ſubmitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the Eaſt-India company ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by a private article bound themſelves never to elect any of the houſe of Orange to the dignity of ſtadtholder.

Thus, taking all things together, this ought rather to be conſidered as a cloſe conjunction between the new protector of England and the Louveſtein faction in Holland, than an alliance between the two nations: for, though it be true that ſome regard was had in this treaty to the honour and intereſt of England, yet, conſidering our ſucceſs in that war, and the ſituation things were in at the concluſion of it, there can be no reaſon to doubt, that, if the parliament, which begun the war, had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms in reſpect both to profit and glory.

Hoſtilities between the two ſtates had not continued quite two years, and yet in that time the Engliſh took no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themſelves at ſixty-two millions of guilders, or near ſix millions ſterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part either in number or value. Within that ſpace the Engliſh were victorious in no leſs than five general battles, ſome of which were of ſeveral days; whereas the Hollanders cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one; for the action between de Ruyter and Ayſcue, in which they pretended ſome advantage, was no general fight, and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs is owned to have been gained over a part only of the Engliſh fleet. As ſhort as this quarrel was, it brought

the Dutch to greater extremities than their fourſcore years war with Spain. The ſtates ſhewed great wiſdom in including their ally the king of Denmark in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they ſhould make ſatisfaction for the Engliſh ſhips which had been ſeized at the beginning of the war in his port.

The rupture between France and England ſtill continued, our ſhips of war taking, ſinking, or burning theirs where-ever they met them, and the French privateers diſturbing our commerce as much as they were able. An attempt was made by the French miniſtry to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the ſtates: but Cromwell would not hear of this, becauſe he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he ſucceeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655 to ſubmit to his own terms, and to give up the intereſts of the royal family, notwithſtanding their near relation to the houſe of Bourbon. He likewiſe obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without queſtion his conduct with regard to France would have deſerved commendation, if, for the ſake of ſecuring his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to Europe ever ſince, and which he might have reduced within juſt bounds, if he had ſo pleaſed.

He did not diſcover his intentions in this reſpect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became neceſſary. He affected to have his friendſhip earneſtly ſolicited both by France and Spain, and even declared publicly, that he would give it to the court which deſerved beſt, or, in plain terms, bid higheſt for it. The firſt ſign of his reconciliation to the French, was the reſtoring the ſhips taken by Blake, with proviſions and ammunition for the garriſon of Dunkirk; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally ſuppoſed, that the primary inſtigation to the Spaniſh war came from him, who gave the protector to underſtand, that the Engliſh maritime force could not be better employed than in conquering part of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, while France

attacked

attacked the ſame crown in Europe; and, to purchaſe his aſſiſtance, would readily relinquiſh the royal family, and ſo rid him from all fears of an invaſion. Beſides theſe hints from abroad, the protector had ſome notices of a like nature at home, eſpecially from one Gage, a prieſt, who had been long in America, and who furniſhed him with a copious account of the wealth and weakneſs of the Spaniards there.

Immediately after the concluſion of the Dutch war, the protector ordered all the ſhips of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewiſe directed many new ones to be built, ſtorehouſes, magazines, &c. to be filled with ammunition and proviſion; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew againſt whom this mighty force was to be exerted. In the ſummer of the year 1654 he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral Blake, and the other by vice-admiral Penn. Their orders were to be opened at ſea, and they had no farther lights given them than were abſolutely requiſite for making the neceſſary preparations. Blake, as ſoon as all things were ready, put to ſea, and ſailed into the Streights, where his orders were to procure ſatisfaction from ſuch princes and ſtates as had either inſulted the government, or injured the commerce of England. But, before his departure, it had been ſaid, that he was to intercept the duke of Guiſe, and to protect Naples from the French.

This had the deſired effect; it lulled the Spaniards into a falſe ſecurity, and even diſpoſed them to ſhew the admiral all poſſible civilities, who very probably had himſelf as yet no ſuſpicion of Cromwell's deſign to break with that nation. The firſt place he went to was Leghorn, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke: the firſt was, for his ſubjects purchaſing the prizes made by Prince Rupert; the other for the damage done by Van Galen, when Appleton was forced out of Leghorn road. Theſe demands ſurpriſed the prince on whom they were made; eſpecially when he underſtood how large a ſum was expected from him, not leſs in the whole than a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds,

pounds, which, however, was moderated to ſixty thouſand pounds; and this ſum there is reaſon to believe was actually paid.

Thence he proceeded to Algiers, where he arrived the 10th of March 1655, ſending an officer to the dey to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies that had been formerly committed on the Engliſh, and the immediate releaſe of all the captives belonging to his nation. The dey anſwered, that as for the ſhips and ſlaves they were now the property of private perſons, from whom he could not take them with ſafety to himſelf; but that he would make it his care they ſhould be ſpeedily redeemed upon eaſy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hoſtilities being committed on the Engliſh for the future.

The admiral left the port upon this, and ſailed to Tunis, where he ſent the like meſſage on ſhore; but received a very ſhort anſwer, *viz.* "Here are our caſ-"tles of Guletta and Porto Ferino: you may do your "worſt; we do not fear you." Blake entered the bay of Porto Ferino, and came within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and line, upon both which he played ſo warmly, that they were ſoon in a defenceleſs condition. There were then nine ſhips in the road, which the admiral reſolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed theſe to enter the harbour, and fire the ſhips of Tunis, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the corſairs, and burnt all their ſhips, with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name through Africa and Aſia, which had long been formidable in Europe. From Tunis he ſailed to Tripoly, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to Tunis, and threatening to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms mortifying to them, glorious for him, and profitable for his country.

The

The other fleet being alſo in readineſs, and compoſed of about thirty ſhips of war, and a convenient number of tranſports, the protector reſolved it ſhould ſail in the month of December 1654. Admiral Penn had the chief command, and under him were vice-admiral Goodſon and rear-admiral Blagge. The commander of the land-forces was colonel Venables, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was ſecretly in the king's intereſt, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to reſtore him. The troops conſiſted of about five thouſand men, amongſt whom many were royaliſts, and the reſt ſo little ſatisfied with the protector's adminiſtration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them.

Venables had deſired of Cromwell, that great care might be taken in furniſhing arms and ammunition; that his forces might be properly choſen, and that himſelf might not be fettered by his inſtructions. In all theſe he ſoon found himſelf diſappointed: his proviſion was not only ſhort, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very ſparingly ſupplied, and in a manner fitter for ſhew than ſervice; his troops were either raw or invalids; and by his inſtructions he was tied up from doing any thing without the conſent of others. Before he could acquire knowledge of theſe particulars, he was hurried on board at Portſmouth, whence he immediately ſailed for Barbadoes.

The fleet arrived in Carliſle bay on the 29th of January 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the inhabitants of the iſland of Barbadoes, where they ſtaid ſome time, in order to recruit and make the neceſſary preparations for their intended deſcent on the iſland of Hiſpaniola. General Venables found himſelf deficient in all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, which was worſe, found admiral Penn very little inclined to afford him even the aſſiſtance that was in his power. He expoſtulated with him to no purpoſe, which made the wretchedneſs of his and their condition ſo apparent, that one of their fellow-commiſſioners ſaid plainly, "He doubted they were betrayed." It was, however, too late to look back; and, beſides, abundance of volunteers reſorted to Barbadoes from all our plantations, in order to ſhare the

the riches that were to be taken from the Spaniards; ſo that Venables ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of proceeding, notwithſtanding he was thoroughly ſatisfied they were not in condition to proceed.

From Barbadoes the fleet ſailed on the laſt of March to St. Chriſtopher's, where they met with another ſupply of volunteers; ſo that when they embarked for Hiſpaniola, Venables had under his command very near ten thouſand men. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that they were in bad temper for making conqueſts. Moſt of them, when they left England, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commiſſioners told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to cauſe a mutiny, and it was with much ado that the officers pacified them with a promiſe of ſix weeks pay, which the commiſſioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this ſituation things were, when they embarked for Hiſpaniola.

They arrived before St. Domingo, and general Venables propoſed, that they ſhould ſail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the ſea-officers, who propoſed landing at the river Hine, for which purpoſe, part of the ſquadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral Goodſon, who, when at ſea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ſhips into the mouth of the river, and therefore the troops were compelled to land at the weſt point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country, without any guide; inſomuch, that numbers of men and horſes, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water, were deſtroyed.

After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been at firſt put on ſhore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the iſland, and had recovered from their firſt ſurprize. Colonel Buller, who had landed with his regiment near Hine river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of Cox the guide, to march away; and, for want of this guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve

twelve miles out of their road. Exaſperated with theſe diſappointments, and the hardſhips they had undergone, the regiment of ſeamen, under the command of admiral Goodſon, mutinied firſt, and then the land-troops; ſo that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length colonel Buller and Cox the guide joined them, and promiſed to conduct them to a place where they might be ſupplied with water; but the colonel taking the liberty of ſtraggling for the ſake of pillage, the Spaniards attacked him, and in one of theſe ſkirmiſhes Cox, their only guide, was killed; yet the Spaniards were repulſed, and purſued within cannon-ſhot of the town.

In this diſtreſſed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved to march to the harbour in the beſt manner they could, which with much difficulty they effected. There they ſtaid three or four days, to furniſh themſelves with proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and then with a ſingle mortar-piece, marched into the iſland again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general Jackſon, who as ſoon as he was attacked by the Spaniards, ran away, and his troops after him. The paſſage through the woods being very narrow, they preſſed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to ſtop them with their pikes. They likewiſe diſordered major-general Haines's regiment, which gave the enemy great advantage; ſo that the major-general, and the braveſt of the officers, who, like Engliſhmen, preferred death before flight, ended their days here. At laſt, general Venables and vice admiral Goodſon, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-aways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithſtanding the fire from the fort was very warm.

By this time the forces were ſo much diſcouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, cauſed himſelf to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at laſt, he was forced to leave the care of the attack to major-general Forteſcue, who did what

what he could to revive their ſpirits, but to very little purpoſe.

Soon after it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſince the enemy had fortified all the paſſes, and the whole army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, they ſhould march to a place where they were informed a ſupply of that, and other neceſſaries, had been put aſhore from the ſhips. In this march the ſoldiers followed their officers, till they found themſelves in danger, and then left them; inſomuch that the commiſſioners owned, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a few days have deſtroyed the whole army; and withal, they let him know, that the troops who had occaſioned the greateſt diſorder, were thoſe of Barbadoes and St. Chriſtopher's; inſomuch that they, who were Penn, Winſlow, and Buller, had reſolved to leave the place, and try what could be done againſt the iſland of Jamaica. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on ſhore from the fourteenth of April to the firſt of May, when this reſolution of ſailing to Jamaica was taken.

The army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the ſick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dreſſing, inſomuch that worms bred in their ſores: and even while they were on ſhore, the proviſions ſent to them were not watered, but candied with ſalt, notwithſtanding they had not water ſufficient to quench their thirſt. Nay, after their misfortunes on ſhore, Venables averred, that Penn gave rear-admiral Blagge orders not to furniſh them with any more proviſions, of what kind ſoever; ſo that they eat up all the dogs, aſſes, and horſes in the camp, and ſome of them ſuch things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general Jackſon was tried at a court-martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhiered, and his ſword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a ſwabber, in keeping clean the hoſpital-ſhip; a puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious cowardice.

The deſcent on Jamaica was better managed than that on Hiſpaniola; for immediately on their landing, which

which was on the third of May, General Venables iſſued his orders, that if any man ſhould be found attempting to run away, the next man to him ſhould put him to death; which, if he failed to do, he ſhould be liable to a court-martial. The next day they attacked a fort, which they carried, and were then preparing to ſtorm the town of St. Jago, but this the Spaniſh inhabitants prevented, by a timely treaty; yet, before the general would liſten to any propoſitions of peace, he inſiſted, that a certain quantity of proviſions ſhould be ſent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his ſoldiers ſtrength and ſpirits; and in a ſhort time their negotiations ended in a complete ſurrender of the iſland to the Engliſh.

General Venables finding himſelf in a very weak condition, deſired the conſent of the commiſſioners to open their ultimate inſtructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In theſe he found he had power, in caſe of neceſſity, to reſign his command, which he did accordingly to general Forteſcue; upon this, admiral Penn followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral Goodſon, with whom he left a ſtout ſquadron of ſhips, and with the reſt of the fleet returned to England. In their paſſage home, they fell in with the Spaniſh plate-fleet, in the gulf of Florida, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of inſtructions, at this diſtance, it is hard to determine.

Immediately after the arrival of Penn and Venables, which was in the month of September 1655, they were both committed cloſe priſoners to the Tower, to ſatisfy the clamours of the people, who laid the greateſt blame on him who leaſt deſerved it. All that the protector inſiſted on was, that they ſhould confeſs their faults, in leaving their reſpective charges; and he promiſed to releaſe them upon their ſubmiſſion. This Penn quickly did, and was accordingly diſcharged; but Venables abſolutely refuſed it, always inſiſting that he had committed no fault, ſince, in caſe of inability to execute his duty, his inſtructions permitted him to reſign his command.

His

His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reaſon; for as to what is ſaid of his ſuffering the Spaniards to carry off their effects from the city of St. Jago to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the ſoldiers of their plunder, it appears to be a groſs calumny, for ſeveral reaſons. For firſt, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loſs to the ſoldiers, but quite the contrary; ſince, if they had now fallen into their hands, the commiſſioners would have ſeized them for the protector's uſe, in purſuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this reſpect, without the conſent of the other commiſſioners; and laſtly, it appears by the moſt authentic account we have of this affair, that the officers and ſoldiers were ſo far from being diſſatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to repreſent their grievances at home, and to procure redreſs; which he did, as far as was in his power.

The reaſon of his being firſt aſperſed was, a perſuaſion that he was a confident and creature of Cromwell's; which is ſo far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command merely to get him out of his way. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's ſcheme, which was not either more or leſs, than to have raiſed a large ſupply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commiſſioners down, to hinder the ſoldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their inſiſting upon this, had like to have been the ruin of the whole undertaking.

Admiral Blake's fleet continued all this time in the Mediterranean, and was now in the road to Cadiz, where he received the greateſt civilities from the Spaniards, and lived on the beſt terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was ſtruck at Jamaica, Cromwell, to the beſt of his power, carefully concealed his deſign to make war upon them. When this was known, the Spaniards declared immediately againſt him, and ſeized the effects of all the Engliſh merchants in their dominions, to an immenſe vaue; an incident which ſeems not to have

have been ſufficiently conſidered, by thoſe who cry up the protector's conduct ſo highly. This war, as we have before obſerved, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a proſpect of ſupplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the neceſſity of calling parliaments.

When nothing farther was to be obtained by concealing his intentions, the protector ſent Mr. Montague with a ſmall ſquadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to join Blake, and to carry him freſh inſtructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of Cadiz, in which there was a fleet of forty ſail, intended to ſecure the flota: and, at the ſame time the ſailing of this fleet was prevented, the Engliſh were to uſe their utmoſt diligence to hinder the flota from coming in, without ſharing in the riches that were on board. Blake and Montague executed their orders with equal ſkill and induſtry, taking care to obtain a ſupply of freſh proviſions and water, as often as they had occaſion, from the Portugal coaſt. Thither for that purpoſe they had ſailed with the greateſt part of the fleet, when the ſquadron from the Indies approached Cadiz. Rear-admiral Stayner, with ſeven frigates, plied to and fro, till theſe eight large ſhips were in view, which he preſently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his veſſels, becauſe they lay very low in the water, for fiſhermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the Speaker, the Bridgwater, and the Plymouth, he did his buſineſs; and, after an obſtinate engagement, ſunk two, run two more a-ground, and took two of the Spaniſh veſſels, ſo that two only eſcaped.

In one of thoſe that were deſtroyed was the marquis of Badajox, of the family of Lopez, who had been governor of Peru for the king of Spain, and periſhed miſerably, with the marchioneſs his wife, and their daughter; the eldeſt ſon and his brother were ſaved, and brought ſafe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was ſunk. The admiral who carried the flag, (for concealing the richeſt ſhip),

with

with the Portugal Prize, recovered the ſhore. Soon after, general Montague, with the young Marquis of Badajox, and part of the fleet to eſcort the ſilver, returned into England, delivered the bullion into the mint, and, upon his earneſt interpoſition, the young marquis was ſet at liberty.

The protector took a great deal of care of his new conqueſt, Jamaica; and within a very ſhort time after the return of Penn and Venables, ſent a conſiderable ſupply thither, and a ſquadron of men of war. Theſe troops were commanded by colonel Humfreys, but major Sedgwick went with him, and had a commiſſion to be governor of the iſland. When they came thither, they found things in a much better poſture than they expected. Colonel Doily, to whom Forteſcue, on account of ſickneſs, had reſigned his command, was a perſon ſo indefatigable, that he had ſubdued all the oppoſition he met with, and driven the Spaniards out of the iſland, notwithſtanding they had fortified themſelves in two or three places very ſtrongly, and had been abundantly ſupplied with artillery and ammunition from Cuba.

We now return to the proceedings of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till the month of April, 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet, which had put into the haven of Santa-cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, he immediately ſailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of April. Here he found the flota, conſiſting of ſix galleons very richly laden, and ten other veſſels. The latter lay within the port, with a ſtrong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, becauſe they drew too much water to lye within it. The port itſelf was ſtrongly fortified, having on the north a large caſtle well ſupplied with artillery, and ſeven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with muſketeers. The Spaniſh governor thought the place ſo ſecure, and his own diſpoſitions ſo well made, that when the maſter of a Dutch ſhip deſired leave to ſail, becauſe he apprehended Blake would preſently attack the ſhips in the harbour, the

the Spaniards anſwered tartly, "Get you gone, if you will, and let Blake come, if he dares.

The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to attempt deſtroying the enemy's ſhips; for it was impoſſible to bring them off: and to this end he ſent captain Stayner with a ſquadron to attack them, who ſoon forced his paſſage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindered them from giving the ſhips much diſturbance. Staynard's ſquadron was quickly ſupported by Blake with the whole fleet, who boarded the Spaniſh galleons, and in a few hours made himſelf maſter of them all, and then ſet them on fire; ſo that the whole Spaniſh fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ſhips which ſunk outright; and then, the wind veering to S. W. he paſſed with his fleet ſafe out of the port again, loſing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about 120 wounded.

When the protector had the news of this glorious ſucceſs, he immediately ſent it by his ſecretary Thurloe to the parliament then ſitting; and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be ſet apart for a thankſgiving, a ring of the value of 500 pounds to the general as a teſtimony of his country's gratitude, a preſent of 100 to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and ſoldiers concerned in the action. Captain Richard Stayner, returning ſoon after, was knighted by the protector: nor was it long before Blake and the fleet returned, which put an end to the Spaniſh war by ſea; for the protector had lately entered into a cloſer conjunction with France, and, in conſequence thereof, ſent over a body of land-forces into Flanders, where they aſſiſted in taking the fortreſs and port of Dunkirk, which was delivered into the hands of the Engliſh, who kept it till after the Reſtoration.

There had been for ſome years a very ſharp war carried on between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, which in its conſequences was like to affect the maritime powers. The Dutch ſaw that their trade to the Baltic would be ruined if the king of Sweden prevailed, who was now become the ſuperior both by land and ſea; they there-

therefore reſolved to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the Danes, which they did, and thereby ſaved Copenhagen. In England it was judged to be of no leſs conſequence to ſuccour the Swedes; and therefore Sir George Ayſcue, who was drawn out of his retirement to command upon this occaſion, had orders to accept a commiſſion as admiral from the king of Sweden, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his ſervice, than the Dutch did in favour of their allies.

This was in the year 1658; but it was ſo late in the ſeaſon, that the ſquadron was not able to reach Copenhagen for the ice.

All expeditions by ſea are liable to great uncertainty, even when planned with the greateſt ſkill. The protector and his council projected this. Sir G. Ayſcue went in a Swediſh ſhip with a number of gallant officers attached to him, and reſolved to follow his fortunes; but the Engliſh ſquadron commanded by vice-admiral Goodſon, was to act in conjunction with Sir George, when he publiſhed his Swediſh commiſſion. But, this fleet being long retarded by contrary winds, the protector died in the mean time. However, Richard, purſued his father's ſcheme, had ſent it; and on account of the ice, as is before mentioned, this fleet returned again to England, without effecting any thing, to the great joy of the Danes and Dutch. This diſappointment, joined to the many difficulties ariſen upon the demiſe of Oliver, it was generally conceived that the Engliſh would have meddled no farther in this affair. It proved otherwiſe, however; for a ſtout fleet was fitted out, and ſent into the Baltic under the command of admiral Montague, who had acquired a great reputation by ſerving in conjunction with Blake. He had, beſides his commiſſion of admiral, another, whereby he was joined in the negotiation in the north wi h the ambaſſadors Sidney and Honeywood. He arrived at Copenhagen, and managed his affairs with great dexterity; for he avoided coming to blows, that he might not begin a new Dutch war, compelled the king of Sweden to think of peace, to which he was otherwiſe very little inclined, and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of thoſe high offices with which he was intruſted, he entertained

tertained a ſecret correſpondence with the king, and diſpoſed all things on board the fleet for his ſervice.

When meaſures were concerted for Sir George Booth's riſing, which was the laſt attempt made in favour of his majeſty before his reſtoration, notice of it was given to admiral Montague at Copenhagen, who inſtantly reſolved to return to England. His fellow-ambaſſadors, who were very able men, and hearty republicans, had this time gained ſome intelligence of his intercourſe with the king, and therefore intended to have ſeized him in caſe he came aſhore. He was wiſe enough never to put it in their power, and took care alſo to run no riſk in returning without orders; for having called a council of war, he complained to them that proviſions grew ſhort, and that it would be a very difficult thing to ſupply themſelves in that part of the world, there being a Dutch fleet there at the ſame time. Upon this it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail home immediately; and this reſolution was no ſooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor, and returned to England unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another ſituation than he expected. Sir George Booth had been defeated and taken priſoner, and the old parliament was again reſtored; ſo that admiral Montague, though he had forty ſail of ſtout ſhips under his command, and the ſeamen much at his devotion, yet thought it ſafeſt to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in September, 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his houſe in the country. The command of the fleet was then intruſted with admiral Lawſon, who continued in the channel with a larger ſquadron of ſhips than ordinary, till general Monk came out of Scotland. As ſoon as the deſigns began to ripen, he propoſed that Montague ſhould be recalled, and reſtored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the ſupreme command in maritime affairs veſted in him and Monk.

Admiral Montague went inſtantly to his command, and was not a little ſurprized to find that Lawſon and the reſt of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much diſſemble either his inclinations or intentions.

On the fourth of April, 1660, he received his majeſty's letter, and cauſed it to be read publickly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he ſailed for Holland, and ſent an officer to the Hague, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him.

We have thus, without entering deep into politics, run through the naval tranſactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the moſt eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed therein to employ our care.

## MEMOIRS OF ADMIRAL BLAKE.

HIS deſcent was honourable, the family from which he ſprung having been long ſettled at Plansfield, in the pariſh of Spaxton in Somerſetſhire. Mr. Humphry Blake, his father, was a Spaniſh merchant, and having acquired a conſiderable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a ſmall eſtate in Bridgwater, where his family had been long ſettled. He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt was Robert, whoſe life we are now to write. He was born in the month of Auguſt, 1598, and, during his father's life-time, was educated at a free-ſchool in Bridgwater. He afterwards removed to Oxford, where he was firſt a member of St. Alban's-hall, and next of Wadham-college. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one diſappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical preferment, he left the univerſity, when he had ſtaid there ſeven years.

During his reſidence in that ſeat of the muſes, he ſufficiently diſplayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humouriſt, uſually grave, and in appearance moroſe; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends, to be very chearful, though ſtill with a tincture of ſeverity, which diſpoſed him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of churchmen; which rendered him very agreeable to the good fellows in thoſe days; though whether there was any ground from this diſpoſition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not eaſy to be determined. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known averſion

averſion to perſecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgeſs for Bridgwater, in the parliament which ſat in April 1640.

That aſſembly was diſſolved too early for Mr. Blake to make any diſcovery therein of his talents as a ſenator; and in the long parliament, which ſat ſoon after, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the king and the parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their ſervice; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very ſoon made a captain of dragoons, in which ſtation he ſhewed himſelf as able and active an officer as any in the ſervice, and as ſuch was conſtantly employed upon all occaſions, where either boldneſs or dexterity were particularly requiſite.

In 1643 we find him at Briſtol, under the command of colonel Fiennes, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his military virtues; for, on the 26th of July, when Prince Rupert attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. Blake ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the king's forces. This exaſperated Prince Rupert to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war; and at their requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed upon to give up the fort.

After this he ſerved in Somerſetſhire, under the command of Popham, who was governor of Lyme, to whoſe regiment Blake was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment was Somerſetſhire men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with Sir Robert Pye, ſurpriſed Taunton for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the parliament had in the weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong. He had no very numerous garriſon; yet, by keeping a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well,

well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces.

At length general Goring came before the place with near ten thouſand men, and preſſed Blake ſo cloſe, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took from him a part of the town. However, he held out the reſt of it and the caſtle with wonderful obſtinacy till relief came; for which extraordinary ſervice the parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of two thouſand pounds, and honoured colonel Blake with a preſent of five hundred pounds.

Colonel Blake, in April, 1646, marched with a detachment from his garriſon, and reduced Dunſter-caſtle, a ſeat belonging to the ancient family of Luttrell, the troops poſted therein having given great diſturbance to the country; which was the laſt military achievement he performed during this war. In December following, the parliament ordered five hundred pounds to be paid him for diſbanding ſome forces.

It is not eaſy to gueſs what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always ſerved as a horſe-officer, to take the ſupreme command of the fleet. All our hiſtorians are ſilent as to their motive; and therefore I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themſelves the rank, though not the title, of ſtates-general, and therefore might be inclined to make uſe of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by ſuch as were ſkilful in their profeſſion, either as ſeamen or ſoldiers; for, in their judgment, to command was one thing, and to act another. On the 12th of February, 1648-9, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners of the navy, and upon the 21ſt an act paſſed, as we have elſewhere taken notice, appointing him, in conjunction with Deane and Popham, to command the fleet. His firſt ſervice was driving Prince Rupert's fleet from the Iriſh coaſt, and then following him into the Mediterranean. This gave his maſters high ſatisfaction, both in reſpect to his capacity and his fidelity in their ſervice, which they likewiſe acknowledged very obligingly. His conduct indeed was equally

equally prudent and ſucceſsful; for it not only put an end to that pyratical war, which did ſo much damage to trade, but alſo ſtruck ſuch a terror into the Spaniards and Portugueſe, as to prevent all thoſe diſputes which otherwiſe would have naturally happened on the appearance of ſo new a power in Europe, as the commonwealth of England.

In the month of February, 1651, Blake, in his return homewards, took a French man of war of forty guns; in reſpect to which action there happened ſome circumſtances that certainly deſerve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and aſked him, if he was willing to lay down his ſword? he anſwered he was not: upon which Blake generouſly bid him return to his ſhip, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then ſubmitting, went again on board Blake's ſhip, firſt kiſſed and then preſented his ſword to the admiral upon his knees. This ſhip, with four more, the admiral ſent into England; and not long after arriving at Plymouth with his ſquadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament for his vigilance and valour in his ſtation, and was conſtituted one of the lords wardens of the cinque ports, as an additional mark of their eſteem and confidence.

In March following, colonels Blake, Popham and Deane, or any two of them, were again appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year enſuing, in which he reduced the iſlands of Scilly, Guernſey, and Jerſey, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was on the 25th of November elected one of the council of ſtate. When the neceſſity of a Dutch war became apparent, the parliament gave the higheſt teſtimony of their ſenſe of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by conſtituting him, in March, 1652, ſole general of the fleet for nine months. We have already given a diſtinct account of the battle in the Downs, on the 19th of May, 1652, excepting ſome circumſtances which relate to Blake, and which were therefore reſerved for this place.

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When he obſerved Van Tromp bore nearer his fleet than he had any occaſion to do, he ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of ſtriking ſail; upon which, the Dutchman, in contempt, fired on the contrary ſide. Blake fired a ſecond and a third gun, which Van Tromp anſwered with a broadſide: the Engliſh admiral perceiving his intention to fight, detached himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with Van Tromp upon that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood, and a national quarrel: when Blake approached nearer to Van Tromp, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations, fired on Blake with whole broadſides. The admiral was in the cabbin drinking with ſome officers, little expecting to be ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows of the ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a paſſion. He commanded his men to anſwer the Dutch in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, "he "took it very ill of Van Tromp that he ſhould take "his ſhip for a bawdy-houſe, and break his windows." Blake ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the Dutch fleet for ſome time, till his own ſhips, and the ſquadron under major Bourne could join them; and then the engagement grew hot on both, and bloody on the enemy's ſide, till night put an end to it.

In the beginning of July, finding Sir George Ayſcue returned from Barbadoes, and a force ſufficient to guard the Downs, he reſolved to ſail northwards, to execute a deſign he had long meditated, of deſtroying the herring fiſhery, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the Dutch of the folly of diſputing our ſovereignty in our own ſeas.

On the ſecond of July, Blake bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the Dutch fiſhing veſſels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war. Blake attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great ſupply of freſh men from the veſſels under their care, fought bravely, and ſold their freedom dearly; but at laſt were every one taken, which left the fiſhery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occaſion ſhewed the rectitude of his heart, and the

the ſolidity of his underſtanding; for having thus threatened thoſe buſſes with utter deſtruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what King Charles demanded; and where this was refuſed, he ſunk or drove away their ſhips.

His ſubſequent conduct during the Dutch war has been already thoroughly accounted for, and therefore I ſhall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the Seamen eaſy, notwithſtanding all the changes that happened in the government. He told them, it was his and their buſineſs to act faithfully in their reſpective ſtations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home, and would often ſay amongſt his officers, that ſtate affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us. Theſe principles rendered him agreeable to all parties.

When he ſailed in 1654 into the Mediterranean, he came in the month of December into the road of Cadiz, where he was received with great reſpect and civility by the Spaniards, and indeed by all nations as well as the Engliſh, who were then in the port. A Dutch admiral would not wear his flag while the Engliſh was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the French admiral and ſeven men of war near the Straits mouth. The captain of the victualling-ſloop was ordered on board the admiral, who inquired of him where Blake was, drank his health with five guns, and ſo wiſhed the captain a good voyage. The Algerines ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that they were wont to ſtop the Sallee rovers, and, in caſe they had any priſoners on board, took them out, and ſent them to Blake, in hopes thereby of obtaining his favour.

He ſailed from Cadiz to Malaga. Some of his ſeamen, going aſhore, met with the hoſt as it was carrying to ſome ſick perſon, and not only paid no reſpect thereto, but laughed at thoſe who did. The prieſt who accompanied it highly reſented this, and put the people on revenging the indignity; upon which they fell upon the

the ſailors, and beat ſome of them very ſeverely. When they returned on board, they complained of this ill uſage, and the admiral inſtantly ſent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the prieſt who was the author of this inſult. The viceroy anſwered, that he had no authority over prieſts, and therefore could not ſend him. Upon this Blake ſent a meſſage, that he would not enter into the queſtion, who had power to ſend him; but that, if he was not ſent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, obliged the viceroy to ſend the prieſt, who, when he came on board, excuſed himſelf to the admiral on account of the behaviour of the ſailors. Blake with much calmneſs and compoſure told him, that, if he had complained of this outrage, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely; for he would not ſuffer any of his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of a place where he touched; but he blamed him for ſetting on a mob of Spaniards to beat them, "and he would have "him and the whole world know, that none but an "ENGLISHMAN ſhould chaſtiſe an ENGLISHMAN"

In a ſhort time after the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet at Teneriff, we find Blake cruiſing again off the harbour of Cadiz, where perceiving his ſhips were become foul, and that his own health and ſpirits hourly wore away, he reſolved to ſail for England. His diſtemper was a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at ſea, and wanting all that time the conveniencies requiſite for the cure of his diſeaſe. In his paſſage home, he became ſo ſenſible of his approaching end, that he frequently inquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native ſoil, which, however he did not live to ſee, dying as his ſhip the St. George entered Plymouth-ſound, on the 17th of Auguſt, 1657, at about fifty-nine years of age. His body was the next day embalmed and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at Plymouth, and his corpſe, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to Greenwich-houſe, from whence he reſolved to have it carried in great pomp to Weſtminſter-abbey, and there interred with the utmoſt ſolemnity, as the laſt mark of reſpect that could be paid by men to

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the noble ſpirit which once animated this tenement of clay.

On the fourth of September, after the corpſe had lain ſeveral days in ſtate, it was carried from Greenwich in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, remoter relations, and their ſervants, in mourning; by Oliver's privy-council, the commiſſioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor and aldermen of London; the field-officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to Weſtminſter-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner, through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general Lambert, though then in diſgrace with the protector, attended on his horſe. The funeral proceſſion over, the body was interred in a vault, built on purpoſe, in the chapel of Henry VII.

Dr. Bate, in drawing his character, ſays, "He was "a man deſerving praiſe even from an enemy. Being "advanced to a command at ſea, he ſubdued the Scilly "iſlands near home; and having attained the office and "title of an admiral, performed things worthy of im-"mortal memory. For he humbled the pride of "France, reduced Portugal to reaſon, broke the naval "force of Holland, and drove them to the ſhelter of "their ports, ſuppreſſed the rovers of Barbary, and "twice triumphed over Spain. Alone blameable in "this, that he complied with the parricides." Honeſt Anthony Wood, who obſerves, that he was admired and applauded by the royaliſts, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praiſes thus: "He was a man wholly de-"voted to his country's ſervice, reſolute in undertak-"ings, and moſt faithful in the performance of them. "With him, valour ſeldom miſſed its reward, nor "cowardice its puniſhment."

MEMOIRS

# MEMOIRS

## OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

# NAVAL HISTORY.

## CHAP. XVI.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of King Charles II. from the time of his reſtoration: containing a diſtinct account of the ſeveral expeditions againſt the Algerines; the two Dutch wars, and other naval tranſactions; the ſtate of our foreign trade and plantations; with memoirs of all the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in his reign.

WHEN the miſeries flowing from the ruin of our old conſtitution had taught the nation, that the ſhorteſt as well as only way to peace and happineſs, was to build up again what they had deſtroyed; the ſeamen ſhewed greater readineſs than any other ſort of men to execute this ſalutary deſign; and without waiting for any further orders than thoſe which came from their own officers,

ficers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coaſt; where, after giving new names to the ſhips, they received his Majeſty, the duke of York, and other perſons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and ſafely landed them in Kent.

For this ſervice, Mr. Montague, who commanded the fleet, was created earl of Sandwich, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highneſs the duke of York. Sir John Lawſon, Sir Richard Staynor, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleaſed to promiſe the ſeamen in general a particular ſhare in his favour and eſteem.

In the beginning of this prince's adminiſtration, he certainly ſhewed a great attention to the public intereſt; and, as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, ſo for ſome time he kept a ſtrict eye on whatever related to the fleet. In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went with a ſquadron of nine men of war to Helvoetſluys, to bring over the king's ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange, who not long after died in England.

Upon this occaſion he received great honours in Holland; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people ſhewed for our king's nephew, the young prince of Orange, (afterwards King William), and for the Engliſh on his account, gave ſome jealouſy to the ſtates, which was increaſed by a memorial preſented by the princeſs at her departure, recommending her ſon to their care, and deſiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his anceſtors had enjoyed. On the twenty-fourth of the ſame month the fleet returned; and his Majeſty and the duke of York going on board the admiral's ſhip, named the Reſolution, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the ſtate of every ſhip in the ſquadron next morning.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his Majeſty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thouſand pounds, the iſland of Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies, and

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the city of Tangier in Africa; it became neceſſary to ſend a fleet to bring over the queen, and to ſecure the laſt-mentioned city againſt any attempt from the Moors. For this purpoſe the earl of Sandwich was again ſent with a numerous fleet, which ſailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs, after having been firſt viſited by the duke of York.

His Lordſhip ſailed firſt to Liſbon, and from thence to Tangier, which place was put into the hands of the Engliſh on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an Engliſh garriſon, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portugueſe governor. The admiral then returned to Liſbon, where he received the queen's portion, conſiſting in money, in jewels, ſugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then ſailed with her Majeſty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

There was certainly no occaſion for ſo large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for ſending ſuch a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was ſeized to execute things of greater moment. To put an end to this, the earl of Sandwich with his fleet came before Algiers the 29th of June, 1661, and ſent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal perſon in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders alſo to bring off Mr. Brown, the conſul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propoſitions were made to the regency, by captain Spragge and conſul Brown. About eleven o'clock theſe gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an anſwer, that the government of Algiers would conſent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of ſearching our ſhips. This inſolence of theſe ſea-robbers ſprung out of the jealouſy of the chriſtian powers, who would never unite to cruſh this neſt of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to ſome prince of their own faith, which would be a benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-

mole-head to the oppoſite corner of their port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raiſed, they might be able to defend themſelves from any attempts that could be made by ſea. The earl of Sandwich, however, reſolved to make a bold trial to burn the ſhips in the harbour, but the wind prevented him; ſo that, after a good deal of firing on both ſides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ſhips, the admiral thought fit to ſail for Liſbon, on the firſt of Auguſt, leaving Sir John Lawſon with a ſtrong ſquadron, to protect the Engliſh trade and haraſs the enemy; which he performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that after taking many of their ſhips, he, by degrees, forced all theſe pyratical ſtates to conclude a peace with Great-Britain, without any reſervation as to their favourite article of ſearching our ſhips; though, it muſt be confeſſed, that the Algerines, retaining ſtill a ſtrong opinion of the ſtrength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; which obliged the government here to ſend freſh orders to Sir John Lawſon, to employ force in bringing them to reaſon.

We are now to enter upon a more ſerious affair than any that had hitherto claimed the care of the Engliſh court. On his firſt return to the throne of his anceſtors, King Charles and his miniſters had certainly ſhewn a great concern for the true intereſt of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our hiſtory, who obſerves the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. By the former he ſecured the poſſeſſion of Jamaica, though it had been acquired by Cromwell, and thereby obtained ſome ſort of ſatisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his reſtoration, when it is certain that the Spaniards would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to Breda.

He alſo reſtored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spaniſh trade; and the affection of this people to the Engliſh, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ſhips of war to enter their ports,

as

as the Dutch writers themſelves tell us. The treaty with Holland carried things alſo to a great height; for it not only ſecured the reſpect due to the Engliſh flag, but likewiſe procured ſome other conceſſions very honourable for the nation, and the iſland Pulo Ron, for the Eaſt-India company. His Majeſty had alſo an intention to have ſecured abſolutely and for ever the fiſhery on the Britiſh coaſt to his own ſubjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not over eaſy to account; and yet, without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value.

The Dutch began early to conceive jealous prejudices againſt the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their ſuperiors in commerce, in which we were every day viſibly increaſing. Theſe ſentiments engaged them, and eſpecially their Eaſt and Weſt India companies, which then carried on the greateſt part of their commerce, to take various ſteps, in thoſe parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the Engliſh. The Eaſt-India company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the Engliſh were to receive, peremptorily refuſed to deliver up the iſland before mentioned, and pretended to preſcribe the places where, and the terms on which the Engliſh ſhould trade in the reſt of the ports of India. The other company trod exactly in their ſteps, and proceeded ſo far as to get Cape-corſe caſtle into their hands, which belonged to the Engliſh company trading to Africa.

The duke of York was at this time governor of the African company, and, being informed of this, ſent major, afterwards Sir Robert Holmes, with four frigates, to the coaſt of Guinea, in order to make repriſals. This was in 1661; and Sir Robert, in conſequence of this commiſſion, ſummoned the Dutch to ſurrender cape Verde to the company within a limited time, yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a ſmall fort poſſeſſed by the Dutch, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the Engliſh, were at length obliged to ſurrender; and the fort, being in the hands of our company,

company, received the name of James-fort in honour of the duke. From thence proceeding to the river Gambia, he diſlodged the Hollanders, and built a new fort.

The Hollanders ſtill refuſing to deliver up to us cape Corſe, Sir Robert was ſent a ſecond time, *anno* 1663, with a ſmall ſquadron, to take it out of their hands by force. But, ſearching a Dutch ſhip by the way, he found expreſs orders (as king Charles informs the ſtates in his letter, October 4, 1666) from the Dutch Weſt-India company to their governor, general Valkenburg, to ſeize the Engliſh fort at Cormantin; which diſcovery diſpoſed him to go, as he thought he had a right, beyond his original commiſſion.

In the latter end of the month of January, 1664, Sir Robert Holmes arrived with his ſquadron at Cape Verde. This cape is part of the main land of Africa. About a cannon-ſhot from thence lies the now ſo well known iſland Goree, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furniſhed with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: the former was called fort Naſſau, the latter fort Orange. Sir Robert firſt ſummoned theſe two forts on the iſland Goree; and, becauſe the governor refuſed to ſurrender, he attacked and took them next day, together with a ſhip called the Crocodile, lying under their protection, after having the evening before taken two other Dutch ſhips, called the Niſch-korf and the Viſcher. In theſe forts he found a great quantity of goods ready to be ſhipped for Holland, and, among the reſt, 20,000 hides. Theſe he loaded on his own and the Dutch ſhips, and tranſported them to Sierra Liona.

He next proceeded to attack St. George del Mina, the ſtrongeſt of all the Dutch forts; but though himſelf and his ſeamen acted with great bravery, yet the deſign miſcarried, and he was obliged to ſheer off with ſome loſs. To repair this misfortune, he reſolved to attack Capecorſe caſtle, which, though it was ſo ſtrong by ſituation, that 100 men might have kept it againſt 1000, yet he ſoon took it and ſome other places; after which he ſailed from the coaſt of Guinea to North-America, where he reduced a Dutch ſettlement, called the New Netherlands,

Netherlands, in the month of Auguſt, 1664, changing the name into that of New-York, in honour of the duke.

Theſe proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the Engliſh were done by the Dutch Weſt-India company; the repriſals made by the Engliſh were under the charter of the African company; the crown had not either fitted out Sir Robert Holmes, or given him any commiſſion. But when the news of what was done reached Holland, the de Witte faction reſolved inſtantly to fall upon the Engliſh in thoſe parts with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their deſign to repair themſelves in damages for what, without any royal commiſſion, Holmes had taken from them.

The chief difficulty lay in ſending ſuch a fleet ſafely into thoſe ſeas, before the deſign could be known in England, and the project formed by them, as it was in contrivance very ſubtle and fraudulent, ſo it was executed with equal cunning and ſucceſs. Admiral de Ruyter was at that time in the Mediterranean, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or at leaſt to defend their merchants from the inſults of the piratical ſtates; to which end, as we before obſerved, Sir John Lawſon was alſo there with a ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips, and the ſtates requeſted of king Charles, that theſe two admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove de Ruyter from thence, and to ſend him to commit hoſtilities againſt us, then acting as their allies, on the coaſt of Guinea, and in the Weſt-Indies. To this he was himſelf well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and Sir John Lawſon about the ſalute at ſea, which the Dutch admiral paid, and Sir John refuſed to return, alledging, that his orders did not allow him to ſtrike to the ſubjects of any king or ſtate whatever. In other reſpects he aſſiſted the Dutch as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

The majority of the ſtates-general of the united provinces were not for a war with England, and conſequently ſuch orders as the miniſters of the de Witte party wanted, to authoriſe de Ruyter, were not to be had

had from them in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the Louveſtein faction reſolved to ſacrifice their conſtitution. De Ruyter had ſent home an account of his proceedings againſt the pirates: they got this report referred to a commitee of ſeven who were in their intereſts, and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to ſail to the coaſt of Guinea, there to make repriſals upon the Engliſh. But, as this order muſt be read to, and approved by the ſtates, the miniſters took care to draw it up in looſe and equivocal terms, procuring alſo the ſecretary to read it over to them in ſuch a hurry as rendered it altogether unintelligible; then they thruſt it among ſome orders of courſe, and engaging ſuch as they thought would be againſt it, in private converſation, it was read without being attended to, or its importance apprehended. Laſtly, it was brought with a bundle of papers, moſt of them mere matters of form, to be ſigned by the preſident for the week, who, as uſual, ſet his hand to this amongſt the reſt, without reading. This is a true ſtate of the fact, as reported by the Dutch hiſtorians.

When de Ruyter received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers, but, having firſt got ſuch a ſupply of proviſions as he thought might be neceſſary, pretended to have ſudden information of certain pirates cruiſing near the Canaries; and, under colour of giving chaſe to theſe, he ſailed to Cape de Verde, and ſo far executed his commiſſion, as to oblige the governors for our African company either to ſurrender or demoliſh ſeveral of their forts. He likewiſe ſeized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company: after which he made himſelf maſter of fort Cormantin, a place which was built by, and had always been in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. But Cape Corſe and Chama (two of the places taken by Sir Robert Holmes) remained unreduced. From the coaſt of Guinea de Ruyter ſailed to Barbadoes, where he attacked a conſiderable fleet of merchant ſhips lying under protection of the forts, but was repulſed with great loſs. Then paſſing over to Montſerrat, Nevis, and Newfoundland, he took above twenty ſail of Engliſh ſhips, and ſo returned to Holland.

Theſe actions on both ſides ſerved to exaſperate the two nations, and to haſten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the Dutch in January, and by the Engliſh in February, 1665. But, before it came to that, the Heer van Goch was ſent by the ſtates to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the king's anſwer was, that he had received no particular information of the

affairs in Guinea, and that the two companies muſt decide their diſputes. Theſe complaints of the ambaſſadors being likewiſe retaliated by the Engliſh merchants, whoſe inceſſant repreſentations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of ſatisfaction, as the conſtant refuſal of the ſatisfaction demanded was the cauſe of the open rupture.

The firſt action of conſequence, that happened after the war actually broke out, was the attacking a Dutch fleet coming richly laden from Smyrna upon the Spaniſh coaſt near Cadiz. It conſiſted of forty merchant ſhips, ſome of them very large, and well provided with ordnance, and their convoy was compoſed of four third-rate men of war. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the Engliſh ſquadron, had with him about nine ſhips. With theſe he attacked the enemy ſo ſucceſsfully, that having killed their commodore Brackel, and taken or ſunk four of their richeſt ſhips, he drove the reſt into the bay of Cadiz, where for ſome time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the ſame kind befel the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, out of which about 130 ſhips were taken. Some of theſe, however, appearing to be French bottoms, were diſcharged; but the far greater part were declared good prizes.

Theſe heavy misfortunes obliged the Dutch to lay an immediate embargo on all veſſels in their ports, by which their fiſheries, and all the annual commerce, were ſtopped for that ſeaſon. They likewiſe ſettled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the ſupport of the war; and, in order to ſhew that there ought to be ſome difference between ſuch as are made by trading nations, and thoſe entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirſt of dominion; they ordered about fifty Engliſh and Scots veſſels, which had been ſeized in their harbours, to be ſet at liberty; and, on the arrival of thoſe ſhips in England, the civility was returned by a like releaſe of all the Dutch ſhips that had been ſtopped here.

The Engliſh fleet was firſt ready, though the Dutch were the firſt who began to arm. This fleet of ours conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen ſail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire ſhips and ketches, and had about twenty-two thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of York, as lord high admiral, Prince Rupert was admiral of the white, and the earl of Sandwich of the blue. April 21, 1665, the Engliſh ſailed for the Dutch coaſt, and on the 28th ſent in a ſquadron ſo near the ſhore and harbour of the Texel, that the

the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the fleet was ſo ruffled by a ſtorm, that it was found neceſſary to retire towards our own ſhore.

This opportunity the Dutch took of ſending out their fleet, which, by the latter end of May, appeared about the Dogger Sands. They were divided into ſeven ſquadrons, the firſt under Opdam, conſiſting of fourteen men of war, and two fire ſhips; the ſecond under John Everts, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral Cortenaer, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and one fire ſhip; the fourth was under Stillingwert, compoſed likewiſe of fourteen men of war and a fire ſhip; the fifth conducted by Van Tromp, the ſon of the famous old admiral, made up of ſixteen men of war and two fire ſhips; the ſixth under Cornelius Everts, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and a fire ſhip; the laſt commanded by Schram, in which were ſixteen men of war and two fire ſhips; in all, a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire ſhips, and ſeven yachts. A mighty fleet, far ſuperior to what the French conceived it poſſible for the ſtates to fit out, and well furniſhed with men; but this was by the help of their India ſhips, whence they were moſtly taken, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force.

The duke of York being retired with our navy from the Dutch coaſt when they came out, afforded them an opportunity to fall on our Hamburgh fleet, which they did not neglect; and they were ſo fortunate therein as to take the greateſt part, by which our merchants ſuffered near two hundred thouſand pounds loſs. This exceedingly exaſperated the Engliſh, and at the ſame time raiſed not a little the ſpirits of the Dutch.

Admiral Opdam, who commanded the latter, was a prudent as well as a truly gallant commander. The great John de Witte raiſed him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of Orange, he became his enemy, and as ſoon as he was out at ſea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with ſuch a peculiar quickneſs of ſtyle, as proved the letter his, though written in the name of the ſtates. Opdam reſolved to obey theſe orders, though contrary to the advice of moſt of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his ſending aſhore his plate before the engagement: but more ſo from his expreſſions on taking the ſentiments of a council of war: "I am," ſaid he, "entirely in your ſentiments; but here "are my orders. To-morrow my head ſhall be bound "with laurel or with cypreſs:" and in this diſpoſition he

ſailed to find out the Engliſh navy. That did not require much time; for the duke of York was no leſs eager to revenge the loſs of the Hamburgh fleet. On the 3d of June the Engliſh and Dutch navies engaged about three in the morning off Leoſtoff, when, by an overſight of the Dutch, the Engliſh had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to uſe as well as keep.

This went at firſt very equally on both ſides, ſeveral ſquadrons charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of Sandwich, with the blue ſquadron, fell into the center of the Dutch fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confuſion which ended in a total defeat. The duke of York in the Royal Charles, a ſhip of eighty guns, and admiral Opdam in the Eendracht, of eighty-four, were cloſely engaged. The fight continued for ſome hours with great obſtinacy, and his royal highneſs was in the utmoſt danger. Several perſons of diſtinction were killed on board his ſhip, particularly the earl of Falmouth, the king's favourite, Lord Muſkerry and Mr. Boyle, ſon to the earl of Corke, and ſo near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains; nay, a ſplinter from the laſt mentioned gentleman's ſkull razed his hand. About one, the Dutch admiral blew up, with a prodigious noiſe; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some ſay, a ſhot fell into the powder room; others, that Opdam's black blew up the ſhip, to be revenged of his maſter for beating him. The moſt probable account is, that it was occaſioned by ſome accident in diſtributing the powder. In this veſſel, together with the admiral, periſhed five hundred men, only five of the whole crew eſcaping; many of thoſe loſt were volunteers, of the beſt families of Holland, and not a few Frenchmen, who took this opportunity of being preſent in a ſea fight.

A little after this unlucky blow, the Dutch received ſtill a greater. Four fine ſhips, the biggeſt of ſixty, the leaſt of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire ſhip: ſoon after, three larger veſſels by the ſame accident ſhared the ſame fate. The Orange, a ſhip of ſeventy-five guns, after a moſt gallant defence, was alſo burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into confuſion. Vice-admiral Stillingwert was ſhot through the middle by a cannon ball; vice admiral Cortenaer received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he inſtantly died. Theſe ſhips bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without ſtriking their flags, drew many after them; ſo, that, by

eight

eight at night, Tromp, who held out bravely to the laſt, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ſhips left with him. This was the moſt ſignal victory the Engliſh ever gained, and the ſevereſt blow the Dutch ever felt at ſea.

According to our accounts, which upon a ſtrict examination I have always found moderate, the Dutch had eighteen ſhips taken, and fourteen ſunk in this action, beſides ſuch as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ſhips taken, one (their admiral) blown up, and eight burnt. As to our loſs, which was far more unaccountable, there is no diſpute about it. We loſt the Charity, a ſhip of forty-ſix guns, with moſt of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty men wounded: on the other ſide, they loſt at leaſt ſix thouſand men, including two thouſand three hundred taken priſoners. Yet ſome great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, ſuch as the earls of Portland and Marlborough, vice admiral Sampſon, and Sir John Lawſon, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he ſurvived the battle.

The Dutch aſcribe this ſignal defeat in a great meaſure to the ill conduct of their own officers and ſeamen, many of whom, according to the genius of the nation, were ſeverely puniſhed.

There is very little room to doubt, that if there had not been ſome miſmanagement on the ſide of the Engliſh, this, as it was the firſt, might have been alſo the laſt action in this war; for the Dutch fleet fled in great confuſion, their captains behaving ill, and their admirals quarrelling about the command.

It is far from being an eaſy matter to inform the reader, how this came to paſs. But after having examined the point, with as much impartiality, as well as diligence, as the great importance of it deſerved, it appears to have ſtood thus. The duke, in quality of lord high admiral, had two captains on his ſhip, Sir William Penn, who had the rank of a vice admiral; and captain, afterwards Sir John Harman. Sir William was gone to reſt, as well as the duke, ſo that the command remained in captain Harman, who was himſelf at the helm, when one Mr. Brounker, who was of the duke's bedchamber, came and told him, "that he "ought to conſider, how much his royal highneſs's perſon "had been already expoſed in the action, and how much "greater riſk he might run, if their ſhip, which was the "headmoſt of the fleet, ſhould fall in ſingle with thoſe of the "enemy,

" enemy, upon their own coaſts." Harman heard him, but anſwered like an honeſt brave man, as he was, that he could do nothing without orders. Brounker upon this, went to the duke's cabin, and returned with orders, in his royal highneſs's name, to make leſs ſail; theſe captain Harman, without the leaſt ſcruple, obeyed, which created ſome confuſion in the Engliſh fleet, ſeveral ſhips being very near running foul on each other.

In the morning, the duke expreſſed ſurpriſe and reſentment, to find they were at ſuch a diſtance from the Dutch. It then appeared, that either through cowardice, or ſomething worſe, Brounker had carried captain Harman orders, which he never received. However, this was concealed from his royal highneſs, and other excuſes made, ſuch as a briſk wind from ſhore, and their fire ſhips being all ſpent. However, at the end of the war, when the Houſe of Commons was out of humour, this affair was mentioned, and inquired into; upon which Brounker, who was a member, was moſt deſervedly expelled, and ordered to be impeached, but that was never proſecuted.

His royal highneſs left the fleet ſoon after, and returned to London, to make a report of all things to the king. His majeſty having attended his mother to the coaſts, went on board the Royal Charles in the river, where he made a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the ſtate of their ſhips; and receiving ſatisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour, knighted the moſt conſiderable commanders, *viz.* admiral Tyddiman, captain Cuttings, captain Jordan, captain Spragge, *&c.* after which, he directed that all the ſhips ſhould be repaired with the utmoſt diligence, and the fleet, as ſoon as poſſible, be put into a condition to go out to ſea again.

The king's command, their generous ſenſe of their late victory, and the news of the two rich Dutch ſquadrons being at ſea, quickly brought out the Engliſh navy, to the number of ſixty ſail; and on the fifth of July, they ſteered from Southwold-bay, into which they put immediately after the laſt engagement, for the coaſt of Holland. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant earl of Sandwich, to whom Sir George Ayſcue was vice, and Sir Thomas Tyddiman rear admiral. Sir William Penn was admiral of the white, Sir William Berkely vice admiral, and Sir Joſeph Jordan rear admiral. The blue flag was carried by Sir Thomas Allen, whoſe vice and rear were, Sir Chriſtopher Minnes, and Sir John Harman. The deſigns they had in view were, to intercept de Ruyter in his return, or at leaſt

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to take and burn the Turkey and Eaſt-India fleets, of which they had certain intelligence.

They ſucceeded in neither of their ſchemes. De Ruyter returned unexpectedly by Scotland, and arrived ſafely in Holland, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet. The Turkey and India fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of commodore Bitter, choſe to take the ſame northern route, in hopes of avoiding the Engliſh navy; but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of Berghen in Norway.

The port was pretty eaſy of acceſs, and covered only by an old caſtle; the Daniſh governor promiſed the Dutch to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were diſpoſed on a line before the fort: then the Dutch drew another line croſs the bay, conſiſting of their largeſt ſhips; and in this poſture they waited for the Engliſh. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of Sandwich having advice of their being put into Berghen, had detached Sir Thomas Tyddiman with fourteen ſail of men of war, and three fire ſhips, to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was againſt them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire from the caſtle, the line, and the ſhips; ſo that at laſt he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loſs of a ſhip, though he had five or ſix very ill treated.

The ſtates by this time, partly by threats, partly by puniſhment, but ſtill more by promiſes and rewards, had again manned out a ſtout fleet. Admiral de Ruyter had the command of it, which gave no ſmall diſpleaſure to Tromp; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in appearance. Their great ſtateſman de Witte, not ſatisfied with directing all things in the Dutch councils, reſolved alſo to direct their fleets; to which end he got himſelf, and two other deputies, Meſſrs. Huygens and Boreel, appointed to attend the admiral.

The penſionary gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to ſea. When he came on board the fleet in the Texel, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimouſly of opinion, that they muſt wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two paſſages. As to the larger, they ſaid, that two and twenty

twenty winds might abſolutely hinder a fleet from ſailing through it; and that in reſpect to the latter, it was too ſhallow for large ſhips to paſs. M. de Witte, who was no ſeaman, inquired into the reaſon why ſo many winds ſhould keep them in, and the next morning demonſtrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that no winds blowing from more than four of theſe points, could produce this effect; which experience has ſince fully juſtified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of theſe four points, de Witte went the ſame day and examined the Spaniſh paſſage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. Van Haaren, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out two of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which they performed very ſafely, and the reſt followed the next day; and ever ſince this has been called DE WITTE'S PASSAGE.

The point he had principally in view was, to bring off the Eaſt-India fleet from Berghen, which was a very difficult thing, conſidering the Engliſh fleet was then at ſea. He found means, however, to paſs by them, and arrived ſafely before Berghen, where the Dutch had found a new enemy in their old defender. The Daniſh governor modeſtly deſired a hundred thouſand crowns for the aſſiſtance he had given them in the late affair, and threatened to ſink them without ceremony, if they offered to ſtir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they ſhould ſail then without paying the money; but in order to have ſomewhat towards it, he kept the cannon they had put aſhore.

Thus far de Witte was very ſucceſsful; but in his return home, the fleet was ſcattered by a ſtorm, in which were loſt two fire-ſhips, and ſome of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the Eaſt-India fleet, ſhips of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five Engliſh frigates, which the ſame ſtorm had ſeparated from our fleet; and ſoon after, four of their men of war, two fire-ſhips, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet inſtead of their own, and by this miſtake were all taken; which ended the operations of this year.

The French perceiving that the ſcales were no longer even, but that the Dutch would certainly be deſtroyed, if left entirely to themſelves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make ſuch a peace as we ſhould preſcribe, reſolved to declare in their favour.

It

It quickly appeared, that France, by taking this meaſure, meant to make herſelf at once a maritime power; for having promiſed to aſſiſt the Dutch with a fleet of ſix and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by Dutch carpenters, in the Dutch docks; twelve more were made out of large Indiamen, purchaſed in the ſame country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of Denmark. Beſides this, the French miniſter, the count d'Eſtrades, inſiſted upon the delivering up two Eaſt-India ſhips, of which the Dutch had made prizes, and wreſted from them many other conceſſions, to purchaſe his maſter's declaration in their favour, agreeable to his ſecret treaty anno 1662, which was the genuine ſource of this war, and a long train of miſeries with which this ſtate was afflicted.

When this was done, the French were for ſetting on foot a negotiation; but king Charles being then in the true intereſt of his ſubjects, was very deaf on that ear. He ſaid, the Dutch had injured England to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay ſo much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all.

The next year opened a new ſcene; the king recalled his ambaſſador, lord Holles, from the French court, and ſent the earl of Sandwich in that quality to Spain: two of the wiſeſt ſteps in his whole reign; for, by the firſt, he broke entirely (for this time at leaſt) with that perfidious court; and, in conſequence of the ſecond, he concluded the moſt beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation. As to naval affairs it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould be commanded by prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle; the former to look after the French, who began to talk very high, and the latter to act againſt the Dutch.

Before we ſpeak of the conſequences of theſe capital undertakings, it may not be amiſs to take ſome notice of an incident which happened at Liſbon, becauſe it ſhews the gallant ſpirit of that age. There were in that port a conſiderable number of Engliſh merchantmen, which were to come home under the convoy of the Guinea frigate. A large French man of war was alſo there, and the captain daily boaſted to the Portugueſe what he would do whenever the Engliſh frigate put to ſea. This coming to the ears of captain Coite, who commanded her, he ſent the Frenchman word he would ſail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coaſt

three

three days, in expectation of being chaſed, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them ſafe into the river Thames, the Frenchman continuing all the while quiet in the harbour of Liſbon.

Prince Rupert, and the duke of Albemarle, went on board the fleet on the 23d of April, 1666, and ſailed with it in the beginning of May. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the French fleet, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the Dutch. But this rumour of their joining the Dutch, was ſpread by the court of France, in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the Dutch. Upon the receiving this news, the court ſent poſitive orders to prince Rupert to ſail with the white ſquadron to look out and fight the French; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wiſe people before thought it, a mere gaſconade intended to hurt us, and to raiſe the courage of their new allies, in order to bring them into ſtill greater dangers.

At the ſame time prince Rupert ſailed from the Downs, the Dutch with their whole force put to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and having a freſh gale. This brought the Dutch fleet on the coaſts of Dunkirk, and carried away his highneſs towards the Iſle of Wight; but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the Dutch and the duke of Albemarle with his two ſquadrons to an anchor. Captain Bacon in the Briſtol firſt diſcovered the enemy, and, by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the Engliſh fleet. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein, without much debate, it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority.

After the departure of prince Rupert, the duke of Albemarle had with him only ſixty ſail; whereas the Dutch fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixteen guns, and twenty-two thouſand four hundred and ſixty-two men. It was the firſt of June when they were diſcerned, and the duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as de Ruyter himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he alſo owns, that, to the laſt, the Engliſh were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages. The Engliſh fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ſhips ſo much, that they could not uſe their loweſt tier. Sir William Berkley's

ſquadron

ſquadron led the van. The duke of Albemarle, when he came on the coaſt of Dunkirk, to avoid running full on a ſand, made a ſudden tack, and this brought his top-maſt by the board, which compelled him to lie by for four or five hours, till another could be ſet up. The blue ſquadron knowing nothing of this, ſailed on, charging through the Dutch fleet, though they were five to one.

In this engagement fell the brave Sir William Berkley, and his ſhip, the Swiftſure, a ſecond rate, was taken; ſo was the Eſſex, a third rate; and Sir John Harman, in the Henry, had the whole Zealand ſquadron to deal with. His ſhip being diſabled, the Dutch admiral Cornelius Everts, called to Sir John, and offered him quarter, who anſwered, "No, Sir! it is not come to that yet;" and immediately diſcharged a broadſide, by which Everts was killed, and ſeveral of his ſhips damaged; which ſo diſcouraged their captains, that they quitted the Henry, and ſent three fire-ſhips to burn her. At laſt, when the ſhip began to blaze, the boatſwain of the Henry threw himſelf on board, and having, by its own light, diſcovered and removed the grappling irons, in the ſame inſtant jumped back on board his own ſhip. He had ſcarce done this, before another fire-ſhip was fixed on the larboard, which did its buſineſs ſo effectually, that the ſails being quickly on fire, frighted the chaplain and fifty men overboard. Upon this, Sir John drew his ſword, and threatened to kill any man who ſhould attempt to provide for his own ſafety by leaving the ſhip. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a ſhort time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the croſs-beam fell and broke Sir John's leg, at which inſtant the third fire-ſhip bore down; but four pieces of cannon loaded with chain-ſhot diſabled her: ſo that, after all, Sir John brought his ſhip into Harwich, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithſtanding his broken leg, put to ſea again to ſeek the Dutch. The battle ended on the firſt day about ten in the evening.

The following night was ſpent in repairing the damage ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the attack was renewed by the Engliſh with freſh vigour. Admiral Van Tromp, with vice-admiral Vander Hulſt, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged it among the Engliſh, and their veſſel was in the utmoſt danger of being either taken or burnt. The Dutch affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition; but admiral de Ruyter at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled,

diſabled, and vice-admiral Vander Hulſt killed. This only changed the ſcene; for de Ruyter was now as hard preſſed as Tromp had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving preſerved him alſo; and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt.

The third day, the duke of Albemarle found it neceſſary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He firſt burnt three ſhips that were abſolutely diſabled: he next cauſed ſuch as were moſt torn to ſail before; and, with twenty-eight men of war that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear. Sir John Harman, indeed, ſays he had but ſixteen ſhips that were able to fight. Yet, in the evening, his grace, diſcovering the white ſquadron coming to his aſſiſtance, reſolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince Rupert, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir George Ayſcue, who was on board the Royal Prince, the largeſt ſhip in the whole fleet, ran upon the Galloper; and being in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to ſurrender; and night then falling, ended this day's engagement.

On the 4th of June, the Dutch, who were ſtill conſiderably ſtronger than the Engliſh, were almoſt out of ſight; but the duke of Albemarle, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the Engliſh fleet charged five times through the Dutch; till prince Rupert's ſhip being diſabled, and that of the duke of Albemarle very roughly handled, about ſeven in the evening the fleets ſeparated, each ſide being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement fell that gallant admiral Sir Chriſtopher Minnes, who, having a ſhot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another ſhot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain.

This was the moſt terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the Dutch admirals themſelves ſay; and the penſioner de Witte, who was no flatterer of our nation, yet too quick a man not to diſcern, and of too great a ſpirit to conceal the truth, ſaid roundly upon this occaſion, "If the Engliſh were beat, their defeat did them "more honour than all their former victories; their own "fleet could never have been brought on after the firſt "day's fight, and he believed none but theirs could; and "all the Dutch had diſcovered was, that Engliſhmen "might be killed, and Engliſh ſhips burnt; but that the "Engliſh

"Engliſh courage was invincible." Of this panegyric it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him who made it or to the Engliſh nation.

After all, it is by no means eaſy to ſay who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loſs of the vanquiſhed. Some Dutch writers talk of thirty-five ſhips, and between five and ſix thouſand men loſt by the Engliſh; which is more than half their fleet, and very little leſs than all their ſeamen. Their beſt hiſtorians, however, compute our loſs at ſixteen men of war, of which ten were ſunk, and ſix taken. Our writers ſay, the Dutch loſt fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five thouſand men: themſelves own the loſs of nine ſhips, and that there was a moſt prodigious ſlaughter of their ſeamen.

The duke of Albemarle was much blamed for his raſhneſs, and great contempt of the Dutch. It ſeems he was of the ſame ſentiment with Blake, and thought that fighting was, almoſt on any terms, preferable to running away.

The Dutch had once more the credit of appearing at ſea before the Engliſh, their ſhips having in theſe engagements ſuffered leſs. They firſt affected to brave us on our own coaſts, and next go in ſearch of their French allies, who certainly never meant to afford them any real aſſiſtance. It was not long before the Engliſh appeared. The fleet conſiſted of eighty men of war, great and ſmall, and nineteen fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons: the red under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, who were on board the ſame ſhip, Sir Joſeph Jordan their vice, and Sir Robert Holmes their rear admiral. Sir Thomas Allen was admiral of the white, and had under him Sir Thomas Tyddiman, and rear-admiral Utburt. Sir Jeremiah Smith carried the blue flag, and his officers were Sir Edward Spragge and rear-admiral Kempthorne. The Dutch, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ſhips, divided alſo into three ſquadrons, under lieutenant-admiral de Ruyter, John Everts, and Van Tromp.

On the 25th of June, about noon, the Engliſh came up with the enemy off the north foreland. Sir Thomas Allen with the white ſquadron began the battle by attacking Everts. Prince Rupert and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a deſperate attack upon de Ruyter, whoſe ſquadron was in the centre of the Dutch fleet, and, after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ſhip. In this ſpace the white ſquadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral John Everts, his vice-admiral

miral de Vries, and his rear-admiral Keonders, being all killed, the vice-admiral of Zealand taken, and another ſhip of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought de Ruyter ſhip to ſhip, diſabled the Guelderland of ſixty-ſix guns, which was one of his ſeconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more; upon which the Dutch ſquadron began to fly. However, vice-admiral Van Nes ſtood bravely by de Ruyter, and his ſhip received great damage: yet, being at laſt deſerted by all but ſeven ſhips, they yielded to neceſſity, and followed the reſt of their fleet as faſt as they could.

Admiral de Ruyter's ſhip was ſo miſerably torn, and his crew ſo diſpirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little reſiſtance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the Engliſh from boarding him. As for admiral Van Tromp, he was engaged with Sir Jeremiah Smith, and the blue ſquadron at a diſtance, and ſo could not aſſiſt his friends. As his was the ſtrongeſt ſquadron of the Dutch fleet, and Smith's the weakeſt of the Engliſh, we had no great advantage on that ſide; yet ſome we had, his vice-admiral's ſhip being diſabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery as long as there was any light.

Admiral de Ruyter continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle purſued him, with part of the red ſquadron, with as much vigour as the wind would permit. A fire-ſhip bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and miſſed very little of ſetting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when de Ruyter found himſelf ſo hard preſſed, and his fleet in ſuch eminent danger, that in a fit of deſpair he cried out, "My "God, what a wretch am I! amongſt ſo many thouſand "bullets, is not there one to put me out of my pain?" By degrees, however, he drew near their own ſhallow coaſt, where the Engliſh could not follow him. Upon this occaſion prince Rupert inſulted the Dutch admiral, by ſending a little ſhallop called the Fanfan, with two ſmall guns on board, which, being by force of oars brought near de Ruyter's veſſel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at laſt a ball from the Dutch admiral ſo damaged this contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briſkly, to ſave their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wielings, the Engliſh went to lye at Schonevelt, the uſual rendezvous of the Dutch fleets.

This

This was the cleareſt victory gained during the whole war: the Dutch were miſerably beaten, and their two great admirals de Ruyter and Tromp had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did. In this battle the Dutch loſt twenty ſhips; four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about 4000 ſlain, and 3000 wounded. The Engliſh had only the Reſolution burnt, three captains killed, and about 3 o private men.

On the 29th of July the Engliſh fleet weighed anchor, and ſteered their courſe for the Ulie; but, the wind being contrary, they did not make the iſland till the 7th of Auguſt. Being then come to anchor, prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle received intelligence, that, notwithſtanding there were very rich magazines on the iſlands, and a large fleet of merchantmen lying between them, yet Ulie and Schelling were very indifferently guarded; upon which it was reſolved to attack them without delay.

Upon this, a council of flag-officers was called, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for this great attempt. There it was reſolved, that 300 men ſhould be drawn out of each ſquadron, two thirds land and one third ſeamen, under nine captains, and the whole to be executed under the direction of Sir Robert Holmes, rear-admiral of the red, with whom went Sir William Jennings, who, in caſe it was found expedient to attack both iſlands at the ſame time, was to command one diviſion. The ſhips appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ſhips, and ſeven ketches, as Sir Robert Holmes tells us.

On the 9th of Auguſt, about ſeven in the morning, this ſquadron weighed, divided from the reſt of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the Buoys, where they met the prince's pleaſure-boat called the Fanfan, the crew of which had diſcovered in the harbour a conſiderable fleet of ſhips near the Ulie, which proved to be 170 merchant-ſhips, the leaſt of which was not of leſs than 200 tons burden, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed home near 100 of thoſe ſhips from the northward, ſome from the Streights, ſome from Guinea, ſome from Ruſſia, ſome from the eaſt countries: the reſt were outward-bound ſhips, all of which likewiſe were very richly laden.

Sir Robert Holmes, conſidering that if he ſhould proceed, as his deſign was, firſt to attempt a deſcent on the land, that numerous fleet might poſſibly pour in ſuch num-

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bers of men, as might render the ſucceſs hazardous, reſolved to begin with the ſhips; and accordingly, having ordered the Advice and the Hampſhire to lye without the Buoys, he weighed with the reſt of his fleet; and, the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into Schelling road, where the Tyger came to anchor, and immediately Sir Robert went on board the Fanfan, and hoiſted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him, and there it was ordered, that the Pembroke which drew the leaſt water, with the five fire-ſhips, ſhould fall in amongſt the enemy's fleet with what ſpeed they could.

Captain Brown with his fire-ſhip choſe to lay the biggeſt man of war on board, and burnt the veſſel downright. Another fire-ſhip running up at the ſame time to the other man of war, the captain, backing his ſails, eſcaped the preſent execution of the fire-ſhip, but ſo as to run the ſhip on ground, where it was preſently taken by ſome of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ſhips clapped the three great merchantmen on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confuſion, which Sir Robert Holmes perceiving, made a ſignal for all the officers to come on board again, and preſently gave orders, that Sir William Jennings, with all the boats that could be ſpared, ſhould take the advantage, and fall in, ſink, burn, and deſtroy all they could, but with a ſtrict command, that they ſhould not plunder. The execution was ſo well followed, each captain deſtroying his ſhare, ſome twelve, ſome fifteen merchantmen, that, of the whole fleet, there eſcaped not above eight or nine ſhips, one of which was a Guineaman of twenty-four guns, and three ſmall privateers: theſe ſhips, being driven up into a narrower corner of the ſtream, ſerved to protect four or five merchantmen that were a-head of them, where it was not poſſible for our boats to come at them, though even theſe few were much damaged.

The next day it was found more expedient to land on the iſland of Schelling than upon that of Ulie, which was performed by Sir Robert Holmes, with eleven companies in his long-boats; and he debarked with little or no oppoſition. When he came on ſhore, he left one company to ſecure his boat, and with the other ten marched three miles farther up into the country to the capital town called Bandaris, in which there were upwards of 1000 very good houſes, where, keeping five companies upon the ſkirts of the town to prevent any ſurprize from the enemy, he ſent the other five to ſet fire to the place: but finding them

ſomewhat

ſomewhat ſlow in executing that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themſelves in order to pillage, he was himſelf forced to ſet fire to ſome houſes to the windward, the ſooner to diſpatch the work, and haſten his men away, which burnt with ſuch violence, that, in half an hour's time, moſt part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported, by thoſe that were found in it, to have been very rich, and ſo it appeared by ſome of the ſoldiers pockets; but very few people were to be ſeen there, having had time to eſcape from the danger, except ſome old men and women, who were uſed by the Engliſh, after they fell into their hands, with all poſſible gentleneſs and humanity.

This blow, and that too in many reſpects, greatly affected the Dutch, who, according to their own accounts, ſuffered, by burning the town and magazines, the loſs of near ſix millions of guilders; and, if we take the ſhips and their rich cargoes into this computation, they confeſs that they were loſers to the amount of eleven millions, or 1,100,000 pounds ſterling. We need not wonder that this wound cut very deep, and engaged the ſtates to uſe their utmoſt diligence in fitting out a new fleet.

But, before we come to this expedition, it may not be amiſs to introduce a paſſage, which hitherto has not found a place in our hiſtory. The deſtroying the Dutch ſhips, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Engliſhmen, was no Engliſh project. One captain Heemſkerk, a Dutchman, who fled hither for fear of his being called to an account for miſbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that diſmal ſcene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boaſting, in the hearing of King Charles II. of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country, that monarch, with a ſtern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never preſume to appear again in his preſence. He ſent him, however, a very conſiderable ſum of money for the ſervice, with which he retired to Venice.

As ſoon as the fleet was ready, the command was beſtowed on Michael de Ruyter, Tromp having at that time, in conſequence of his diſpute with de Ruyter, laid down his commiſſion. This navy conſiſted of ſeventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-ſeven fire-ſhips. The firſt deſign they had was to join the French ſquadron, which Louis XIV. had promiſed to fit out for their aſſiſtance; in this they were moſt egregiouſly diſappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once

chaſed by a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at ſuch uſage, which, it is ſaid, wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of ſickneſs.

When the French thought the coaſt was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his ſquadron, boarded the Ruby, a fine ſhip of a thouſand tons and fifty-four guns, and carried her in a ſhort time, which ſo diſcouraged the French miniſtry, that they ſcarce truſted their navy afterwards out of ſight of their own ſhore.

By the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of the war; and the king of Sweden having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both ſides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of London, and other national misfortunes, particularly the reſtleſſneſs of factions, (a miſchief from which we are very ſeldom long free,) engaged King Charles to be very earneſt as well as ſincere in his deſires of a peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to ſerve the purpoſes of their miniſtry, and many arts had been practiſed to keep them in it, though it was equally againſt their intereſts and their inclinations. Now, when France found pacific meaſures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on would ſerve only to raiſe the reputation of England, and to obſcure their own, as well as ruin the Dutch; a treaty was ſet on foot at Breda, not only at the deſire of the ſtates, but by their expreſs appointment both of time and place, in which they were indulged by King Charles, purely to ſhew the ſincerity of his reſolution. Whilſt this treaty was thus negotiating, de Witte was reſolved to put in practice his baſe project; which, though executed with ſucceſs, and eſteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more eſpecially ſo to himſelf and his brother, who, to ſhew how much it was their own, had the immediate conduct and execution of it.

When the penſionary John de Witte was laſt on board the Dutch fleet, and, in the abſence of the Engliſh navy, had cruiſed upon our coaſt, he took an opportunity of ſending ſeveral perſons to ſound the mouth of the river Thames, in order to diſcover how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ſhips; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed might be executed, he reſolved to proceed in it, notwithſtanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced

vanced. He at first opened himself to the count d'Estrades, the French ambassador, who communicated his design to his court, where it met with the utmost approbation, and where measures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution.

To this end it was necessary king Charles should be persuaded that there was no necessity of fitting out a fleet for this year, since that would have rendered the design of the Dutch statesman not only difficult and dangerous, but absolutely impracticable. With a view to this, the queen-mother was persuaded to write her son a letter, wherein she informed him, that his most christian majesty, and the states-general, had turned their thoughts entirely towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majesty, by fitting out a great fleet, should alarm them on their own coasts, as in the preceding year. This advice, supported by the intrigues of the earl of St. Alban's, and agreeing with the king's temper and circumstances, whose ministers deceived, whose mistresses beggared, and whose courtiers plundered him, against whose measures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithstanding their vehement professions of patriotism, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell so readily into it; for meanly covetous, and squandering needy princes, are alike liable to the greatest foible in governing; the preferring present gain to any future prospect whatever. Notwithstanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king Charles, by a strange fatality, ordered only two small squadrons for the summer service, in 1667.

Things being thus in readiness, the last resolution was taken in Holland for the immediate execution of pensionary de Witte's project; and this resolution was signed by the French minister, as well as by the deputies of the states. His most christian majesty had promised that a squadron of his ships, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, should assist therein. However, that the issue of the thing might irritate the English against the Dutch only, the French as usual, waved the performance of their promise; when the matter, however, was so far advanced, that the Dutch found it impossible for them to go back. Yet the English ministers were treating all this time at Breda, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance of speedily concluding a peace.

The pretence made use of by John de Witte, for fitting out in the spring, was the mischief which had been done

to their navigation by the privateers from Scotland. In order to check theſe, admiral Van Ghendt was ſent with a conſiderable fleet into the Frith, with orders to burn the coaſts, and recover ſuch ſhips as were in thoſe ports. He appeared before Leith on the 1ſt of May, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of miſchief; but he contented himſelf with cannonading Burnt-iſland to very little purpoſe. When the Engliſh court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition was purely to quiet the minds of the people enough diſturbed by their late loſſes. This ſhews the folly of truſting an enemy, and ought to be a warning to all Britiſh ſtateſmen for the future. If the king at this time had pawned the jewels of the crown, or the crown itſelf, (as ſome of his predeceſſors did), to pay his ſeamen, and put a ſtrong fleet to ſea, he had turned the tables, made a good peace, and paſſed the remainder of his reign in quiet.

But penſionary de Witte, in the mean time, had haſtily manned out a large fleet, under the command of de Ruyter, on board which he intended to have gone in perſon; but the French proteſted againſt this ſtep, and therefore he was at laſt content to ſend Cornelius de Witte, his brother. Care had been taken to provide ſome of the old republican officers to command the troops which were to make a deſcent; and theſe alſo eaſily procured pilots to conduct the Dutch into our rivers and ports.

The fleet being ready, ſailed over to the Engliſh coaſt, where it was joined by Van Ghendt, and conſiſted then of ſeventy men of war, beſides fire ſhips. On the ſeventh of June they attacked Sheerneſs, which was at that time unfiniſhed, and in no ſtate of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a conſiderable quantity of naval ſtores. Though the court had ſcarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of Albemarle, Sir Edward Spragge, and other great officers, had made all imaginable proviſion for the defence of the river Medway, by ſinking ſhips in the paſſage, throwing a chain acroſs it, and placing three large veſſels, which had been taken from the Dutch in this war, behind the chain. The Dutch had the advantage of a ſtrong eaſterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ſhips at Chatham, in ſpite of all theſe precautions ſo well and wiſely taken to preſerve them. It was on the twelfth they executed this deſign; which at laſt, however, had miſcarried, if one captain Brakell, who was a priſoner on board their fleet for ſome miſbehaviour, had

not

not offered (to wipe out the memory of his former miſtake) to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed.

He alſo with great bravery boarded and took one of the Engliſh frigates which guarded the paſſage, ſoon after the Matthias, the Unity, and the Charles the Fifth, being the ſhips which, as we before obſerved, had been taken from the Dutch, were ſet on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire ſhips as high as Upnore caſtle, but were ſo warmly received by major Scot, who commanded therein, and Sir Edward Spragge, from the oppoſite ſhore, gave them ſo much diſturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt the Royal Oak, a very fine ſhip, and in her captain Douglas, whoſe behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ſhip, which he did with the utmoſt reſolution; but having none to retire, he choſe to be burnt with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deſerted his command. On the fourteenth they carried off the hull of the Royal Charles, notwithſtanding all the Engliſh could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two Dutch men of war ran aſhore in the Medway, and were burnt, which, with eight fire ſhips conſumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loſs acknowledged by the Dutch writers; though it was thought they really ſuffered much more.

De Ruyter, highly pleaſed with what he had performed, left admiral Van Nes with part of his fleet in the mouth of the Thames, and ſailed with the reſt to Portſmouth, in very ſanguine hopes of burning the ſhips there. Failing in this deſign, he ſailed weſtward to Torbay, where he was likewiſe repulſed. Then he returned back again to the mouth of the Thames, and with twenty-five ſail came as high as the Hope, where our ſquadron lay, under the command of Sir Edward Spragge. This conſiſted of eighteen ſail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we ſuffered at firſt from their fire ſhips; but Sir Edward repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir Joſeph Jordan with a few ſmall ſhips, quickly forced the Dutch to retire. The like ſucceſs attended their attack on Land-guard fort, which was performed by ſixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel Doleman, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor Darrel, an old cavalier, beat them

them off with great loſs. On the twenty-third, Van Nes ſailed again up the river as far as the Hope, where he engaged Sir Edward Spragge, who had with him five frigates, and ſeventeen fire ſhips. This proved a very ſharp action, at leaſt between the fire ſhips, of which the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs they ſpent eleven to our eight.

The next day the Engliſh attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire ſhip they had left to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they bore out of the river, with all the ſail they could make, followed at a diſtance by Sir Edward Spragge, and his remaining fire ſhips. On the twenty-ſixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another Engliſh ſquadron from Harwich, conſiſting of five men of war, and fourteen fire ſhips. They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice admiral of Zealand, and another large ſhip; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their men into the ſea. The rear admiral of Zealand was forced on ſhore, and ſo much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home.

The Dutch fleets, though it was now very evident that no impreſſion could be made, as had been expected, on the Engliſh coaſts, continued ſtill hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually ſigned, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are at a loſs to account for this conduct; but a Dutch hiſtorian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Witte ordered all our ports, on that ſide, to be ſounded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the ſtrength of our maritime forts, and the proviſion made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which ſhewed plainly, that though this was the firſt, it was not deſigned to be the laſt viſit they paid us.

While the whole Dutch fleet was employed in alarming our coaſts, Sir Jeremiah Smith was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron northwards; with which, and the aſſiſtance of a numerous fleet of privateers, already abroad for their own purpoſe, the Dutch commerce to the Baltic was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into Engliſh ports. Thus it may be truly ſaid, that the nations at this time changed characters. The Dutch preferred the inſult at Chatham, which, all things conſidered, was of little or no conſequence to them, to the preſervation of their trade; and the Engliſh endeavoured to make themſelves amends for this unexpected loſs of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men.

Such

Such are the effects which private paſſions produce in public affairs.

The Engliſh, in the Weſt-Indies, took the iſland of St. Euſtatius, Salia, St. Martin, Bonaira, the iſland of Tobago, and other places, from the Dutch. On the contrary, the Dutch, under the conduct of commodore Krynſen, made themſelves maſters of Surinam; and the French, aſſiſted by the Dutch, almoſt deprived the Engliſh of their half of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, after ſeveral obſtinate diſputes, and the death of their commander les Salles. Six frigates, and ſome other ſmall veſſels from Barbadoes, ſailing from thence to repair this loſs, were ſo ill treated by a violent ſtorm, that they were put out of a condition to execute their deſign, and two or three of the moſt diſabled ſhips fell into the hands of the enemy; though, before their misfortune, they had burnt two Dutch ſhips richly laden, in the harbour of Los Santos. Some authors ſay, this little fleet was commanded by the lord Willoughby, and that himſelf was loſt in the hurricane. The Engliſh were more ſucceſsful in the neighbourhood of Surinam, where they deſtroyed the Dutch colony, took a fort belonging to the French, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation.

The Dutch admiral Evertz, in conjunction with commodore Krynſen, recovered the iſland of Tobago, and did a great deal of miſchief upon the coaſt of Virginia. In March, 1667, Sir John Harman was ſent with a ſquadron of twelve men of war to redreſs theſe miſchiefs. He performed all that he was ſent for, and cleared the ſeas both of French and Dutch rovers; yet he had not been long there before he found himſelf puſhed by a ſuperior force. The Dutch commodore Krynſen, having embarked on board his ſquadron thirteen hundred land troops, ſailed to Martinico, where he joined monſieur de la Barre, who commanded all the forces of the French king in thoſe parts. Their fleet, after this junction, conſiſted of two and twenty ſail of ſtout ſhips, with which they went to ſeek the Engliſh ſquadron upon the coaſt of St. Chriſtopher's.

On the 10th of May, 1667, an engagement enſued, which laſted, with great vigour, for above three hours, in which the Engliſh, notwithſtanding the ſuperior force of the enemy, obtained a complete victory. The Engliſh admiral with his fleet came ſoon after thither, burnt the French admiral, and ſix or ſeven ſhips in the harbour, and either ſunk himſelf, or obliged the French to ſink, all the

reſt

reſt of the ſhips that were there, except two, with the loſs only of eighty men.

In the firſt of theſe engagements, our writers have obſerved, that the admiral, Sir John Harman, was exceedingly ill of the gout, ſo as not to be able to ſtir. On the firing, however, he ſtarted up, and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and, when it was over became as lame as he was before. By theſe victories he became maſter in thoſe ſeas, and took from the Dutch their plantation at Surinam; but, however, it was reſtored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the concluſion of hoſtilities.

There were three diſtinct treaties of peace ſigned at Breda, with the Dutch, the French, and the Danes, by the Engliſh miniſters; who were Lord Holles and Mr. Coventry; which were ratified on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were ſafe and honourable, at leaſt, though not ſo glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after ſuch a war. By it the honour of the flag was ſecured, and the iſland of Poleron, to prevent further diſputes, was yielded to the Dutch. In the Weſt-Indies we kept all that we had taken, except Surinam, and the French were obliged to reſtore what they had taken from us in thoſe parts.

It is certain that the king made this peace much againſt his will, and without obtaining what he expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto, were chiefly theſe. Firſt, diſorders in his domeſtic affairs, which diſquieted him with great reaſon. He found there was a ſtrong diſaffection amongſt his ſubjects, which produced the late misfortune at Chatham; and, in caſe the war had continued, would have probably had ſtill worſe effects. And, ſecondly, the French king's deſign was become apparent; and his claim to the greateſt part of the Spaniſh Netherlands openly avowed. If therefore, the quarrel between Great-Britain and Holland had ſubſiſted any longer, the balance of power on the continent muſt have been immediately and irretrievably loſt. Such were the true grounds of the peace at Breda; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We ſucceeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wiſe earl of Sandwich, concluded, on the thirteenth of May, a treaty with Spain, whereby

whereby all old differences were ſettled, the friendſhip between the two crowns renewed and ſtrengthened, and our commerce much extended. Soon after this, his lordſhip went to Liſbon, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of Spain and Portugal, by which the latter came to be owned by the former as an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might, if longer purſued, have been fatal to both. Towards the cloſe of this year, his majeſty ſent Sir William Temple into Holland, in order to enter into a ſtricter correſpondence with the ſtates, and to concert with them the means of preſerving Flanders from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch, in general, and even the penſionary de Witte himſelf, now ſaw plainly they had been dupes to France in this war.

This ſhews that his majeſty, for the preſent, laid aſide his reſentments for what had been done againſt him perſonally by the Dutch; and this for the ſake of giving a check to the too great power of France. In conſequence of Sir William's negotiation, was concluded the famous triple alliance between England, Sweden, and Holland; the moſt glorious ſtep taken in this reign, and which, ſteadily purſued, would have cruſhed at the beginning that ambitious prince, whoſe projects never ceaſed diſturbing his neighbours, till after being humbled by the arms of Britain, in a ſucceeding reign, he came to know himſelf, and deplore them on his death-bed. But, to return to our more immediate buſineſs.

The Dutch war being over, his majeſty ſent Sir Thomas Allen with a ſtout ſquadron into the Mediterranean, to repreſs the inſults of the Algerines, who, taking advantage of our differences, had diſturbed both the Engliſh commerce and the Dutch. The latter ſent admiral Van Ghendt with a ſquadron to ſecure their trade; and he, having engaged ſix corſairs, forced them to fly to their own coaſts, where probably they would have eſcaped, if commodore Beach with four Engliſh frigates, had not fallen upon them, and, after a cloſe chaſe, obliged them to run aground. In this ſituation they were attacked by the Engliſh and Dutch in their boats, and, being abandoned by their reſpective crews, were all taken, and a great number of Chriſtians ſlaves of different nations releaſed. The Engliſh commodore preſented ſixteen Dutch ſlaves to admiral Van Ghendt, and received from him twenty Engliſh by way of exchange; but the Algerine ſhips being leaky were burnt. The ſame

year

year ſome of our frigates attacked ſeven of the enemies beſt ſhips near Cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-ſix guns each; their rear admiral, the biggeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, carried ſixty, and the leaſt forty. Yet, after a ſharp engagement, the vice admiral was ſunk, and the reſt forced to retire, moſt of them miſerably diſabled. At the cloſe of the year 1669, captain Kempthorne, (afterwards Sir John), in the Mary Roſe, a ſmall frigate, engaged ſeven Algerine men of war, and, after a very warm action, forced them to ſheer off, being in no condition to continue the fight longer; of which we have a particular account.

It is ſomewhat extraordinary, that, conſidering the Dutch, as well as we, were concerned in attacking theſe pirates, we have no better account of the war carried on againſt them, or of the force they then had, but what we are left to collect as we can, from the ſcattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only liſt I have ſeen, is of the ſtate of their navy in 1668, and then it conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips great and ſmall, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewiſe ſix new ſhips of force upon the ſtocks. Yet this pitiful enemy continued to diſturb, and even to diſtreſs the commerce of both the maritime powers for ſeveral years.

At laſt, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent in 1670, with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruiſed for ſome days before their capital, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands. Upon this he ſailed from thence, with ſix frigates and three fire ſhips, to make an attempt upon a conſiderable number of thoſe corſairs which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way he loſt the company of two of his fire ſhips; yet, not diſcouraged by this accident, he perſiſted in his reſolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines aground, and burnt ſeven of their ſhips, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war near Teddeller. Theſe and other misfortunes cauſed ſuch a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and choſe another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, on the ninth of December in the ſame year; and as they were now ſufficiently humbled, and ſaw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England muſt end in their deſtruction,

they

they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times.

We are now come to the third Dutch war, (more frequently called the ſecond, becauſe it was in reſpect to this reign), and to account for the beginning of it will be no eaſy matter. It has been before ſhewn, that the laſt treaty of peace was made by king Charles againſt his will, and on terms to which force only made him conſent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he ſtill retained a diſlike to the Dutch. Beſides, there had been many other things done, ſufficient to give diſtaſte to any crowned head. For inſtance, their factory at Gambron in Perſia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy, having firſt dreſſed up the image in an old ſecond-hand ſuit, to expreſs the diſtreſs in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, ſo the ſtates-general looked upon themſelves as above giving him any ſatisfaction.

They likewiſe ſuffered ſome medals to be ſtruck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongſt others, becauſe the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleaſed to arrogate to themſelves the ſole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it muſt be owned, that, in making war upon them at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counſels.

By virtue of ſecret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total deſtruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to thoſe of France, and the reſt to fall to the ſhare of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the Merlin yacht, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to paſs through the Dutch fleet in the channel, and, on their not ſtriking to his flag, was commanded to fire, which he did; yet, this not being thought enough, he was blamed inſtead of being rewarded for it; and, for not ſufficiently aſſerting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower. The pretence, however, thus ſecured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch aſleep, as they had us, when our ſhips were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their ſchemes depended. Yet de Witte truſted to this, till, as the dupe of France, and the ſcourge

of

of his own nation, he fell a ſacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once reſolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his repriſals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

This ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips was commanded by Sir Robert, who hoiſted his flag in the St. Michael, as admiral; the earl of Oſſory in the Reſolution, as vice admiral; and Sir Fretcheville Holles, as rear admiral, in the Cambridge. They cruiſed in the channel on purpoſe to execute this ſcheme, of which, however, the Dutch had ſome notice, and ſent advice-boats to direct their fleet to ſteer northwards. But theſe inſtructions came too late; for they were already ſo far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was reſolved to hold on their courſe. On the 13th of March five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which conſiſted of about forty ſail of merchant ſhips, and an eſcort of ſix men of war. When the Engliſh veſſels came near them, they fired in order to make them ſtrike, and lower their topſails, which they refuſed to do.

Upon this the fight began, which laſted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the Dutch fleet was in a manner ruined; five of their richeſt merchantmen were made prizes, their rear admiral was boarded by captain John Holmes, brother to the admiral, and taken, but ſoon after ſunk, and the reſt of the men of war were very rudely handled. So the ſtates underſtood it, and immediately diſpatched deputies hither, and to the French king, to ſue for peace.

In this, as in the former diſpute with the Dutch, ſuch ſhips as had been detained in port were diſmiſſed on both ndes, and, in the midſt of a cruel war, the Dutch profeſſed all imaginable eſteem for the Engliſh nation; and, on the other hand, king Charles offered his royal protection to ſuch as thought fit to quit their country in its preſent calamitous ſituation, and take ſhelter in his dominions. The war was ſolemnly declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and great pains were taken to impoſe upon the world a groſs and groundleſs notion, that it was undertaken at the inſtance, or at leaſt with the concurrence of the people in general; whereas they knew their intereſt too well not to diſcern how little this meaſure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain ſupplies, while

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the Dutch, in the midſt of all their miſeries, went on receiving ſixty millions of their money annually from their ſubjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money chearfully paid to preſerve the commonwealth.

The French king, that he might ſeem to perform his treaty with the Engliſh better than that which in the former war he made with the Dutch, ſent the count d'Eſtrees, vice admiral of France, with a large ſquadron, to join the Engliſh fleet. He arrived at St. Helen's on the 3d of May; and immediately afterwards the king went down to Portſmouth, and, to ſhew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the ſhip of the French admiral, where he remained ſome hours. Our fleet in a ſhort time ſailed to the Downs, the duke of York, as high admiral, wearing the red, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Soon after the French ſquadron joined them, their admiral bearing the white flag; and then the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and one ſail of men of war, beſides fire ſhips and tenders. Of theſe the Engliſh had ſixty-five ſhips of war, and on board them four thouſand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thouſand five hundred and thirty men. The French ſquadron conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſail, on board of which were one thouſand nine hundred twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, and about eleven thouſand men. The Dutch, in the mean time, were at ſea with a very conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſtout men of war, fifty-four fire ſhips, and twenty-three yachts. On the 9th of May they were ſeen off Dover, and the 13th of the ſame month a Dutch ſquadron chaſed the Glouceſter, and ſome other ſhips, under the cannon of Sheerneſs.

The Engliſh fleet were at anchor in Solebay, on the twenty-eighth of May, when the Dutch fell in with them, and if they had not ſpent too much time in council, had certainly ſurpriſed them. As it was, many of the Engliſh captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between ſeven and eight in the morning, when de Ruyter attacked the red ſquadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highneſs the duke of York, for two hours, forcing his highneſs at laſt to remove to another ſhip. The Dutch captain, Van Brackell, attacked the earl of Sandwich in the Royal James; and while they were engaged, almoſt all the ſquadron of Van Ghendt fell upon the earl's ſhips. His lordſhip behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral

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Van Ghendt himſelf, ſunk three fire-ſhips and a man of war that would have laid him on board; but then having loſt all his officers, and two thirds of his men, his battered ſhip was grappled, and ſet on fire by a fourth fire-ſhip. Some of his men eſcaped; yet the earl continued on board till the flames ſurrounded him, where he periſhed; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by ſuch as eſteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a ſtateſman, or the integrity of a patriot.

The death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the blue ſquadron, coming in, though too late, to the earl of Sandwich's aſſiſtance, threw this part of the Dutch fleet, which had been commanded by Van Ghendt, into very great confuſion, and forced them to ſtand off. This gave an opportunity for the blue ſquadron to join the red, and to aſſiſt the duke of York; who, deſerted by the French, was in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed by the two ſquadrons of de Ruyter and Bankert. About this time Cornelius Evertz, vice-admiral of Zealand, was killed, and de Ruyter and Allemond narrowly eſcaped being burnt by fire-ſhips; but, when the Engliſh thought themſelves ſecure of victory, the ſcattered ſquadron of Van Ghendt came in to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day.

All this time the French, who compoſed the white ſquadron, inſtead of ſeconding the continued efforts of the Engliſh, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to ſuſtain the whole force of the enemy, at a diſadvantage of three to two. But, notwithſtanding this vaſt inequality of numbers, the action continued with inexpreſſible obſtinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared for the Engliſh. Five or ſix of the enemy's fire-ſhips were ſunk by an Engliſh man of war, and Sir Joſeph Jordan, of the blue ſquadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced the Dutch fleet, and thereby ſpread through it the utmoſt confuſion; while a fire-ſhip clapped their admiral de Ruyter on board, and it was not without the utmoſt difficulty that he eſcaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, de Ruyter, collecting his fleet in the beſt order he could, fought retreating; and, as the moſt authentic of the Dutch hiſtorians ſay, quitted the place of action, and ſteered northwards.

As the French king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the ſtates, by the advice of the grand penſionary de Witte, aſſumed to themſelves the honour of beating the Engliſh. However, they were ſo modeſt as to

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make no rejoicings for this ſuppoſed victory; and the diſtreſs their affairs were in might well excuſe their departure on this occaſion from truth. Their people were already diſpoſed to deſtroy their governors, through madneſs, at the ſight of the cruelties exerciſed by the French; and if to theſe there had been joined the news of a defeat at ſea, one can ſcarce conceive how the republic could have been preſerved. As it was, the populace, inſtead of applauding, inſulted Cornelius de Witte on his return, and framing to themſelves an imaginary quarrel between him and de Ruyter, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed.

The Engliſh, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be deſired of a victory, but very dear-bought victory. They carried off the Staveren, a large Dutch man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours. They kept their poſt, while de Ruyter made the beſt of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great conſequence; while de Ruyter himſelf, in his letter to the ſtates, did not ſo much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. Cornelius de Witte, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his intereſt dictated rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, our not following the Dutch to their own coaſts; and, if we conſider the ſtrange and unbecoming behaviour of the French in the battle, this will appear no objection at all.

As to the loſs, it was pretty equal on both ſides. We had four men of war ſunk or diſabled, but they were ſmall ſhips; whereas the Dutch loſt three of the beſt in their fleet; one ſunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth, called the Great Holland, commanded by the brave captain Brakell, was entirely diſabled. As for the French, notwithſtanding all their caution, they loſt two men of war, and their rear-admiral M. de la Rabiniere. Of perſons of note, beſides the earl of Sandwich, there were ſlain captain Digby of the Henry, captain Pearce of the St. George, captain Waterworth of the Anne, Sir Fretcheville Holles, who commanded the Cambridge, Sir John Fox of the Prince, and captain Hannam of the Triumph. Of our volunteers, there fell the lord Maidſtone, Mr. Montague, Sir Philip Carteret, Sir Charles Harboard, two of the duke of York's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, Mr. Trevanian, and many others. Of private men, about two thouſand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The Dutch did not think fit to publiſh any liſt, though

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their loſs without queſtion was as great; ſince de Ruyter ſays in his letter, "it was the hardeſt fought battle that "he ever ſaw."

On the return of the Dutch fleet to their own coaſts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain ſo for want of gunpowder, all that was on board being ſent to the army. The ſtates perceiving their authority almoſt loſt, and their country on the very brink of ruin, reſolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they ſent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king. The buſineſs of the former was to ſhew the danger of the proteſtant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the diſmal conſequences which muſt follow, even to England, from the further proſecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any ſatisfaction to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that he ſhould require.

The arrival of the deputies in England had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the cabal, treated them with a haughtineſs as little agreeable to his natural temper as inconſiſtent with his dignity. Inſtead of hearing and giving them an anſwer in perſon, as he was wont on ſuch applications, he was pleaſed to ſend four of the cabal to confer with them, in order to know what propoſals they had to make; and, afterwards, ſent over with them the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Arlington, and the viſcount Halifax, into Holland, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true deſign was, to be rid of the deputies, the ſight of whom drew the compaſſion of the nation, who conſidered the Dutch no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a Proteſtant people ſacrificed to a French and Popiſh intereſt.

On the arrival of theſe Lords in Holland, they made moſt extravagant demands; ſuch as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thouſand for the liberty of fiſhing, the perpetual ſtadtholderſhip for the prince of Orange, and his iſſue male. All theſe were moderate articles to the reſt; for they inſiſted on a ſhare in their Eaſt-India trade, the poſſeſſion of the city of Sluys in Flanders, and the iſlands of Cadzant, Walcheren, Goree, and Voorn. After the propoſal of theſe intolerable conditions, the duke of Buckingham and the earl of Arlington, deſerting their colleague, went away to the French camp, and there concluded an agreement in the name of their own prince, without his inſtructions,

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with the French king, the principal point of which was, that neither ſhould, upon any terms, make a ſeparate peace with the Dutch. As for the deputies ſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, they were anſwered in the ſtyle of a conqueror, and ſo ſent back to ſpread deſpair through the country, which they did ſo effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence for their ſafety; for, ſeeing no hopes of living any better than in ſlavery, they generouſly reſolved to lay aſide all treaties, and to die free.

In the mean time the French and Engliſh fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, ſailed again for the Dutch coaſts, with a deſign to make a deſcent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but, not thinking proper to attack them among the ſands, they deferred the execution of their deſign, and blocked up the Maeſe and Texel; which de Ruyter yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was reſolved to debark, on the iſle of Texel, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occaſion was favourable in all reſpects; the French and the biſhop of Munſter were in the heart of the Dutch territories, ſo that no great force could be drawn together to reſiſt them on ſhore; and the coaſt was ſo low and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a ſuperior force could have ſecured the Dutch from this invaſion.

It was upon the 3d of July this reſolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces ſhould have landed the next flood. But Providence interpoſed in favour of a free people, and ſaved them from a yoke which ſeemed already to preſs upon their necks. The ebb, inſtead of ſix, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended deſcent for that time, and the ſtorm, that roſe the night following, forced the fleet out to ſea, where they ſtruggled for ſome time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite loſt, returned, without performing any thing of conſequence, to the Engliſh ſhore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle.

After this diſappointment, there was no other action thought of at ſea for this year, except the ſending Sir Edward Spragge, with a ſquadron, to diſturb the Dutch herring-fiſhery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became ſo great a man, contenting himſelf with taking one of their veſſels, when he ſaw that was ſufficient to diſperſe the reſt. But while the war ſeemed to ſlumber

in Europe, it raged ſufficiently in the Weſt and Eaſt-Indies.

Sir Tobias Bridges, with ſix ſhips, and a regiment of foot, from Barbadoes, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Tobago, taking about four hundred priſoners, and five hundred ſlaves. On the other ſide, the Dutch, with ſix hundred men, poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of St. Helena, lying off the coaſt of Africa; for the fort not being defenſible on the land-ſide, the Engliſh governor and his people, after having ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board ſome Engliſh and French ſhips, as finding it impoſſible to preſerve the iſland after their landing. But commodore Monday, being ſent with four men of war, to convoy the Engliſh Eaſt-India fleet, perceiving on his arrival at St. Helena what had happened, reſolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this reſolution, from his want of freſh water. Accordingly, landing ſome men on that ſide of the iſland which is moſt acceſſible, and at the ſame time attacking the fort with his ſhips, he eaſily ſucceeded in his deſign.

The iſland being thus recovered, it ſerved the Engliſh as a net to incloſe and take the enemy's ſhips, for a Dutch Eaſt-India veſſel, called the Europe, coming to St. Helena, with a new governor on board, was ſeized. And ſoon after ſix others appearing in ſight of the iſland, the Engliſh commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were ſtill in poſſeſſion, cauſed the Dutch flag to be diſplayed from the fort; which ſtratagem had ſo good an effect, that the Eaſt-India ſhips approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immenſe quantity of ſilver on board; as the reſt would likewiſe have been, had not the Engliſh diſcovered themſelves ſomewhat too ſoon. On the other ſide, the Hollanders, who attempted the iſland of Bombay, were repulſed with great loſs; but near Maſſalpatnam, thirteen Dutch men of war, and ſome other veſſels, being raſhly engaged by ten Engliſh ſhips, partly men of war, and partly merchantmen, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the Dutch vice-admiral John Frederickſon, and the taking of three Engliſh merchant-ſhips. So that the loſs of the two nations was pretty equal, though poſſibly the Dutch eſteemed themſelves gainers.

Notwithſtanding it was reſolved early in the year 1673, that prince Rupert ſhould command, yet no care was taken

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to fit out the fleet in time, and in furniſhing him with ſuch officers as were agreeable to him. Sir Robert Holmes was laid aſide, though formerly ſo much careſſed, merely becauſe he was known to be in his highneſs's favour, and Sir Edward Spragge ſent in his ſtead, who not longer after went into France on a ſecret commiſſion, without prince Rupert's knowing any thing of his buſineſs. With the like view, Sir John Harman was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have ſurvived the great abilities he once had, and beſides was ſo ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or ſo much as to ſtir out of his cabbin. The prince expoſtulated in vain againſt theſe and many other hardſhips, of which he could obtain no redreſs; and therefore in the beginning of the month of April, hearing the Dutch fleet was at ſea, and intended to come and ſink many hulks filled with lead and ſtones in the mouth of the river, he with much induſtry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ſhips as he could, and with ſome fire-ſhips, ſailed out and took ſuch meaſures as prevented them. This was one of the ſchemes laid in the former war, and, if the Dutch could have accompliſhed it, would have been attended with very miſchievous effects.

About the middle of May the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the ſea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the French, who were at Breſt, and who freely declared, that they were reſolved not to ſtir till our fleet was in the channel. As the Dutch laboured day and night to ſtrengthen their navy, his highneſs ſaw the neceſſity of joining the French early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great ſkill in maritime affairs, he paſſed in defiance of the enemy, then riding at the Gun-fleet, through the paſſage called the Narrow, and this too againſt the wind; which ſo ſurpriſed the Dutch, that, ſeeing the end of their lying there loſt, they ſailed back again to their own ports.

The grand deſign of our court was the ſame this year that it had been the laſt, that is to ſay, to make a puiſſant deſcent on the Dutch coaſt; and, with this view, there were a conſiderable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majeſty and his royal highneſs the duke of York viſited the fleet on the 19th of May, and, in a council of war held in their preſence, it was peremptorily reſolved to attack the enemy even upon their own coaſt, in caſe they could not be provoked to quit it. In purſuance of this determination, prince Rupert ſtood over to-

wards the coaſt of Holland, and found de Ruyter with the Dutch fleet, riding within the ſands at Schonevelt, in a line between the Rand and Stony-bank, which was a very advantageous ſituation; but, notwithſtanding that, his highneſs perſiſted in his reſolution of obeying the poſitive orders he had received for attacking them.

On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached ſquadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ſhips were ſent to draw the enemy out, which was very eaſily done; for de Ruyter preſently advanced in good order, and, the Engliſh light ſhips retreating, put their own fleet in ſome diſorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet conſiſted of eighty-four men of war, beſides fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons, under the command of prince Rupert, count d'Eſtrees, and Sir Edward Spragge. The Dutch were ſcarce ſeventy men of war and frigates, under de Ruyter, Tromp, and Bankert.

Moſt of our own and the Dutch hiſtorians agree, that the Engliſh, to prevent the French from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ſhips in this battle with their own: but, in the account publiſhed under the direction of prince Rupert, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is ſaid, that the French made little or no ſail, but kept in the rear, though they ſaw the Dutch fleet ſtretch to the north. By twelve in the morning the detached ſquadron, before mentioned, engaged Van Tromp, and ſoon after the prince engaged de Ruyter almoſt two hours before the French began to fight at all. Then, ſays the ſame relation, count d'Eſtrees engaged de Ruyter, but quickly left him; neither did de Ruyter follow, but went to the aſſiſtance of Tromp, whom he very ſeaſonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds which had been long ſubſiſting between them.

The battle was very hard fought on both ſides, inſomuch that Tromp ſhifted his flag four times; from the Golden Lion to the Prince on Horſeback, from the Prince on Horſeback to the Amſterdam, and from the Amſterdam to the Comet. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Oſſory diſtinguiſhed themſelves on our ſide by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince Rupert alſo performed wonders, conſidering that his ſhip was in a very bad condition, and took in ſo much water at her ports, that ſhe could not fire the guns of her lower tier. The battle laſted till night, and then the Dutch are ſaid to have retired behind their ſands.

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Both ſides, however, claimed the victory: de Ruyter, in his letter to the prince of Orange, ſays, "We judge abſolutely, that the victory is on the ſide of this ſtate and of your highneſs." Tromp carried the matter farther, and reported the Engliſh to have loſt ten or twelve ſhips. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, ſays, "I thought it beſt to ceaſe the purſuit, and anchor where I now am." As to the ſlain on both ſides in this battle, it is reported the Dutch loſt vice-admiral Schram, rear-admiral Vlugh, and ſix of their captains, and had one ſhip diſabled, which was loſt in her retreat. On our ſide fell the captains Fowls, Finch, Tempeſt, and Worden: colonel Hamilton had his legs ſhot off, and we had only two ſhips diſabled, none either ſunk or taken.

The great doubt is as to the conduct of the French. Our writers are poſitive, that they behaved to the full as ill as they did before; but the Dutch authors ſay they fought very bravely. The truth ſeems to be, that the briſkeſt of the French officers made it their choice to fight among the Engliſh, where they behaved very gallantly, while thoſe remaining with the count d'Eſtrees took a great deal of care to keep themſelves and their ſhips ſafe; and yet they ſuffered more than either the Engliſh or Dutch; for they loſt two men of war, and five or ſix fire-ſhips, which they knew not how to manage. The French writers are pretty even with us; for they report that matters were but indifferently managed on both ſides, and that prince Rupert did not puſh things as far as he might, becauſe he was averſe to the war. In one reſpect, the Dutch certainly had the advantage, ſince they prevented the deſcent intended upon their country, for which ſervice, in caſe of a clear victory, count Schomberg, with ſix thouſand men, lay ready at Yarmouth.

The Dutch, as they were upon their own coaſt, had the advantage of receiving quick and great ſupplies; whereas the wind prevented the Engliſh from obtaining the like advantages. Prince Rupert, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing that the Dutch would not be long before they endeavoured to make uſe of their advantages, he went on board the Royal Sovereign in the evening of the third of June, where he went not to bed all night. His foreſight was very requiſite; for on the fourth in the morning, the Dutch fleet, by this time at leaſt as ſtrong as the confederates, bore down upon them as faſt as the wind would permit. Sir Edward Spragge had ſo little notion of their fighting,

ing, that taking the brave earl of Oſſory, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which loſt a great deal of time.

As for prince Rupert, he was ſo much in earneſt, that finding his ſhip's crew, which was but indifferent, raiſed his anchors very ſlowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haſte to meet the Dutch.

Count d'Eſtrees, with the white ſquadron, betrayed no ſuch great willingneſs to fight, as both our own and the Dutch writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At laſt, about five in the evening, Spragge and Tromp engaged with great fury. As for de Ruyter, he ſhewed at firſt a deſign of coming to a cloſe engagement with the prince: but before he came within muſket-ſhot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had ſuffered ſome conſiderable damage. Spragge, in the mean time, had forced Tromp to ſheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral Sweers's diviſion, which he ſoon put to confuſion; and had a third engagement with Tromp, wherein he ſhot down his flag. The battle laſted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the Dutch ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſo it ended.

Both ſides claimed the victory as before. Prince Rupert, in his letter to the earl of Arlington, ſays expreſly, "that "he purſued the Dutch from two till ſix the next morning, "and ſeeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they "they got within their ſands, thought a farther purſuit "needleſs." He likewiſe adds, "that they went away in "great diſorder, though he could not tell certainly what "loſs they had received." This is not altogether irreconcileable to de Ruyter's letter, wherein he alſo claims the victory. "The next day (ſays he) we ſaw the enemies "were gone; and doubt not but they made to the Thames; "we ſatisfied ourſelves with purſuing them half-way, and "then returned to our former ſtation." In the ſame letter, however, he owns that they began their retreat as ſoon as it was dark. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal, but was very far from being conſiderable on either. Admiral Van Tromp, however, was ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral Sweers, that he accuſed him to the ſtates. Some of the Dutch and French writers pretend, that prince Rupert did not diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion as he uſed to do; for which they ſuggeſt reaſons void of all foundation.

The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war to ſail for the Engliſh

liſh coaſt, in order to obtain ſupplies, as well of ammunition as proviſion; through want of which a great many captains complained loudly. Beſides, the fleet was ſo poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and theſe being for the moſt part new raiſed men, we need not wonder they did not behave ſo well as our old-ſeaſoned ſailors were wont to do. On the eighth of June, the fleet arrived at the Buoy in the Nore, and on the fourteenth prince Rupert went to London, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to preſs for ſuch neceſſary ſupplies as might enable him to put to ſea again without delay.

The Dutch, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two laſt battles to victory, and to raiſe the ſpirits of the people at ſuch a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at ſtake, gave out, that their fleet ſhould ſpeedily put to ſea again, and attempt ſome great thing. Inſulting the Engliſh coaſt was ſometimes mentioned, and then again, the loſſes they had lately ſuſtained from the French, induced them to think of revenge on that ſide, and taking ſome maritime town in France, which might oblige king Lewis to abandon the ſiege of Maeſtricht, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange. But while they were amuſing themſelves and de Ruyter with theſe propoſals, they were informed that Maeſtricht was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewiſe ready to put to ſea; ſo that all theſe grand ſchemes vaniſhed at once, and they were forced to attend to their old buſineſs of defending their own coaſts, and protecting their commerce.

About the middle of July, prince Rupert was at ſea, having on board the troops intended for a deſcent, which was ſtill preſſed by the real authors of the war. His highneſs arrived on the Dutch coaſts on the twenty-firſt of the ſaid month, and declining an engagement, ſtood along the ſhore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the ninth of Auguſt, he took a Dutch Eaſt-India ſhip richly laden. This induced de Ruyter to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the Engliſh fleet. As ſoon as his highneſs perceived it, he commanded the French a particular courſe, and had thereby an opportunity of diſcerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; firſt about eleven o'clock, when the prince ſent to count d'Eſtrees to order him to make ſail, which he did till about one

o'clock,

o'clock, and then laid his ſail to the maſt again, which gave a ſecond ſtop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to ſend him another meſſage.

Theſe delays gave the Dutch admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but, early on the eleventh of Auguſt, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle; upon which his highneſs thought fit to tack, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the French in the van, himſelf in the center, and Sir Edward Spragge in the rear; and in this diſpoſition the French lay fair to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of about ſixty men of war and frigates, the French of thirty, and the Dutch of ſeventy or thereabouts; ſo that the royal fleets were indiſputably ſuperior to that of the republic.

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three ſquadrons, prepared to attack the prince himſelf, while Tromp engaged Spragge and the blue ſquadron, in which the Engliſh admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-ſail to his maſt, in order to ſtay for him, contrary to the expreſs order of the prince. This fondneſs for a point of honour proved fatal to himſelf, as well as diſadvantageous to the fleet. Bankert, with his Zealand ſquadron, ſhould have engaged the white, commanded by d'Eſtrees; but it ſeems the Dutch underſtood their temper better than to give themſelves much trouble about them, for Bankert contented himſelf with ſending eight men of war and three fire-ſhips to attack the rear-admiral de Martel, who ſeemed to be the only man that had any real deſign to fight; and then the reſt of the Zealand ſquadron united themſelves to de Ruyter, and fell together upon prince Rupert.

Rear-admiral de Martel, being left not only by the body of the French fleet, but even by the captains of his own diviſion, was attacked by five Dutch ſhips at once. He fought them for two hours, and that with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that having diſabled one, the reſt were glad to ſheer off, and he joined the white ſquadron, where, expoſtulating with the captains of his own diviſion for deſerting him ſo baſely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral not to obſerve his motions: and indeed, after he was in the fleet, though ſome opportunities offered, he thought no more of fighting, and, on his return to France, was ſent to the Baſtile for what he had done.

The battle between de Ruyter and the red ſquadron began about eight o'clock in the morning. The French, not

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ſatisfied with being mere ſpectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, ſuffered the ſhips, which had attacked de Martel, to paſs quietly to their own fleet; ſo that now de Ruyter's and Bankert's ſquadrons were both upon the red. Sir Edward Spragge, intent on his perſonal quarrel with Van Tromp, had fallen to the leeward ſeveral leagues with the blue ſquadron, and to complete prince Rupert's misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir John Chichele, with his diviſion; ſo that by noon his highneſs was wholly ſurrounded by the Dutch, being preſſed by de Ruyter and his diviſion on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the Zealand ſquadron on his broad-ſide to windward. Thus the Dutch wiſely employed their force againſt the enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the French fleet, than the French did of them, or of prince Rupert.

His highneſs, in the midſt of theſe diſappointments, behaved with ſuch intrepidity, and encouraged all his officers ſo effectually by his own example, that, by degrees he cleared himſelf of his enemies, rejoined Sir John Chichele, and by two o'clock had time to think of the blue ſquadron, which was now at three leagues diſtance; and, not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the ſail he could towards them, in order to unite with and relieve them. De Ruyter, perceiving his highneſs's deſign, left firing, and bore away alſo with his whole force to the aſſiſtance of Tromp; ſo that both fleets ran down ſide by ſide within range of cannon-ſhot, and yet without firing on either part. About four the prince joined the blue ſquadron, which he found in a very tattered condition.

At the beginning of the fight, Tromp in the Golden Lion, and Sir Edward Spragge in the Royal Prince, fought ſhip to ſhip. The Dutch admiral, however, would not come to a cloſe fight, which gave him a great advantage; for Spragge, who had more than his complement on board, ſuffered much by the enemies cannon, and, having the wind and ſmoke in his face, could not make good uſe of his own, as he would otherwiſe have done. After three hours warm fight, the Royal Prince was ſo diſabled, that Sir Edward was forced to go on board the St. George, and Tromp quitted his Golden Lion to hoiſt his flag on board the Comet, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. We have in reſpect to this, and it is to be wiſhed we had of every battle, a diſtinct relation of what was performed by each ſquadron, very particular and clear; and,

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from the relation of the blue ſquadron, (compared with prince Rupert's) theſe facts are collected.

The great aim of the Dutch admiral was, to take or ſink the Royal Prince: but the earl of Oſſory, and Sir John Kempthorne, together with Spragge himſelf, ſo effectually protected the diſabled veſſel, that none of the enemy's fire ſhips could come near her, though this was often attempted. At laſt, the St. George being terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled, Sir Edward Spragge deſigned to go on board a third ſhip, the Royal Charles; but, before he was got ten boats length, a ſhot, which paſſed through the St. George, took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from the St. George, the boat ſunk, and Sir Edward was drowned.

When prince Rupert drew near the blue ſquadron, he found the admiral diſabled, the vice admiral lying to the windward, mending his ſails and rigging; the rear admiral a-ſtern of the Royal Prince, between her and the enemy, bending his new ſails, and mending his new rigging. The firſt thing his highneſs did, was to ſend two frigates, to take the Royal Prince in tow. He then ſteered in between the enemy and the lame ſhips, and perceiving that Tromp had tacked, and was coming down again upon the blue ſquadron, he made a ſignal for all the ſhips of that ſquadron to join him: but it was in vain; for, except the two flags, Sir John Kempthorne and the earl of Oſſory, there was not one in a condition to move. The French ſtill contnued to look on with all the coolneſs imaginable; and notwithſtanding the prince put out the blue flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the ſignal to attack, ſet down in the general inſtructions for fighting, and known not only to all the Engliſh captains, but alſo to thoſe of the white ſquadron, yet they remained, as before, wholly inactive. But, to give ſome kind of colour to this conduct, the count d'Eſtrees, after the battle was in a manner over, ſent to know what this ſignal meant.

About five in the evening, De Ruyter, with all his flags and fleet, came cloſe up with the prince, and then began a very ſharp engagement: His highneſs had none to ſecond him but the vice and rear of the blue, Sir John Harman, captain Davis, and captain Stout, of his own diviſion, Sir John Holmes in the Rupert, captain Legge in the Royal Katharine, Sir John Berry in the Reſolution, Sir John Ernle in the Henry, Sir Roger Strickland in the Mary, and captain Carter in the Crown; in all about thirteen ſhips.

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The engagement was close and bloody till about seven o'clock; when his highness forced the Dutch fleet into great disorder, and sent in two fire ships amongst them to increase it, at the same time making a signal for the French to bear down; which, even then, if they had done, a total defeat must have followed it: but, as they took no notice of it, and the prince saw that most of his ships were not in any condition to keep the sea long, he wisely provided for their safety, by making with an easy sail towards our own coasts.

Soon after this battle, the fleet came into the Thames, and the French squadron, about the middle of September, sailed home; but suffered so much by a storm, that it was the middle of November before they reached Brest. When prince Rupert returned to court, he joined his representations to those of other worthy patriots, who were desirous that peace, as soon as possible, should be restored, to which the king was, no longer averse; but directed Sir William Temple to negotiate with the marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador, who was provided with full powers from the states-general for that purpose; and, at three meetings, the treaty was concluded and signed, to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

While this treaty was upon the carpet at home, there happened an accident in the Mediterranean. The Dutch admiral Evertz, being in those seas with his squadron, it happened that captain de Witte, in a man of war called the Schaerlaes, which carried thirty-six pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain Harman, in the Tyger, a small English frigate which had been careening at Tangier, and came with him into the harbour of Cadiz, where the Dutchman also careened. The Spaniards jesting with captain de Witte, and telling him that he durst not fight the English captain, and that this made them so good friends; admiral Evertz heard it, and thereupon told de Witte, that he must, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain Harman. He did so; and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, sixty mariners and seventy soldiers. Captain Harman had but one hundred and eighty-four men in all; however, at a day's notice he stood to sea, and fairly engaged the Dutch frigate, in sight of the town.

Their ships were within pistol-shot before either of them fired, and then captain Harman's broadside brought the Dutchman's main-mast by the board, and killed and wounded him fourscore men. The English captain followed his advan-

advantage, entered the enemy's veſſel with his reſolute crew, and became maſter of the ſhip in an hour's time; but ſhe was quite diſabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The Engliſh had only nine killed, and fifteen wounded: amongſt whom was their brave captain, by a muſket-ſhot, which went in at the left eye, and out between the ear and the jaw-bone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived ſeveral years after. Thus the maritime powers, though their intereſt was, and muſt ever be the ſame, did their utmoſt, from falſe notions of honour, to deſtroy each other, and anſwer the ends of their common enemy; till the voice of the people, both in England and Holland, rouzed their governors to a juſt ſenſe of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has laſted till 1782.

The corſairs of Tripoli having for ſome time committed great outrages on the Engliſh trade, Sir John Narborough was ſent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reaſon. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, ſo that no ſhip could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and ſent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel, into the harbour, where he ſeized the guardſhip, and afterwards burnt the following veſſels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, *viz.* the White Eagle crowned, a fifty gun ſhip, the Looking-glaſs, which carried thirty-ſix, the Santa Clara of twenty-four, and a French veſſel of twenty; after which, he ſafely returned to the fleet without the loſs of a ſingle man. This extraordinary action ſtruck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them inſtantly ſue for peace, which, however, did not immediately take place, becauſe they abſolutely refuſed to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh. Sir John thereupon cannonaded the town, and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vaſt magazine of timber, which was to have ſerved for the building of ſhips. When all this failed of reducing theſe people, Sir John ſailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for ſome time, returned ſuddenly upon the enemy, and diſtreſſed them ſo much, that they were glad to ſubmit to a peace on the terms preſcribed.

However, ſoon after the concluſion of this treaty, ſome of their corſairs, returning into port, not only expreſſed a great diſlike thereto, but actually depoſed the Dey for making it; and without any regard thereto, began to take

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all Engliſh ſhips as before. Sir John remaining ſtill in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what paſſed, ſuddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with ſuch violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late diſturbance to condign puniſhment.

In 1679, we had ſome differences with the Algerines on account of their making prize of Engliſh ſhips, under pretence that they were not furniſhed with proper paſſes. Upon this Sir John Narborough was ſent with a ſquadron to demand ſatisfaction; which he procured, as it muſt always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not laſt long; for, in a year or two, they committed the like outrages: upon which, commodore Herbert, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ſhips, and compelled them to make ſatisfaction for what had paſſed, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their acting in another manner for the future. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the laſt in this reign.

Immediately on Oliver's death he proclaimed Richard, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, *viz.* that his father had directed him to be chiefly governed by Monk's advice; whereas he was ſcarce in his ſenſes, when he appointed him to the ſucceſſion. This was very well judged in the new protector, and ſeemed to beſpeak his advice in ſuch a manner, as that he could not refuſe giving it him; and therefore the general, ſome time after, ſent it by his brother-in-law. The paper is yet remaining, and will convince whoever reads it, that Monk, though a very plain man, was a very ſound politician, and, like an honeſt and ſenſible counſel, gave the cleareſt and beſt opinion, upon his intricate and perplexed caſe, that could bear. If Richard could have ſupported himſelf at all, it would have rivetted Monk in his favour; who, however, might doubt the poſſibility of that, when he gave it. He judged rightly, that, if things went well, it would do him much good; and, if they went ill, it could do him no hurt. The further to conciliate Monk's friendſhip, the protector ſent him down commiſſary Clarges, which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands reſpectively, wrote a civil anſwer to Thurloe's ſmooth letter, and took all the care he could to ſecure his command in Scotland, till he ſaw what turn things in England would take.

MEMOIRS

## MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, and Knight of the Garter.

FAME belongs of right to all thoſe who have deſerved well of ſociety; but the ſupreme degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of ſuch illuſtrious perſons as have been martyrs for their country, and voluntarily died either to ſerve or to preſerve it. If this be a juſt poſition, as muſt be allowed by every man who thinks, then the noble perſon, whoſe memoirs are at preſent to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by Britons. His life was an uniform ſcene of patriotiſm and public ſpirit; his death ſo extraordinary a ſtrain of exalted courage, that, as few facts in modern hiſtory come near it, ſo none in more ancient and leſs corrupted times can be juſtly ſaid to exceed it.

Mr. Edward Montague was the only ſurviving ſon of Sidney Montague, the youngeſt of ſix ſons of Edward lord Montague, of Boughton. He was born July 27, 1625, and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could beſtow, came very early into the world, and into buſineſs; eſpecially if we conſider the times in which he lived, and the qualities neceſſary for men to be diſtinguiſhed in them.

He married, when little above ſeventeen, the daughter of Mr. Crew, afterwards lord Crew, of Stene; and being thought more warmly affected to the cauſe of the parliament than his father Sidney Montague was, who had been expelled his ſeat for refuſing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of Eſſex, and giving ſuch a reaſon for it as it was eaſier to puniſh than anſwer, received a commiſſion, dated Auguſt 20, 1643, to raiſe and command a regiment under the earl before mentioned. This colonel Montague, though but eighteen, performed; and, the intereſt of his family being very extenſive, he took the field in ſix weeks.

He was preſent at the ſtorming of Lincoln, on the 6th of May, 1644, which was one of the warmeſt actions in the courſe of that lamentable war. He was likewiſe in the battle of Marſton-moor, which was fought on the 2d of July, the ſame year, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; inſomuch that ſoon after, when the city of York demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the articles; which muſt have been the pure effects of perſonal merit, ſince he was then but in his nineteenth year. We find him next in the battle of Naſeby, and in the month of July, 1645, he ſtormed the

the town of Bridgewater. In September he commanded a brigade in the ſtorm of Briſtol, where he performed very remarkable ſervice; and, on the 10th of September, 1645, ſubſcribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince Rupert, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament; the news of which, in conjunction with colonel Hammond, he was appointed to carry; for which a thankſgiving was ordered.

But after all this warm ſervice in the army, at an age when few people have ſeen one, he ſhewed no inclination to make the ſword the ſupreme power; but when by the artifices of their leaders, the ſoldiers declared againſt the parliament, and in June, 1647, impeached eleven of its moſt worthy members, he forebore going to the houſe, where, when choſen, he ſat as knight for Huntingdonſhire. His acquaintance, however, with Cromwell, the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous unſuſpecting temper, drew him in to accept a ſeat at the board of treaſury, and into a ſhare of the tranſactions in thoſe times, with which he was very much diſſatisfied upon reflection. After the Dutch war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector to be joined with Blake, in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

In the ſpring of the year 1656, we find him in the Mediterranean, meditating many great things. They once thought of attacking the Spaniſh fleet in the harbour of Cadiz; but, after attentively conſidering the port, it was reſolved, in a council of war, that ſuch an attempt was impracticable. Then Gibraltar was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in caſe it could be reduced. Admiral Montague, in a letter to ſecretary Thurloe, gave his judgment of this project with great ſagacity. According to his ſentiments, the only method of taking that fortreſs was, to land a body of forces on the iſthmus, and thereby cut off the communication of the town with the main; and, in this ſituation, to make a briſk attempt upon the place. Yet, as a proof of the fallibility of human underſtanding, we find, in this very letter, a propoſal for ſending five thouſand land forces, on account of the haſty diſpoſition of the ſeamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual ſervice on ſhore. When this place, however, long after, was actually taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the ſailors, and to the impetuoſity in particular which admiral Montague imagined would be a hindrance in any enterprize of this kind.

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The warmth he expreſſed in the diſcharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade by the carrying on the Spaniſh war, of which he gives an account in one of his diſpatches to the ſecretary, wherein he complains, that he ſaw the Dutch, Hamburghers, and Genoeſe, carrying on a mighty trade with Spain, which, as he obſerves, it was impoſſible for them to hinder, without engaging the ſtate in a war with all the world, and therefore propoſed, that a ſquadron of light frigates only might be kept in thoſe ſeas, and that the fleet ſhould be employed ſomewhere elſe to more advantage.

However, the protector's orders being poſitive, they returned towards autumn into the road of Cadiz, where, in September following, captain Stayner made prize of the galleons. A full account of their ſtrength, and the money on board them, admiral Montague ſent into England as ſoon as they were taken; and, when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he ſent another account of the ſilver on board them, deſiring at the ſame time, that ſome perſons might be ſent down to meet the fleet at Portſmouth, in order to take charge of the ſilver, and to make a farther ſearch into the contents of the galleons.

The money, thus taken from the Spaniards was, though undeſervedly, the moſt popular act in all Cromwell's adminiſtration, and therefore the utmoſt pains were taken to give the populace a very high idea of this advantage. The ſilver was carried in open carts, and ammunition waggons, through Southwark, to the Tower of London; and, to make a ſhew of entire confidence in the people, theſe waggons had no greater guard than ten ſoldiers. As for admiral Montague, he had all the compliments paid him, upon this occaſion, that it was poſſible for him to deſire; the protector careſſed him exceedingly; the parliament, as we have elſewhere obſerved, returned him thanks by their ſpeaker, and ſome other honours he had received, if with induſtry he had not declined them.

In 1657 he was appointed to command the fleet in the Downs, and went accordingly on board it the latter end of July. The deſign of this fleet was to watch the Dutch, to carry on the war with Spain, and facilitate the enterprize on Dunkirk; and in all theſe he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of the marſhal de Turenne, where he had a conference with him, in order to determine

mine the propereſt method of carrying on the war, and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter. All this time he ſeems to have been in the higheſt favour with the protector, and to have had the ſtricteſt intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral entertained ſerious thoughts of retiring from public buſineſs. What the reaſon of this was cannot, at this diſtance of time, be certainly diſcovered; but, in all probability, the ſenſe he had of the ſtrange ſervice he was put upon in aſſiſting the French, and diſtreſſing the trade of all the reſt of the world, made him uneaſy. One thing is remarkable, that, how much ſoever he diſliked the orders that were ſent him, he executed them with the utmoſt punctuality; ſo that the Dutch, whoſe ſhips he ſearched for ſilver, made a heavy complaint againſt him.

After the death of Oliver, and the ſetting up of Richard, admiral Montague was fixed upon to command the great fleet ſent to the north, which, as it was in itſelf the wiſeſt and beſt meaſure entered upon in thoſe times, ſo this fleet was beyond compariſon the moſt conſiderable that had been fitted out ſince the Dutch war; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to give a ſhort account of it. The Naſeby, on board which the admiral hoiſted his flag, carried ſeventy guns, and ſix hundred men; the Reſolution had the like number of men, and eighty guns; there were fourteen ſhips carrying each fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ſhips, or near it, four of thirty guns, beſides twelve ſmaller veſſels, carrying from twenty-two to twenty-eight pieces of cannon; in all ſixty ſhips, and on board them eleven thouſand eight hundred and twenty men.

The admiral went on board in the ſpring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of April he wrote to the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, and the Dutch admiral Opdam, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to ſend ſo ſtrong a fleet into the Baltic, and that his inſtructions were not to reſpect the private advantage of England by making war, but the public tranquility of Europe, by engaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace.

Before the admiral ſailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very ſtrict inſtructions, which left him no real power, but obliged him to act in conjunction with their commiſſioners, colonel Algernon Sidney, Sir Robert Honeywood, and Mr. Thomas Boon; and at the ſame

time they took an occaſion to ſhew they had no great kindneſs for him, by giving away his regiment of horſe; ſo that we may ſuppoſe he left England in none of the warmeſt diſpoſitions for their ſervice. When he arrived in the Sound, he took his ſhare with other miniſters in negotiation, and made it ſufficiently evident, that he had a genius as capable of ſhining in the cabinet, as of commanding at ſea or on ſhore. While he was thus employed, king Charles, being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and ſtrict connexion with the protector's family, thought this a proper time to make a trial of his affections, and therefore ſent a perſon with two letters, one from himſelf, and the other from chancellor Hyde, to be delivered to him, if poſſible, without the privity of his colleagues.

The ſcheme was rational, and well laid, but the meſſenger very indifferently choſen. He was one whoſe loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in thoſe perilous times, when wiſe men kept it cloſe in their hearts; and it was with ſome difficulty that the admiral preſerved himſelf from ſuffering by his indiſcretion. Yet theſe letters, and the perſuaſions of a near relation of his, who undertook to ſtate the merits of the royal cauſe fairly, had ſuch an effect on admiral Montague's mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, and returned with all that warmth and ſincerity incident to great minds, conſcious of former failings. The ſervice the king expected from him was ſailing ſpeedily back to England, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir George Booth, and other perſons of diſtinction, who were diſpoſed to hazard their lives for the ſervice of their country; on weighing which propoſal, Mr. Montague found it ſo plauſible, that he reſolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution, conceiving that, if this opportunity was miſſed, another equally promiſing might not quickly happen.

Colonel Algernon Sidney was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he ſoon diſcerned ſome change in Mr. Montague's conduct, and purſued his diſcoveries ſo cloſely, that he miſſed very little of coming at his whole ſecret. The admiral, obſerving his ſuſpicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and cloſe ſpeech, in which he ſhewed them plainly the little hope there was of doing any thing for the honour of England, by remaining where they were; that to fight they had no authority, and, if they were to remain neuter, they might as well ſail home.

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He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his and their native country of the great ſtruggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occaſion to hint, that themſelves had a great ſtake there, and that, if a new government was to be ſettled, ſome reſpect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with ſaying, that he readily ſubmitted his ſentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing muſt be noted, proviſions were already become ſcarce, it was very difficult to obtain ſupplies; and therefore, if they reſolved to ſtay, they muſt reſolve alſo to live at ſhort allowance.

The queſtion was ſoon decided; and, in conſequence of the council's opinion, admiral Montague weighed immediately, and ſailed to England. On his arrival he found things in a very unexpected and diſagreeable ſituation; Sir George Booth cloſe priſoner in the Tower, the parliament reſtored to their authority, and a warm charge againſt himſelf come to hand from colonel Sidney. Immediately on his arrival he ſet out for London, attended the parliament, and gave there an account of his conduct with ſo much wiſdom and eloquence, that even ſuch as diſliked it knew not what to object, and were therefore very well ſatisfied with diſmiſſing him from his command, to which Lawſon was appointed, a rigid Anabaptiſt, and one in whom they had the greateſt confidence.

After ſuch an eſcape, Mr. Montague, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own eſtate, with a deſign to enjoy, in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life: this made him concern himſelf very little, if at all, in the public tranſactions before Monk's coming into England. After this, when that general ſhewed a deſire that admiral Montague ſhould be reſtored to his command, he ſent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he ſent his majeſty a liſt of ſuch officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of ſuch as he apprehended muſt be reduced by force. He likewiſe deſired to know, whether the king had any aſſurance of the general; but was, at the ſame time ſo cautious, as to deſire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations ſtood.

On his coming on board the fleet, he found things ſtrangely altered; for Lawſon, from whom he expected moſt oppoſition, was become as ready to ſerve the king as himſelf: upon which he laid by all reſerve; and, as ſoon as he received his majeſty's letter, directed to himſelf and

general Monk, he ſailed with the fleet to Holland, leaving only two or three ſhips to attend the parliament commiſſioners. This was a very warm teſtimony of his affection for the king's ſervice, and as ſuch was received by his majeſty: but when it was obſerved, that the parliament commiſſioners looked upon it as a mark of diſreſpect, the king was pleaſed to cover Mr. Montague, by ſending him an antedated letter. Soon after, he had the honour to convoy his majeſty to England, who, within two days from his landing at Dover, ſent Sir William Walker, garter king at arms, to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribband and George of the moſt noble order of the garter, which he preſented him on the 28th of May, in the morning, in his ſhip, then riding in the Downs.

Among the honours conferred on ſuch as had been particularly inſtrumental in reſtoring his majeſty to his juſt rights, our admiral had his ſhare; and by letters patent, dated the 12th July, 1660, he was created baron Montague, of St. Neots, in the county of Huntingdon, viſcount Hinchingbrooke, in the ſame county, and earl of Sandwich, in Kent, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, made maſter of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow ſeas, and lieutenant admiral to the duke of York, as lord high admiral of England. At his majeſty's coronation his lordſhip carried St. Edward's ſtaff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal miniſters, as well as the perſon chiefly entruſted with the care of the fleet.

When the Dutch war began, in 1664, the earl of Sandwich went heartily into the meaſure, as conceiving it for the honour and intereſt of England; and when the duke of York took upon him the command of the fleet as high admiral, his lordſhip commanded the blue ſquadron; and, by his induſtry and care, abundance of the enemy's ſhips were taken, and the beſt part of their Bourdeaux fleet. In the great battle fought on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein the Dutch loſt their admiral Opdam, and had eighteen men of war taken, and foutreen deſtroyed, a large ſhare of the honour of the victory was juſtly given to the conduct of the earl of Sandwich; who, about noon, fell with the blue ſquadron into the center of the enemy's fleet, and thereby began that confuſion, which ended ſoon after in a plain flight. Moſt of our hiſtorians agree, that if this victory had been properly purſued, the Dutch fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage is, as I have elſewhere obſerved, by ſome without juſt grounds, charged

charged on the duke of York. On the return of the Engliſh navy, his majeſty, at the requeſt of the queen mother, declared the duke ſhould not expoſe his perſon again on board the fleet; but that the command of it ſhould be left to the earl of Sandwich; who was ordered to employ his utmoſt diligence to put it, as ſpeedily as poſſible, in a condition to return to the Dutch coaſt; which he accordingly performed.

The earl of Sandwich ſailed on the 5th of July with ſixty men of war to the coaſt of Holland, wearing the royal ſtandard of England, and having under him ſeveral of the braveſt ſeamen that perhaps ever bore the Engliſh flags. Finding the Dutch fleet not at ſea, and having information that both their Eaſt-India and Smyrna fleets were to return north about, he reſolved to ſteer for the coaſt of Norway, in hopes of meeting with them: nor was this a difficult thing, ſince it was ſoon after known, that they had taken ſhelter in the port of Berghen. We have already given ſome account of this action, but reſerved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs, the rather, becauſe the attempt on the Dutch fleet in the harbour of Berghen was the occaſion of our war with Denmark, which ſome have ventured to charge on the earl of Sandwich, as brought about by his ill management; whereas, in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour.

Sir Thomas Tyddiman, being ſent with a ſtout ſquadron to block up the port of Berghen, appeared before it on the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1665. The firſt thing he did was to ſend a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the deſign, and to enquire what orders he had. To this the governor anſwered, that as yet he had none, but that he expected them by the poſt in two or three days, and therefore deſired the Engliſh would deſiſt from making any attempt for that time. The ſame evening, however, the caſtle fired upon the Engliſh fleet, and did ſome miſchief; and the Dutch were ſuffered by the governor to bring ſeventy pieces of cannon on ſhore to fortify their line. Admiral Tyddiman, perceiving this, immediately called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, reſolved to loſe no time, but to attack the Dutch fleet the next morning.

This reſolution taken, Sir Thomas Tyddiman gave to his captains ſtrict charge, that they ſhould not fire againſt the caſtles or ports, and ſhould alſo be very careful to direct all their ſhot low at the hulls of the Dutch ſhips, to prevent

prevent, as far as they could, any damage happening to the town that lay behind the ſhips; both which orders all the ſeamen did unanimouſly agree were performed, according as, in the ſeveral conferences with the governor, thoſe directions were promiſed to be given. The diſpute continued till near eight of the clock, during which time, it is true, the caſtle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the Engliſh could not gueſs; for the ſeamen, whoſe ſtation was neareſt to it, agreed alſo in this point, that the caſtle never left firing from ſome quarter or other. They were led to imagine from thence, that the Dutchmen, who might have been taken in for the ſtrengthening the caſtle, had fired againſt the general's orders during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at leaſt three hundred of them there.

The greateſt miſchief that the Engliſh received was from the artillery in the caſtle, which by accidental ſhots cut ſome hawſers that kept the firſt line together: and ſo, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their ſtations, and, when they were out of the reach of the Dutch guns, the fort upon the outmoſt point on the ſtarboard ſide played upon them afreſh, the guns of which the Engliſh had once ſilenced during the engagement; but, being remounted, they had many of their men killed by them: notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh came that day to anchor within the rocks of Norway, five leagues diſtant from Berghen, having no pilots that could ſhew them anchoring hold nearer for ſo many ſhips together.

While the Engliſh were repairing their ſhips, the Daniſh governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his maſter's orders, and was content to afford them what aſſiſtance he could. But, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to truſt to theſe promiſes; and therefore, on the laſt of Auguſt, the earl ſailed with the reſt of his fleet towards the coaſt of Holland; but, ſuffering much by a ſtorm, his ſhips were forced back again to the northward; and on the 4th of September he met with four Eaſt-Indiamen, and ſeveral other of their merchant ſhips under a good convoy; and, though the ſtormy weather favoured their eſcape, yet he took eight men of war, two of their richeſt Eaſt-India ſhips, and twenty ſail of their merchantmen. On the 9th alſo a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen ſail of the enemy, the greateſt part of which they took, with four men of war, and above a thouſand priſoners.

On his return the earl was received by the king with diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed marks of favour; but his royal highneſs's conduct in the great engagement on the 3d of June being much cenſured, and the king declaring the duke of York ſhould go no more to ſea, as the earl's behaviour in the ſame action had been much applauded, leſt his continuance in the ſole command of the fleet might be interpreted to the diſadvantage of the duke, and our affairs in Spain requiring an extraordinary embaſſy to be ſent into that kingdom, his majeſty diſpatched the earl of Sandwich to the court of Madrid, to mediate a peace between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

Upon the concluſion of this treaty the earl of Sandwich was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands, and his great ſervices acknowledged in ſuch terms as they moſt certainly deſerved. Many of theſe diſpatches, penned by his lordſhip in this embaſſy, have been made public, and remain ſo many indelible marks of his wiſdom, integrity, and public ſpirit.

On the breaking out of the third and laſt Dutch war, his lordſhip went to ſea with the duke of York, and commanded the blue ſquadron. The fleet was at ſea in the beginning of the month of May, and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in Southwold bay, in order to take in water. We are told, that on the 27th, which was Whitmonday, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and ſeamen were permitted to go on ſhore, and were at Southwold, Dunwich, and Aldborough. Things being in this ſituation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of Sandwich delivered it as his opinion, at a council held in the evening, that, the wind ſtanding as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being ſurpriſed by the Dutch, and therefore he thought it adviſeable to weigh anchor, and get out to ſea: to this the duke of York, it is ſaid, made ſuch an anſwer as ſeemed to hint, that the earl ſpoke out of fear; which inſinuation, if really made, was certainly both barbarous and unjuſt.

On the 28th of May, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the Dutch; upon which his royal highneſs made the ſignal for weighing, and getting out to ſea; and, the occaſion being of ſo preſſing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The blue ſquadron, however, was out firſt, and in good order, the red next, and the white, in its proper ſtation, much aſtern. The earl of Sandwich, in his fine ſhip the Royal James, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon and about eight hundred men, began the

fight,

fight, and fell furiouſly on the ſquadron of Van Ghendt this he did, not from a principle of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by an act of heroic valour; for he knew his character was too well eſtabliſhed to need that; his view was, to give the reſt of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain Brakel, in the great Holland, a ſixty-gun ſhip, depending on the aſſiſtance of his ſquadron, attacked the Royal James, but was ſoon diſabled, as were ſeveral other men of war; and three fire-ſhips were ſunk. By this time moſt of his men were killed, and the hull of the Royal James ſo pierced withſhot, that it was impoſſible to carry her off.

In this diſtreſs he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral, Sir Joſeph Jordan, if that gentleman had not been more ſolicitous about aſſiſting the duke: when, therefore, he ſaw him ſail by, heedleſs of the condition in which he lay, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, "There is no-"thing left for us now, but to defend the ſhip to the laſt "man:" and thoſe who knew him readily underſtood, that, by the laſt man, he meant himſelf. When a fourth fire-ſhip had grappled him, he begged his captain, Sir Richard Haddock, and all his ſervants, to get into the boat, and ſave themſelves; which they did: yet ſome of the ſailors would not quit the admiral, but ſtaid, and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in ſpite of all their efforts, they could not do; and ſo they periſhed together, the ſhip blowing up about noon.

His lordſhip's body was found, near a fortnight afterwards; and the king teſtified, by the honours he paid to the corpſe, how much he admired the man, how ſenſible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the duſt of his anceſtors, the remains of ſuch as died gloriouſly in their country's ſervice. The fact ſtands thus in the Gazette.

Harwich, June 10.

"This day the body of the right honourable Edward "earl of Sandwich, being, by the order upon his coat, "diſcovered floating on the ſea, by one of his Majeſty's "ketches, was taken up, and brought into this port; "where Sir Charles Littleton, the governor, receiving it, "took immediate care for its embalming, and honourable "diſpoſing, till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known "concerning it; for the obtaining of which, his majeſty "was attended at Whi ehall, the next day, by the maſter

"of

" of the ſaid veſſel, who, by Sir Charles Littleton's or-
" der, was ſent to preſent his majeſty with the George
" found about the body of the ſaid earl, which remained,
" at the time of its taking up, in every part unblemiſhed,
" ſaving ſome impreſſions made by the fire upon his face
" and breaſt: upon which his majeſty reſolved to have his
" body brought up to London, there, at his charge, to
" receive the rites of funeral due to his great quality and
" merits.

## MEMOIRS of PRINCE RUPERT.

WE ought next to ſay ſomething of Prince Rupert, who commanded the Engliſh fleet often, and with great applauſe. To run through his memorable adventures would take up too much time, and deviate likewiſe from the intention of theſe memoirs: we ſhall therefore touch briefly upon thoſe circumſtances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a ſea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of ſome faithful hiſtorian, who may incline to tranſmit them to poſterity in the manner they deſerve.

He was the third ſon of the elector palatine, ſome time ſtyled king of Bohemia, by the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to king James I. and was conſequently nephew to king Charles I. His education, like that of moſt German princes, eſpecially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and ſuch as have been leaſt inclined to favour him admit, that he was extremely well fitted in reſpect both to natural abilities, and acquired accompliſhments, for a great commander. When the unhappy civil wars broke out here, he came and offered his ſword, when ſcarce of age, to his uncle, and through the whole war behaved with great intrepidity; and, on many occaſions, his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary ſucceſs: to reward which, as well that poſterity might have a juſt idea of the ſenſe his majeſty entertained of his great merit, that prince having firſt elected him into the moſt noble order of the garter, did, by his letters patents, bearing date at Oxford, the 19th of January, in the 19th year of his reign, make him a free denizen; and, on the 24th of the ſame month, advanced him to the dignity of a peer of England, by the title of earl of Holderneſſe, and duke of Cumberland. When the war was over, he went abroad with a paſs from the parliament; but when the fleet revolted to the prince of Wales, he readily went on board it,

where

where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by vigorous counſels; which, however, were not followed; but, on the return of the fleet to Holland, the command of it was left to him. He then ſailed to Ireland, where he endeavoured to ſupport the king's ſinking cauſe; but was quickly purſued by the parliament's ſuperior fleet, under Popham and Blake, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of Kinſale, whence he eſcaped, by boldly puſhing through their fleet; an action as ſucceſsful in the event as brave in the intention.

After this eſcape, he proceeded to the coaſt of Spain, where, at firſt, he was treated with ſome reſpect; but when it was known that the parliament had a better fleet at ſea, and were very intent on purſuing and cruſhing his highneſs, the Spaniards became afraid of ſhewing him any mark of favour: and therefore, when two or three of his ſhips were diſtreſſed, and ran aſhore, they plundered them, and preſſed the men into their ſervice.

From the coaſt of Spain the prince ſailed to Liſbon, and was quickly followed thither by Blake, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail. We have already given ſome account of this expedition, and of his being at laſt forced by Blake to leave that port, and betake himſelf again to the Mediterranean; and therefore here I ſhall only obſerve, that it was chiefly the high reſpect paid to prince Rupert's perſon, that enabled him to keep the ſea with his ſquadron, which was now become too ſmall to be called a fleet. On the 5th of November, 1650, general Blake deſtroyed the Roebuck and the Black Prince, two of the beſt ſhips he had remaining, while his highneſs in the Reformation, and his brother, prince Maurice, in the Convertine, or, as other writers ſay, in the Swallow, ſailed into the Adriatic ſea, and, after taking ſome prizes, returned, after Blake's departure, into the port of Toulon, where they diſpoſed of them, paid their ſailors, and provided for a more diſtant expedition.

Prince Rupert's ſquadron, in the ſpring of the year 1651, ſailed again for the Streights, conſiſting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ſhips. There he began to take Spaniſh ſhips, by way of repriſal, for the reſpect they ſhewed the parliament, till, finding himſelf hard preſſed by Penn, he reſolved, having indeed no reſource beſides, to follow his brother into the Weſt-Indies. This deſign might poſſibly have proved more ſucceſsful, if prince Rupert, on his arrival in thoſe parts, had applied himſelf to the preſervation of the Weſt-India trade; but, inſtead of

this,

this, both he and prince Maurice continued to cruize upon the Spaniards, till the latter periſhed at ſea, and the former found his ſhips in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to return into Europe; which accordingly he did, and, in the cloſe of the year 1652, arrived ſafely in Brittanny, where he diſpoſed of his prizes, paid his ſeamen as far as it would go, and for the preſent laid aſide his command as an admiral.

On the king's reſtoration, prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king, who had an affection for him, gave him various offices worthy of his high birth. With a view of honouring the ſociety of the Inner Temple, his royal highneſs the duke of York, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Dorſet, and Sir William Morrice, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, were pleaſed to be admitted of that houſe, the duke of York being then called to the bar and bench; and, on the 4th of November in the ſame year (1661), his highneſs prince Rupert, and other perſons of rank, condeſcended to honour the ſociety in like manner. On the 28th of April, 1662, the prince was ſworn a member of the privy-council alſo in the December following, when the ſtatutes of the royal ſociety were preſented to the king, who was pleaſed to ſuperſcribe himſelf their founder and patron; his royal highneſs the duke and prince Rupert at the ſame time declared themſelves fellows. By this time his highneſs's fire was in ſome degree qualified, and his judgment become cooler, and fitter for the diſcharge of great employments; when therefore, in the year 1666, the king intruſted him, in conjunction with the duke of Albemarle, to command the fleet, he diſcovered all the great qualities that could be deſired in an admiral; for, by his happy return to the fleet, on the 3d of June he raviſhed from the Dutch the only victory they had the appearance of gaining, and afterwards, on the 24th of June, beat them effectually, purſued them to their own coaſt, blocked up their harbours, and made them ſenſible of the ſuperiority of Engliſh courage, when not oppreſſed by numbers. In the autumn of the ſame year, having the ſole command of our fleet, and underſtanding that the Dutch were endeavouring to join a French ſquadron of forty ſail under the duke of Beaufort, he followed them cloſely into Bouloign road; upon which, to avoid another battle, they hauled in ſo near the ſhore, as in all probability they muſt either have been burnt or ſunk, if a ſudden ſtorm had not forced the prince to return to St. Helen's bay.

After

After the breaking out of the laſt Dutch war, and the breaking the teſt-act, his highneſs was drawn from his retirement to take upon him once more the command of the fleet. The duke of York had reſigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of Sandwich and moſt of the old admirals were dead; ſo that none could, with any decency, be called to that important charge but himſelf. He had never lived on any terms with the miniſtry who were ſtyled the CABAL; for they were all perſons of the utmoſt art, and he was one of the plaineſt men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themſelves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make ſuch diſpoſitions in the fleet as were fitteſt to render the admiral uneaſy, from a proſpect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of York, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character would oblige his royal highneſs. There needed no more to ſet theſe folks to work: they began to find fault with every order he gave, and to miſrepreſent every meaſure he took; but the prince quickly convinced them, that, inſtead of hurting his character, they would by ſuch conduct totally deſtroy their own.

By his briſk getting out to ſea in the month of April, he ſhewed, that he could be active in age as well as youth; and, by ſailing over to the Dutch coaſt, he diſcovered a readineſs to fight, which was the old characteriſtic of an Engliſh admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of May, 1672, in which we had the advantage.

The next engagement happened on the 5th of June, in which the advantage was more plainly on the ſide of the Engliſh, as is evident from Prince Rupert's letter, which was immediately publiſhed; but, after this engagement, he found the fleet to be ſo miſerably deſtitute of all neceſſaries, and, which was worſe, ſo indifferently manned, that he thought fit to return home.

On the 11th of Auguſt he fought the laſt battle that was fought againſt this enemy, of which we have already given ſo full an account, that, in reſpect to the fact, we can add nothing here: on his return from his command, the king expreſſed ſome coolneſs, which was owing not more to the arts of his highneſs's enemies, than to the quickneſs of his letter in relation to the laſt fight, and the behaviour of the French; but the king's diſpleaſure

quickly

quickly wore out, as the intereſt of the CABAL began to decline. After this the prince led a quiet and (in a great meaſure) a retired life, moſtly at Windſor-caſtle, of which he was governor, and ſpent a great part of his time in the proſecution of chemical and philoſophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors with applauſe for his ſkill in painting, and celebrated by one of the moſt judicious of our own for his invention of mezzotinto prints, ſince riſen, from their ſoftneſs and beauty, into ſo high eſteem. He likewiſe delighted in making locks for fire arms, and was the inventor of a compoſition called, from him, PRINCE'S METAL. He communicated to the royal ſociety his improvements upon gunpowder, by refining the ſeveral ingredients, and making it more carefully, which, as appears upon ſeveral trials reported to that learned body, augmented its force, in compariſon of ordinary powder, in the proportion of ten to one; an invention, which though too expenſive for common occaſions, deſerves to be remembered, becauſe in particular caſes it may be of particular utility. He alſo acquainted them with an engine he had contrived for raiſing water, and ſent them an inſtrument, of which he made uſe, to caſt any platform into perſpective, and for which they deputed a ſelect committee of their members to return him their thanks. He was the inventor of a gun for d ſcharging ſeveral bullets with the utmoſt ſpeed, facility, and ſafety, which was generally and juſtly admired. The royal ſociety received likewiſe from his highneſs the intimation of a certain method of blowing up rocks in mines, and other ſubterraneous places. The very ingenious and indefatigable Dr. Hook has preſerved another invention of his for making hail ſhot of all ſizes. He deviſed a particular kind of ſcrew, by the means of which, obſervations taken by a quadrant at ſea were ſecured from receiving any alteration by the unſteadineſs of the obſerver's hand, or through the motion of the ſhip. He had alſo, amongſt other ſecrets, one that was very curious, and, if preſerved, might be very beneficial, which was that of melting or running black lead, like a metal, into a mould, and reducing it back again into its original form.

As to his public character in the laſt ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honeſty of his temper, and to his not having any liking to intrigues. He gave indefatigable attention to whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good. He was a great promoter of the trade to Africa, and a principal protector

tector of the royal African company, as a proof of which; before the firſt Dutch war (in this reign) he offered his majeſty to ſail with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Guinea, in order to vindicate the honour of the crown, aſſert the juſt rights of the company, and redreſs the injuries done to the nation: but the king, unwilling to hazard his perſon at ſuch a diſtance, and in ſo ſickly a climate, though he received the motion kindly, would not conſent to it, but contented himſelf with taking an officer of his recommendation, (captain Holmes), under whom the ſquadron was ſent. He was an active member of the council of trade. It was owing to his ſolicitations, after being at great expence not only in the inquiry into the value, but in ſending ſhips thither, that the Hudſon's bay company was erected, of which he was the firſt governor appointed by the charter. In memory of him, a conſiderable opening on the eaſt ſide of that bay, in Terra de Labrador, is called Rupert's river. In general, his highneſs was a great friend to ſeamen, and to all learned, ingenious, and public-ſpirited perſons, and aſſiſted them with his purſe, as well as afforded them his countenance. He was concerned in the patent for nealed cannon, in a glaſs-houſe, and other undertakings for acquiring or improving manufactures, for which ſome have cenſured him as giving encouragement to projectors. But ſurely this cenſure is very ill placed, ſince, without ſuch patrons, induſtry and ingenuity would want ſupport, and many uſeful inventions, many valuable diſcoveries, barely emerge, and then ſink again into oblivion. But ſtrict juſtice has been done to his highneſs's many virtues, and amiable qualities, by abler and more impartial judges, eſpecially in that excellent character of him by the elegant pen of biſhop Sprat. In reſpect to his private life he was ſo juſt, ſo beneficent, ſo courteous, that his memory remained dear to all who knew him. This I ſay of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in Berkſhire ſpeak in raptures of prince Rupert.

He died at his houſe in Spring-gardens on the 29th of November, 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a natural ſon, uſually called Dudley Rupert, by a daughter of Henry Bard, viſcount Bellemont, though ſtyled in his father's laſt will and teſtament Dudley Bard. He received the firſt tincture of letters at Eton ſchool, where the gentleneſs of his temper, and the modeſty and amiableneſs of his behaviour, procured him univerſal eſteem. His genius, however, inclining rather to arms than ſtudy, he was placed under the care of that celebrated mathematician

Sir

Sir Jonas Moore at the Tower. Here he continued till the demiſe of the prince, when he made a tour into Germany to take poſſeſſion of a conſiderable fortune which had been bequeathed to him. He was very kindly received by the palatine family, to whom he had the honour of being ſo nearly allied. In 1686 he made a campaign in Hungary, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of Buda, where he had the misfortune to loſe his life, in the month of July or Auguſt, in a deſperate attempt made by ſome Engliſh gentlemen upon the fortifications of that city, in the twentieth year of his age, and, though ſo young, had ſignalized his courage in ſuch an extraordinary manner, that his death was exceedingly regretted. The prince left alſo a natural daughter, the lady Ruperta, by Mrs. Margaret Hughes. This lady Ruperta afterwards married general Howe, and is ſince deceaſed.

## MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN LAWSON, Vice Admiral of the Red Squadron.

THIS eminent commander was the ſon of a perſon in low circumſtances at Hull, and bred to the ſea, either on account of his own taking a liking to it, or that it beſt ſuited with his father's ſituation; who, perhaps, knew not otherwiſe how to provide for him. In proceſs of time he obtained a ſhip by his merit; and ſerving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain therein, for his extraordinary deſert. He ſerved with great fidelity againſt all their enemies, ſo long as the parliament retained their power; and, towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with Penn, under Monk.

In 1653, we commanded a fleet of forty-four ſail, which were ſent over to the coaſt of Holland; and in this expedition, by taking a ſcarce credible number of prizes, his acceptable ſervice had great influence in making the peace. On the change of the government, and Cromwell's aſſuming the ſupreme power to himſelf, he was continued in his command, and treated with very much reſpect; but, it ſeems, his principles did not incline him to act ſo ſteadily under the new government as he had done under the old.

It is very certain, that the protector Oliver had early intelligence of Lawſon's diſaffection. Colonel Overton, who had plotted againſt Monk in Scotland, had, in ſome of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice admiral Lawſon as a perſon upon whom they might depend; yet,

for

for all this, he was employed and intruſted to command a fleet for the channel ſervice in 1655. But the Spaniſh war had the ſame effect upon him that it had upon many officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injuſtice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into ſchemes againſt the protector.

There were at the ſame time a very formidable body of men, who conſpired alſo againſt Cromwell on the moſt enthuſiaſtic principles, and were ſtyled fifth monarchy men. With theſe Lawſon, Okey, Rich, and other officers, thought fit to join, becauſe they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the tyranny. Secretary Thurloe, however, had ſuch early and ſuch clear informations of all their proceedings, that they were able to effect nothing: on the contrary, April 10, 1657, major-general, Harriſon, admiral Lawſon, and ſeveral others, were committed; which put an end to their intrigues.

When he recovered his liberty, he judged it proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he ſhould ever be employed again: but, upon the firſt news of the return of admiral Montague with his fleet from the Baltic, the parliament reſolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide, and therefore ſent for Mr. Lawſon, declared him vice admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival. In his privacy he had converſed with ſome underſtanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of ſhifting from one form of government to another, and the great crime of ſubverting the conſtitution of one's country, to which an abſolute obedience is due. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard of general Monk's march into England, he reſolved to co-operate with him; and, knowing that nothing could be done but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their ſolemn thanks.

Immediately after the reſtoration he was ſent as vice admiral to the earl of Sandwich, when he went to fetch queen Catherine from Portugal, and was afterwards employed in the Mediterranean againſt the Algerines, to whom he did conſiderable damage, and ſo effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to ſend any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would have done, if he had not been diſappointed in his expectation from de Ruyter, who, with his Dutch ſquadron, was ſent on the ſame errard. Theſe admirals differed about a ſalute which de Ruyter paid Lawſon, and Lawſon refuſed to return, as being

being bound up by his inſtructions. After this there was no harmony between them: the Dutch admiral took the firſt opportunity of quitting this ſervice, and ſlipping away to Guinea, which was highly reſented by king Charles, and alledged as one of the cauſes of the Dutch war.

On the 21ſt of April, 1665, the duke of York ſailed with a grand fleet to the coaſt of Holland, himſelf carrying the red flag, prince Rupert the white, and the earl of Sandwich the blue. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off Leoſtoff, on the memorable 3d of June, that day twelve years in which they had been beat by Monk; Lawſon, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was by a muſket ſhot in his knee diſabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured ſo hard to gain. He did not, however, die till ſome days after, *viz.* June 29, 1665, when he had the ſatisfaction of knowing that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, ſo he died with glory.

It is worth obſerving, that all the writers of thoſe times, though they differ widely in reſpect to many characters, concur in commending Sir John Lawſon as a brave, honeſt, loyal commander, and as a very able and underſtanding ſeaman; and, as ſuch, deſerves to be honourably remembered.

## MEMOIRS OF SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE.

SIR JOHN KEMPTHORNE was deſcended from a good family in Devonſhire, and was born in the pariſh of Widſcombe in that county in the year 1620. His father being a royaliſt and in low circumſtances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading veſſel belonging to Topſham, with whom he lived very happily for ſome years; and, being a young man of natural good abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge in his profeſſion, by which, and by the favour of his maſter, he grew into great credit with the moſt eminent traders in Exeter, in whoſe ſervice he made various voyages into the Mediterranean, with large profit to them, and no ſmall reputation to himſelf. In the beginning of our wars with Spain he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large Spaniſh man of war, commanded by a knight of Malta; and though the odds were very great, yet captain Kempthorne defended himſelf gallantly, till all his ammunition was

ſpent, and then, remembering that he had ſeveral large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better ſerve to annoy than enrich the enemy, and therefore he ordered his men to load their guns with ſilver, which did ſuch execution on the Spaniards rigging, that, if his own ſhip had not been diſabled by an unlucky ſhot, he had in all probability got clear. At laſt, however, overpowered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into Malaga.

The knight, to whom he was priſoner, treated him with the utmoſt kindneſs and civility, carried him home to his houſe, gave him the free uſe of it, ſpoke of him with much reſpect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deſerved higher preferment; and after a ſhort ſtay in this manner, which I can ſcarce call a confinement, he ſent him to England. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate ſuch a paſſage as this, without the proper circumſtances of names and dates; but, when theſe have been ſlighted by ſuch as firſt committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards eaſily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, ſince, upon the credit of this action, captain Kempthorne laid the foundation of his ſubſequent fortunes. Having premiſed this, we may proceed to the ſecond part of this adventure. Some years after, the ſame knight of Malta was taken in the Streights by commodore Ven, and brought priſoner into England, where he was committed to the Tower: this afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did at his own expence, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to return to Spain; an action generous and grateful in itſelf, and which could not fail of doing our Engliſh commander great honour.

After the reſtoration, captain Kempthorne had ſome merit to plead, his father having quitted the profeſſion of the law, to ſerve as a lieutenant of horſe in the king's army, which honeſt and loyal act proved his total ruin. Whether this or any perſonal intereſt which his ſon might have, brought him into the navy, it is not eaſy to ſay; but, ſoon after the king's return, he was provided with a ſhip, *viz.* the Mary Roſe, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ſhip he went as convoy to a conſiderable fleet of merchantmen in the Streights, and in the month of December, 1669, met with a ſquadron of ſeven Algerine men of war: by his prudence

dence and courage he preſerved, however, all the veſſels under his care, and obliged the enemy to ſheer off, after leaving behind them ſeveral of their men, who had boarded the Mary Roſe, and were brought by captain Kempthorne into England.

This gallant action juſtly entitled him to a flag; and yet it was ſome years afterwards out-done, with great ſatisfaction to the captain: for his ſon, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the King's Fiſher, a frigate of forty-ſix guns, and two hundred and twenty men, engaged ſeven Algerines, three of which carried as many guns as the whole ſquadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was ſeveral times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ſhip ſafe into a Spaniſh port, where himſelf died of his wounds.

## MEMOIRS of SIR GEORGE AYSCOUGH, or, as generally written, AYSCUE, Admiral of the White.

SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, whoſe merit was great, and ſo generally underſtood, that he was preferred without envy; nay, his preferments were attended with ſuch univerſal applauſe, as at length, which often happens in popular ſtates, rendered him obnoxious to his maſters. This did not hinder his appearing again in a higher ſtation with equal reputation; and having often vanquiſhed enemies, he in the laſt action of his life, triumphed over fortune.

When a great part of the fleet revolted in the ſummer of 1648, and ſet colonel Rainſborough on ſhore, who was ſent to take the command, Sir George Ayſcue preſerved his ſhip the Lion for the parliament, and brought her into the river Thames, of which he gave them notice. This important ſervice at ſo critical a conjuncture was received with great ſatisfaction, and he was deſired, with captain Moulton, to ſail over to the coaſt of Holland, to watch the motions of the ſhips then under the prince of Wales. The next year he was declared admiral in the Iriſh ſeas, and directed to relieve Dublin, which was a thing of the utmoſt conſequence. This he very ſucceſsfully performed, as alſo many other ſervices; which induced them to continue him in that office for another year, in which ſpace he did all, and even more than they expected; for which they honoured him with their thanks, and aſſured him they would retain a

ſuitable ſenſe of what he had done in ſupport of the Engliſh and Proteſtant intereſt in that kingdom.

The war, at leaſt as far as it was a ſea war, being brought to a concluſion in Ireland, the parliament found themſelves at liberty to make uſe of their fleet elſewhere, and thereupon reſolved to reduce the iſland of Barbadoes, which was held for king Charles by the lord Willoughby of Parham, who had ſerved them long; but when he ſaw they meant to ſubvert the conſtitution, quitted them, and went to king Charles II. in Holland, by whom he was declared vice admiral of the revolted fleet, and afterwards governor of the Leward Iſlands. In order to accompliſh this, orders were ſent to Sir George Ayſcue to form a ſquadron, which he was to man and victual as ſoon as poſſible, and then proceed to Barbadoes: but, before he was in any readineſs to ſail, theſe orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, the parliament had information, that the Dutch were treating with Sir John Greenville, in order to have the iſles of Scilly put into their hands; and therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce thoſe iſlands firſt. Blake and Ayſcue were employed in this expedition in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and Sir John Greenville had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St. Mary, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late king's army; ſo that, if things had been decided by the ſword, the diſpute muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir John eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally in reſpect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command, and therefore entered into a treaty with general Blake and admiral Ayſcue, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which Blake returned to England, and Ayſcue prepared for his voyage to Barbadoes.

He arrived at Barbadoes on the 26th of October, 1651, and became quickly ſenſible of the difficulty of that enterprize. His own force was very inconſiderable in compariſon of that of the iſland: The governor was a man of quality, good ſenſe, and well beloved, and had aſſembled a body of near five thouſand men to oppoſe him. In ſpite of all theſe difficulties, he was determined to do his utmoſt to reduce the place, which he compleatly accompliſhed.

He returned to Plymouth on the 25th of May, 1652, with great reputation. The Dutch war, which broke out while he was abroad, was now very warm, and Sir George

was

was forced to take a ſhare therein, though his ſhips were with ſo long a voyage extremely foul, and in a manner unfit for ſervice: yet, when general Blake ſailed to the north, he performed glorious, indeed almoſt incredible things; for in July he took five Dutch merchantmen, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty ſail under the convoy of four men of war, took ſeven, burnt three, and forced the reſt on the French ſhore. On the 16th of Auguſt, 1652, the Dutch attempted to ſurpriſe Sir George with a great fleet, who was juſt then returned from convoying a rich fleet of Eaſt-India ſhips into Plymouth. Though he was much inferior in ſtrength, he fought notwithſtanding, and at laſt, with conſiderable loſs, forced them to retire. After this, he continued to behave vigorouſly againſt the enemy; and though his ſervices were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the ſeamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a HERO.

In ſome ſhort time after this, the parliament thought fit to conſider Sir George's former ſervices, and to vote him, as a reward, three hundred pounds a-year in Ireland, and alſo three hundred pounds in money; but they thought proper, at the ſame time, to lay him aſide, under pretence that the honour of the nation was ſome way affected by the loſs he had ſuffered in the late fight in Dover road: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own hiſtorians, but the Dutch writers alſo, agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occaſion; and ſo far was the honour of the nation from being at all injured by any loſs he ſuſtained, that this very action was then, and ſtill is conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of the invincible courage of the Engliſh at ſea. Nay, immediately before he was diſmiſſed from his command, he gave a moſt extraordinary proof of his courage; for he proteſted againſt Blake's retreat, after he had been worſted in the battle of the 29th of November, and declared, he thought it more honourable to periſh at ſea, than to retire in the ſight of an enemy; and upon this occaſion he intimated a deſign of throwing up, which gave his enemies ſo fair an opportunity of taking away his commiſſion.

After this the admiral led a retired life. The grant he had of an eſtate in Ireland, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with Henry Cromwell who then governed that kingdom, and who conceived from thence ſo great an eſteem for him, that he wrote expreſly to ſecretary Thurloe, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment then in agitation, and in any thing

thing elſe which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced perſon. Yet it doth not appear, that he was ever employed, or perhaps choſe to be employed, in the protector's ſervice; for I find him in 1656 at his ſeat in Surry, which is thus deſcribed by Whitlocke: "The "houſe ſtands environed with ponds, moats, and water, "like a ſhip at ſea; a fancy the fitter for the maſter's hu- "mour, who was himſelf ſo great a ſeaman. There, he "ſaid, he had caſt anchor, and intended to ſpend the reſt "of his life in private retirement." He changed his reſolution, however, for which, if I miſtake not, this viſit laid a foundation; ſince Whitlocke went, in company with the Swediſh ambaſſador, and Sir George was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to Sweden, where he was to be admiral.

This ſcheme, of ſending him into the north, was one of the laſt formed by the protector Oliver. He had always kept a cloſe correſpondence with Charles Guſtavus, king of Sweden, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He ſaw, therefore, with great regret, the ſucceſs of the Dutch in ſettling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of Sweden, by keeping a ſtrong fleet in the Baltic. He had his reaſons for avoiding a ſecond war with the Dutch; and yet he could not think of abandoning the Swedes. At laſt, therefore, he took a reſolution of ſending a ſtout ſquadron, well manned, under the command of vice-admiral Goodſon, who was to act in conjunction with Sir George Ayſcue, as we have ſhewn in another place; the latter having accepted of a commiſſion in his Swediſh Majeſty's ſervice; by which ſtroke of policy, the protector thought he ſhould avoid all diſputes with Holland, and yet do as much for the Swedes as they could deſire. But this ſquadron ſailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at Copenhagen: however, admiral Ayſcue proceeded to Sweden by land, and was treated with great marks of eſteem and favour by his Swediſh majeſty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's deceaſe, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660; ſo that Sir George Ayſcue had no manner of concern in the laſt troubles in England.

He returned home ſoon after the reſtoration, and was received with all the reſpect that was due to a man of his high rank and merit. He was, as we have already mentioned, appointed one of the commiſſioners for regulating the affairs of the navy, and in high eſteem with the duke

of

of York, who always conſulted him in whatever regarded maritime concerns. When the Dutch war broke out, in 1664, he went to ſea as rear-admiral of the blue ſquadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of June, 1665. On the duke of York's return to court, and the earl of Sandwich's hoiſting the royal flag, Sir George Ayſcue ſerved as vice-admiral of the red, and was very fortunate in making prizes.

In 1666, when prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded, Sir George Ayſcue, in the Royal Prince, the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip in the fleet, bore the white flag, as admiral of that ſquadron, having Sir William Berkley for his vice, and Sir John Harman for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the firſt of June, he did remarkable ſervice, not only againſt the enemy, but in the preſervation of ſuch of the Engliſh ſhips as were diſabled by their ſuperior force. With the ſame ſucceſsful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince Rupert appeared with the frigates under his command, and a ſignal was made for the fleet to join, Sir George Ayſcue's ſhip unfortunately ran upon the Galloper, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, ſurrounded by his enemies, and unaſſiſted by his friends, he was, as the Dutch writers themſelves confeſs, compelled by his own ſeamen to ſtrike; upon which, the Dutch took them on board, and finding it impoſſible to bring off the Royal Prince, ſet her on fire.

This capture of Sir George Ayſcue, gave the enemy great ſatisfaction. They carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at laſt ſhut him up in the caſtle of Louveſtein, where he continued for ſome months. After his return, which was in November, when he was graciouſly received by his majeſty, he went no more to ſea, but ſpent the remainder of his days in quiet. But where, or when, this great and gallant ſeaman concluded his life, I have not hitherto been able (with certainty) to diſcover.

## MEMOIRS of SIR EDWARD SPRAGGE, Admiral of the Blue.

THERE are ſome men great in a particular way, to a degree of eminence, that exempts them from any blame, though poſſibly defective in many others. Education and habit alter men frequently, and nature herſelf ſometimes infuſes qualities into the breaſts of men, which particularly

ticularly diſpoſes them to a certain kind of life, and as apparently diſables them from following other purſuits: but it very rarely happens, that a man is alike equal to various, and even to oppoſite employments. Alcibiades is celebrated, by antiquity, for his peculiar felicity in this reſpect. In the camp, in the court, in the cloſet, he was equally able, and eſteemed. He was a ſoldier, a ſeaman, a ſtateſman, a courtier, a man of buſineſs, or a man of pleaſure, as circumſtances required; and, in every character he aſſumed, he ſo far excelled, as to ſeem born and deſigned for that alone. The ſame thing his contemporaries, his companions, thoſe who knew him, and the world too, perfectly well, affirm of Sir Edward Spragge, who, with a fine perſon, and a gentle temper, had as ſolid an underſtanding, and as bold a ſpirit, as any counſellor or captain of that age.

With all theſe advantages, with the favour of the duke of York, with the merit of ſo great ſervices, as he certainly rendered his country, and with the ſtill ſuperior merit of dying glorioufly in his country's ſervice, which indeed procured his remains an interment in Weſtminſter-abbey; he was not honoured with a tomb, or any memorial (as far as I can yet diſcover) where he was born, of what family, or how he attained to his firſt preferment; which are circumſtances that ought to have been recorded, of ſo great and gallant a man, and which, in or nearer his own times, might have been eaſily known. But ſince theſe are not, at preſent, to be retrieved, we muſt be ſatisfied with thoſe notices which have connected his actions with our public hiſtory: and theſe, we ſhall find, will abundantly make good what we have already obſerved, and induce us to regret the want of more particular memoirs; becauſe it is a kind of political juſtice, to preſerve the private hiſtory of thoſe who have deſerved well of the public.

We find him a captain, in the firſt engagement with the Dutch, after the Reſtoration, on the 3d of June, 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and ſo far recommended himſelf to the favour of the duke of York, that, upon his majeſty's viſiting the navy, and going on board the Royal Charles, he received the honour of knighthood; which encouraged him to expoſe himſelf ſtill more freely. He was likewiſe in the four-days battle in June 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of Albemarle; and in the ſucceeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of July, he carried a flag under Sir Jeremiah Smith, admiral of the blue ſquadron; who engaged

gaged Van Tromp, ſhattered his vice-admiral, ſo that ſhe was abſolutely diſabled; and having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day.

He diſtinguiſhed himſelf, likewiſe, very remarkably in the cloſe of that war, in the unlucky buſineſs at Chatham, where he was employed, by the duke of Albemarle, to maintain the fort of Sheerneſs, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of June, 1667: and though it was unfiniſhed, his garriſon very ſmall, and the place in no ſtate of reſiſtance; yet he continued to defend himſelf, till it would have been an act of raſhneſs to expoſe his garriſon any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual ſervice by land, he ſet himſelf to collect as great a force as he could by ſea. This amounted to no more than five frigates, ſeventeen fire-ſhips, and ſome tenders; and yet when the Dutch admiral, Van Nes, came up the river again, after their attempt upon Harwich, Sir Edward Spragge engaged him about the Hope. The fight was very unequal; but there being, at firſt, little or no wind, Sir Edward laid hold of that advantage; and, by dextrouſly towing his fire-ſhips, burnt eleven or twelve of theirs, with only ſix of his own; but the wind ſtiffening, he was at laſt obliged to ſhelter himſelf, from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of the Tilbury-fort.

The next day, the weather being favourable, he attacked the Dutch again, in his turn; and, by the happy management of his fire-ſhips, put them into ſuch confuſion, that, after a ſhort diſpute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their laſt fire-ſhip themſelves, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they proſecuted their retreat, but with Sir Edward Spragge's ſquadron of fire-ſhips in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another ſquadron of fire-ſhips from Harwich, which put them in ſuch danger, that above a hundred men in the Vice-admiral of Zeland, and another large man of war, leaped overboard, and were drowned. This was the laſt action, on our ſide, in that war.

In 1668, the conſtable of Caſtile being appointed governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, Sir Edward Spragge was ſent over to compliment him upon that occaſion, and to enter into ſome further negociations for the ſucceſs of the new meaſures, in which Sir Edward is ſaid to have been deeply engaged. The truth is, he was raiſed and ſupported by the favour of the duke of York; ſo that he devoted himſelf wholly to his ſervice, and was thought to have a large ſhare

in

in his confidence. Some have from thence reported, that he was a papiſt; of which there is little probability, ſince we find him ſent to ſea with prince Rupert, in 1673, when the Teſt had driven the duke of York, and others of his religion, from their poſts. This advancement of Spragge I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the ſcore of religion: for before I ſpeak of his behaviour in the laſt Dutch war, I muſt take notice of his employment in the Mediterranean, after his return from his negociation in Flanders.

There had been ſeveral ſquadrons ſent to chaſtiſe the Algerines, both by the Engliſh and Dutch; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter; they, generally ſpeaking, contented themſelves with ſome ſlight action, to the prejudice of theſe corſairs, and then concluded a peace; which was uſually broken by that time they, with their ſquadrons, were returned home. The conſideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir Edward Spragge to command a ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, in hopes of meeting with greater, or making more uſe of his ſucceſs than his predeceſſors, from his known courage and reſolution; for it is confeſſed, by the writers of thoſe times, that Sir Edward greatly reſembled the earl of Sandwich, and concealed, like him, a high and daring ſpirit, under the moſt captivating addreſs, and moſt poliſhed behaviour.

He ſailed from England, on this expedition, in the ſpring of the year 1671, with five frigates, and three fire-ſhips, and there might be as many more ſhips in thoſe ſeas; ſo that, in all, his fleet conſiſted of about twelve ſail. In the latter end of the month of April, he had intelligence that there were ſeveral Algerine men of war in Bugia bay; on which, he called a council of war, when it was reſolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In purſuance of this reſolution, he ſailed thither; but, in his paſſage, had the misfortune to have the Eagle fire-ſhip diſabled by a ſtorm; and, ſoon after, one of his ſhips ſpringing her main-maſt, was obliged to bear away for the Spaniſh ſhore. Sir Edward, however, perſiſted in his deſign, refitted the Eagle, and bore into the bay of Bugia with a briſk gale, not doubting that he ſhould be able to fire the ſhips: but by that time they got within half-ſhot of the caſtle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind roſe again, it proved contrary.

On the 2d of May, they were able to do nothing, for the ſame reaſon, the wind changing every half hour; upon which,

which, Sir Edward reſolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the ſmalleſt of his fire-ſhips, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night, he executed his project, ſending in all his boats, and the Eagle fire-ſhip, under the command of his eldeſt lieutenant Mr. Nugent; but the night proving very dark, and the high land obſcuring the ſhips as they drew near them, they paſſed by; and lieutenant Nugent leaving one of the boats with the fire ſhips, beſides her own, rowed in, to diſcover the enemy, leaving orders, with the captain of the fire-ſhip, to come to an anchor, in caſe he found ſhoal water. The lieutenant had not left them a minute before he perceived himſelf within piſtol-ſhot of the ſhips; and, concluding the buſineſs now as good as done, ſteered off again to find the fire-ſhip, and, to his amazement, ſaw her all in flames.

The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and ſo this promiſing advantage vaniſhed, which had given hopes of burning all the Algerine men of war, without the loſs of a man. The next day the enemy unrigged all their ſhips, and made a ſtrong boom with their yards, top-maſts, and cables, buoyed up with caſks, for which they had all the leiſure and conveniency they could wiſh, the wind hindering the Engliſh from doing any thing; and, to try the admiral's patience to the very utmoſt, it ſo fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a piſtol, his other ſmall fire-ſhip was deſtroyed; ſo that he had now none left but the Little Victory, which drew too much water to enter that part of the bay where the Algerines lay.

On Monday the 8th of May, 1671, there appeared a conſiderable body of horſe and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were ſoon after diſcovered to be an eſcort to a very large convoy of ammunition ſent from Algiers to the ſhips; on the ſafe arrival of which, they fired all their cannon, to teſtify their joy. Sir Edward Spragge conſidering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, reſolved to take the earlieſt opportunity of making his laſt and utmoſt effort; and, in order thereto, directed the Victory to be lightened, ſo that ſhe might not draw above eight feet. About noon, there ſprung up a fine breeze to the eaſt; upon which, the admiral gave the ſignal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up into the bay; immediately after, the wind ſunk at once, ſo that they deſpaired of doing any thing.

But

But about two the gale ſprang up again, and the ſhips bore in, as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in four fathom water, cloſe under their caſtle-walls, which fired upon him continually for two hours. In this ſpace he ſent in his own pinnace, and thoſe of the Mary and Dragon: theſe cut the boom, though not without conſiderable loſs. Lieutenant Pin, who commanded the Mary's boat's crew, had eight wounded with himſelf; lieutenant Pierce of the Dragon was alſo wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were ſeven killed, and all the reſt wounded, except Mr. Harman, who commanded it.

The boom being cut, the fireſhip went in, and getting up athwart their boltſprits, their ſhips being aground, and faſt to the caſtles, ſhe burnt very well, and deſtroyed them all. Captain Harris who commanded her, his maſter's mate, gunner, and one of his ſeamen, were deſperately wounded with ſmall ſhot, and this at their entrance: ſo that probably the whole deſign had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commiſſioned Henry Williams (then one of his maſter's mates, but who had formerly commanded the Roſe fire-ſhip) to take the charge of the veſſel, in caſe the other was diſabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him.

This loſs was irreparable to the Algerines, who had picked out thoſe ſeven men of war, that were here burnt, on purpoſe to fight Sir Edward Spragge; had furniſhed them with their beſt braſs ordnance from on board all the reſt of their veſſels, with between eighteen and nineteen hundred choſen men double-officered, under the command of old Terkey their admiral, of whom between three and four hundred were killed, the caſtles and town miſerably torn, and a vaſt number of people in them ſlain and wounded; and, which much increaſed the misfortune, all their ſurgeons cheſts were burnt on board their ſhips, ſo that numbers died for want of having their wounds dreſſed. Beſides the men of war, there were burnt a Genoeſe ſhip, a ſmall Engliſh prize, and a ſettee.

After having performed, with equal honour and ſucceſs, the buſineſs for which he was ſent into the Mediterranean, he returned, in the beginning of the year 1672, with the ſquadron under his command. The Dutch war was then meditated by our court, but had not as yet broke out. Sir Robert Holmes, who had been the principal inſtrument in bringing on the firſt Dutch war, was employed alſo to begin

gin this, by attacking the Smyrna fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of January Sir Edward Spragge met with Sir Robert Holmes's ſquadron near the iſle of Wight; and, upon Sir Robert's inquiring news, Sir Edward very frankly told him, that he had ſailed ſeveral days with the Dutch Smyrna fleet, and that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected.

Sir Robert Holmes was very well pleaſed with this news, but took great care to ſay nothing that might give him the leaſt intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though, if he had done ſo, and required Sir Edward's aſſiſtance, he could not poſſibly have failed of taking or deſtroying that whole fleet, which was reckoned to be worth a million and a half ſterling, and on the taking of which the king depended for a ſupply towards carrying on the war.

When his royal highneſs the duke of York had reſolved to take upon himſelf the command once again of the Engliſh navy, Sir Edward Spragge was chiefly depended on for aſſembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his royal highneſs; and he performed his part ſo well, that by the end of the month all things were completely ready, and his highneſs was invited on board, who joined him ſoon after, together with the earl of Sandwich, and other perſons of diſtinction. He was preſent in Solebay fight the 28th of May, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein by ſinking a Dutch ſhip of ſixty guns: during the reſt of that compaign he behaved with his accuſtomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over, which very probably determined the court to employ him the next year in ſo high a ſtation.

When the duke of York, by the paſſing of the TEST act, was obliged to part with the command, and the court, to gratify the deſires of the nation, lay under an abſolute neceſſity of making uſe of prince Rupert, they took care to ſecure the fleet notwithſtanding, by employing on board it ſuch officers only as they could beſt, and his highneſs could leaſt truſt. Sir Edward Spragge was to carry the BLUE flag, inſtead of Sir Robert Holmes whom his highneſs propoſed; and, becauſe there had been a difference between theſe two admirals, the court thought fit to lay Holmes entirely aſide, though he was a very brave man, and had been much in their confidence. Before the fleet put to ſea, Sir Edward was ſent with the character of envoy extraordinary to France, where he was received with all poſſible reſpect, exceedingly careſſed during his ſtay, and, at his taking leave, had a preſent made him of great value. His

buſineſs

buſineſs was to renew the treaty with that court, to ſettle the rules that were to be obſerved on the junction of the French and Engliſh fleets, and to reſtore the old friendſhip between the courts, which ſeemed to be ſomewhat injured by the late proceedings in England. As no circumſtances of Sir Edward Spragge's negotiation or inſtructions were ever communicated to prince Rupert, it gave him freſh grounds of diſlike; ſo that, when Sir Edward came to hoiſt his flag, there was a great coolneſs between them.

This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement which happed on the 28th of May, 1673, wherein he fought Van Tromp ſeven hours, forced him to go from the Golden Lion into the Prince on Horſeback, and thence into the Amſterdam, from that into the Comet, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by de Ruyter. Sir Edward alſo twice changed his ſhip. Theſe circumſtances are not mentioned at all in the account which was publiſhed after Sir Edward's death; but in prince Rupert's letter to the earl of Arlington the matter is fairly ſtated.

In the battle of the 4th of June Sir Edward is generally blamed for coming, juſt before the engagement began, ſix miles in his boat to receive his highneſs's orders: however, after he returned, he behaved with great reſolution, forced Van Tromp, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ſhip, and would inevitably have either taken or deſtroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The Dutch writers confeſs his bravery, and own he puſhed them hard; and Tromp in his letter to the ſtates ſays, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark.

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of Auguſt, Sir Edward Spragge, with the BLUE ſquadron, was in the rear, where, it is ſaid, that notwithſtanding he had promiſed prince Rupert not to part from his ſide, yet, being provoked by Van Tromp, he laid his fore-top ſail to the maſt to ſtay for him, and, having engaged his ſquadron, continued fighting for many hours at a diſtance from the body of the fleet. Sir Edward was at firſt on board the Royal Prince, and Van Tromp in the golden Lion; but after a diſpute of about three hours, in which the Dutch admiral always avoided, as much as poſſible, coming to a cloſe fight, Sir Edward's ſhip was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. George, as Van Tromp for the ſame reaſon did on board the Comet. Then the fight between them began again with greater fury than before;

before: at laſt the St. George was ſo battered, that Sir Edward thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the Royal Charles; but, before his boat had rowed ten times his own length from the St. George, it was pierced by a cannon ſhot; upon which the crew endeavoured as ſtrenuouſly as men could do to get back again; but, before that could be effected, Sir Edward was drowned, his hands taking ſo ſtrong a hold on the ſide of the boat, that, when it came to float, he was found with his head and ſhoulders above water.

MEMOIRS

# MEMOIRS

## OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

# NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, during the reign of king James II. containing an account of the methods made uſe of for reſtoring and improving the fleet; their ſucceſs, and the king's diſappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invaſion from Holland.

FEW princes have ſtruggled with greater difficulties, before they aſcended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever ſuſtained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He ſucceeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his ſubjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with ſuch advantages. He was turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and ſtrengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in buſineſs; an able economiſt: in fine, a prince who, if he had conducted public affairs with the ſame eaſe and dexterity which he ſhewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign muſt have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troubleſome and unfortunate.

It

It was his great foible, that he was conſtantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the Engliſh nation cannot endure.

Yet, as wrong as his conduct was, in almoſt every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity with applauſe. He had long exerciſed the office of lord high admiral, in the reign of his brother, and underſtood it thoroughly; he knew too, the diſorders which had crept into the whole economy of the fleet, in the ſix years immediately preceding his acceſſion; and he was well acquainted, beſides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in diſcovering and applying remedies to theſe miſchiefs.

As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſeated on the throne, he began to conſider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only ſet right for the preſent, but alſo be put into ſuch a ſettled courſe, as that they might not go ſuddenly wrong again. With this view, he conſulted Mr. Pepys, and ſome other conſiderable perſons, on whoſe abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was neceſſary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he firſt aſſigned a ſtated fund of four hundred thouſand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treaſury, for the ſervice of the navy; and then iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion for ſettling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into ſuch a method, as might need few or no alterations in ſucceeding times.

This commiſſion was the wiſeſt act of his whole reign, and anſwered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be, expected from it.

The commiſſioners veſted with theſe powers loſt no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inſpection into the ſtate of the navy, inquired ſtrictly into the cauſes of paſt miſcarriages, with reſpect rather to things than men, and taking ſuch meaſures for the immediate remedy of the miſchiefs they diſcovered, that the old ſhips were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and amended; the yards properly ſupplied with the ableſt workmen; all the ſtore-houſes filled with whatever was requiſite, bought at the beſt hand, and, in all reſpects, the beſt in their kind; the eſtimates brought into proper order, and the whole economy of the navy reduced into ſo clear a method, that it was impoſſible any officer could be ignorant of, or miſtaken in, his duty, the public ſervice ſuffer in any of its various

branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated, without an immediate diſcovery of the offender.

That all this might more fully and indiſputably appear, the commiſſioners engaged his majeſty to viſit, in perſon, the yards, docks, ſtore-houſes, &c. which, conſidering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impoſſible he ſhould be deceived; and then, having demonſtrated the juſtice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much increaſed, in perfect order, and with ſea ſtores valued at four hundred thouſand pounds, they laid down their poſts, their commiſſion being ſuperſeded with a juſt approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great ſeal, October 12, 1688. Thus, in little more than two years time, this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid, to a farthing, and a ſaving made to the public of upwards of three hundred thouſand pounds.

While this commiſſion ſubſiſted, the king iſſued new inſtructions to the officers commanding his ſhips of war: theſe are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public ſervice, ſecuring diſcipline, and preſerving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and ſuperior officers, to depoſite a perfect copy of their journals with the ſecretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder, that, in conſequence of ſo unwearied an attention, the Britiſh fleet was in very good order when king James had the firſt notice of the prince of Orange's deſign; but we may be juſtly ſurpriſed at the management of maritime affairs from that time. A ſquadron of ſhips was immediately ordered to ſea, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear admiral of England, who was perhaps the moſt improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the ſeamen, by the readineſs he had ſhewn in bringing prieſts on board the fleet. His ſquadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and deſired to have ſoldiers at leaſt ſent on board, even this was very ſlowly complied with, conſidering the importance of the ſervice.

By his inſtructions he was to have remained in the Downs; but conceiving that to be a very improper ſtation for the ſervice he was expected to perform, after conſulting with the captains in whom he could beſt confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his and their opinion, that it would be better for the fleet to remain at

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the buoy of the Gun-fleet near Harwich. The king, as ſoon as he received this advice, ſent for lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry, captain John Clements, the three elder brothers of the Trinity-houſe at Deptford, and Mr. Pepys, to whom he communicated Sir Roger Strickland's letter, and, in conſequence of their joint advice, ſent the admiral orders to ſail out of the Downs with the firſt eaſterly wind, and place himſelf between the north Sand-head and the Kentiſh Knock, there to continue under ſail in the day-time, and at anchor in the night, in order to obſerve the Dutch fleet, and to gain the beſt intelligence of them he could, in purſuance of the inſtructions which were then ſent him.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the buoy in the Nore, and lord Dartmouth was ordered to ſea with ſuch a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command conſiſt of forty men of war, of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire ſhips. This fleet being at the Gun-fleet, and ready in all reſpects to ſail, a council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jennings, who commanded a third rate, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſtand over to the Dutch coaſts, as the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way to prevent an invaſion. This propoſition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and ſo it was reſolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. ſecretary Bouchet fairly tells us, was the ſecret reſolution of the greateſt part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in caſe he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage.

It may not now be amiſs to caſt our eyes over to Holland, in order to conſider the force preparing there for this invaſion. His highneſs the prince of Orange had about his perſon abundance of Engliſh noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of Shrewſbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltſhire, Pawlet, Elan, and Dumblain, admiral Herbert, Mr. Herbert, colonel Sidney, Mr. Ruſſel, Sir Rowland Gwyn, major Wildman, Dr. Burnet, Mr. Harboard, Mr. Ferguſon, and, beſides the general officers of the ſtates, the marſhal Schomberg, count Charles, his ſon Mr. Caillemotte, younger ſon to the marquis of Rouvigni, and two or three hundred French refugees. The fleet that was to carry theſe conſiſted of about fifty ſail, moſt of them third or fourth rates, and the tranſports were about five hundred. Theſe, with twenty-five fire ſhips, made up the whole navy: the land forces embarked, were four

thouſand horſe and dragoons, and ten thouſand foot. It was very remarkable, that all the captains of theſe veſſels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the Engliſh fleet; and this with a view either to engage ſhips to come over, or at leaſt to encourage the ſeamen to deſert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert firſt addreſſed a letter to his countrymen in the ſea ſervice, and then ſtood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the Engliſh ſquadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced. At that time his ſucceſs did not promiſe much; and, after a fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the Dutch coaſts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worſe of his own, than when he ſailed. But, for all this, his epiſtle did almoſt as much ſervice as the force he commanded; for, though the deſertion was inconſiderable, yet by degrees the ſailors loſt their ſpirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to conſult, not how they ſhould execute the orders they had received, but how they might beſt take their meaſures to ſecure the fleet.

On the 13th of October, 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet ſailed that night; but the next day, the wind turning north, and then ſettling in the north-weſt, it was found impoſſible to ſtruggle with it, and therefore on the 21ſt the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a ſtorm. On the firſt of November the fleet ſailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have his land forces in the mouth of the Humber; but a ſtrong eaſt wind rendered this impracticable, and ſeemed to direct them to a better courſe. His highneſs then ſailed weſtward, the ſame wind which brought him to the Engliſh coaſt keeping in the king's ſhips. though they were come down ſo low as the Gun-fleet. There in a foggy day they paſſed the Engliſh navy undiſcerned, except a few tranſports which ſailed in ſight, while the Engliſh fleet rode with their yards and top-maſts down, and could not, by reaſon of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchaſe their anchors.

On the 4th of November at noon, it was reſolved on board the Dutch fleet, that part of the ſhips ſhould go into Dartmouth, and the reſt into Torbay; but in the night the pilots overſhot both, and then it was determined to go into Plymouth, which, if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind, ſuddenly turning from eaſt to ſouth, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them

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ſafe into Torbay, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him.

As ſoon as the wind would permit, the earl of Dartmouth, a gallant, loyal, and active officer, weighed with the Engliſh fleet, and ſtood to ſea with a reſolution to follow and fight the Dutch.

But the wind, turning to the ſouth, carried the prince's fleet into Torbay, it forced the Engliſh fleet back, and, afterwards riſing into a ſtorm, ruffled them ſo much, that it was two or three days before lord Dartmouth came again before Torbay; and then it was that, as Mr. Burchet ſays, he ſhewed the Dutch a fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The ſeamen had time in this ſpace to conſider what they were doing, and ſuch of the officers, as were well affected to the prince's deſign, had an opportunity of working upon them, and diſpoſing things for his ſervice; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with ſo great care, and on which he depended ſo much, proved of little or no uſe, as well as his army: ſo difficult a thing it is to bring Engliſhmen to enſlave England!

As to the conduct of the king after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, it was unaccountable in itſelf, if we conſider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely depend, but alſo an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the ſailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any meaſures of this ſort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the ſervice of the royal navy roſe on a ſudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at Rocheſter and Chatham, and declared for the proteſtant religion, and the prince of Orange.

The miſtakes committed on this ſide were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wiſe management on the other, as well as by the foreſeen and unforeſeen conſequences of the whole tranſaction. The embarkation was made with eaſe; the paſſage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the deſcent in the fitteſt place in England for landing of horſe; ſo that it was performed without difficulty as well as without danger. Biſhop Burnet, therefore, ſays truly, that theſe lines from Claudian were very happily applied to the prince of Orange's expedition:

In Holland they triumph on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the ſtates, and the moſt eminent news-writer they then had made this obſervation on the ſucceſs of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the hiſtory of Europe for November, 1688: "The expence beſtowed "on the fleet and army, ſet out from Holland, is a ſign "they are morally aſſured of the ſucceſs of the expedition, "which I am apt to think has been a long time in agita-"tion, though it was carried with that prudence and ſe-"crecy, as not to be diſcovered till it could be no longer "concealed." When ſkill, induſtry, and zeal were viſible on the part of the prince, and weakneſs, irreſolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's meaſures, it was impoſſible things ſhould continue long in diſpute, or that his highneſs, who knew ſo well how to uſe all the advantages that were in his hands, ſhould not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth ſaw the diſpoſition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to ſerve his maſter, he wiſely yielded to neceſſity; and ſailing once again into the Downs, and there holding a council of war, it was reſolved firſt, to diſmiſs from their commands all ſuch officers as were known to be Papiſts, or ſuſpected ſo to be, and then to ſend up an addreſs to his highneſs, ſetting forth their ſteady affection to the proteſtant religion, and their ſincere concern for the ſafety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this the ſhips were diſperſed, ſome to the dock-yards to be diſmantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired, and ſuch as were in the beſt condition for the ſea were appointed for neceſſary ſervices.

Theſe were all the exploits performed by the Engliſh navy during the reign of a prince, who, while a ſubject, had ſerved and acquired a reputation at ſea, who underſtood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was uſeleſs to him, yet it was of the higheſt advantage to the nation. If he had been leſs careful in this reſpect, if he had left the navy in a low condition, nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's deceaſe, it would have been impoſſible for us to have withſtood the naval power of France, which had been for ſeveral years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it, had attained to its greateſt height.

As it was, the king left behind him as numerous, complete, and well-furniſhed a navy, as England had ever ſeen; ſo that, when the French came out with ſuch a ſtrength as amazed all the world, it ſurpriſed indeed, but did not fright

fright us; we were quickly in a condition to look them in the face: and the ſubſequent part of this work will ſhew, that notwithſtanding the mighty change that had happened in a ſhort time abroad, and the pains almoſt every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to aſſert our ſovereignty in our own ſeas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where elſe, as in any preceding period.

I ſhall conclude this chapter by exhibiting to the reader's view an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king James, in order to prove what has been before aſſerted, and to prepare him for the hiſtory of thoſe actions at ſea, which followed in the next reign.

An Abſtract of the ſtate of the French Navy, A. D. 1681.

| Rates. | Number. | Guns. | Mar. Officers. | Sailors. | Soldiers. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | 12 | 1080 | 1232 | 4132 | 2486 |
| II. | 21 | 1518 | 1719 | 4470 | 2661 |
| III. | 36 | 1928 | 2350 | 6142 | 3008 |
| IV. | 26 | 1088 | 1167 | 2713 | 1570 |
| V. | 20 | 608 | 119 | 681 | 2790 |
| Totals, | 115 | 6222 | 7149 | 18,884 | 10,407 |
| Small frigates, | 24 | 400 | 446 | 937 | 497 |
| Fire-ſhips, | 8 | 74 | 80 | 150 | ... |
| Barks, | 10 | 43 | 90 | 190 | ... |
| Pinks, | 22 | 341 | 190 | 447 | ... |
| Totals, | 179 | 7080 | 7955 | 20,618 | 10,904 |

An Abſtract of the Liſt of the Royal Navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

| Ships and Veſſels. Rates. | Number. | Force. Men. | Guns. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 9 | 6705 | 878 |
| 2 | 11 | 7010 | 974 |
| 3 | 39 | 16,545 | 2640 |
| 4 | 41 | 9480 | 1908 |
| 5 | 2 | 260 | 60 |
| 6 | 6 | 420 | 90 |
| Bombers, | 3 | 120 | 34 |
| Fire-ſhips, | 26 | 905 | 218 |
| Hoys, | 6 | 22 | 00 |
| Hulks, | 8 | 50 | 00 |
| Ketches, | 3 | 115 | 24 |
| Smacks, | 5 | 18 | 00 |
| Yachts, | 14 | 353 | 104 |
| Total, | 173 | 42,003 | 6930 |

# MEMOIRS

## OF

# ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

### INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

# NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, under the reign of king William III. from the Revolution, to the peace of Ryſwick.

THE crown was no ſooner placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and experience all the cares that neceſſarily attend it: he had not ſo much leiſure to taſte in peace the firſt moments of royalty, but found himſelf obliged to embark in a war, as ſoon as he was ſeated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged, and engaged in point of intereſt; for the ambitious deſigns of Lewis XIV. were now ſo evident, that even the powers leaſt inclined to action, ſaw themſelves obliged to provide for their own ſafety, by entering into a confederacy for effectually oppoſing the encroachments of that aſpiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, inſtead of diſcovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began firſt, by falling upon the empire, and declaring war againſt Spain,

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at the ſame time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he ſent over into Ireland, with a conſiderable force, eſcorted by a fleet of thirty ſail of men of war, and ſeven frigates. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kinſale, from whence he went to Corke. On the fourteenth landed M. de Lauzun with five thouſand French auxiliaries, and king James ſent over general M'Carthy, and as many Iriſh to France.

It was upon this occaſion, that the impolitic and inconſiderate management in the two laſt reigns, in reſpect to the correſpondence held between our princes and the French king, manifeſtly appeared by the prodigious growth of his naval power. Under the adminiſtration of the great cardinal Richlieu, France was ſo weak in this reſpect, that this high-ſpirited miniſter was forced, in very preſſing terms, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Swedes; and even in this reign, Cromwell had ſhewn the utmoſt contempt for the French power at ſea. To ſpeak truth, it was our wars, with the Dutch, in the reign of king Charles II. that, as the French themſelves confeſs, gave them firſt an opportunity of learning, at the expence of the maritime powers, what it was to make a figure on an element with which before they were little acquainted. This knowledge they ſo far improved, by ſometimes ſiding with the Dutch, and ſometimes with us, that in the ſpace of leſs than twenty years, they found themſelves able to deal with either nation, and in 1667, actually beat the Dutch and Spaniſh fleets in conjunction, in the Mediterranean, and killed the famous admiral de Ruyter. At this time, they were grown ſo much ſtronger, that we ſhall ſee them, during a great part of this reign, endeavouring to diſpute the empire of the ſea againſt the joint forces of both the maritime powers: which is ſufficient to ſhew, with how great diſadvantage king William entered into the war, in this reſpect; ſince, while the enemy took all advantages of pouring ſupplies into Ireland, his affairs in England were ſo perplexed, that it was ſome time before he could provide ſo much as a force ſufficient to cruize on the coaſt of that iſland.

At laſt, admiral Herbert, who commanded the Engliſh fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1689, ſailed, for Corke, with a ſquadron which conſiſted of no more than twelve ſhips of war, one fire-ſhip, two yachts, and two ſmacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kinſale, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt cutting off the con-

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voy that had attended him from France: with this view he ſailed for Breſt, and cruized off that port for ſome time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increaſed his force to nineteen ſail, he again ſteered for the Iriſh coaſt, and towards the latter end of April appeared off Kinſale.

On the 29th of that month he diſcovered a fleet of forty-four ſail, which he judged were going into Kinſale, and therefore did his utmoſt to prevent it. The next day he heard that the enemy were gone into Baltimore, but, upon coming thither, found that information to be falſe. The wind being then eaſterly, he ſtood for Cape-Clear, and in the evening he ſaw them ſtanding into Bantry bay. He lay off that place till morning, and about break of day reſolved to attack the enemy. All our Engliſh writers of naval hiſtory agree, that the French fleet had ſome empty tranſports under their care, but the French writers, ſay poſitively, that they had only four merchant ſhips laden with arms, bridles, ſaddles, powder, and ball, for the uſe of king James's army, and a conſiderable ſum of money, which was on board the men of war. This they ſhipped, as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh fleet, on board ſix fire-ſhips, and ſent theſe, with the merchantmen before mentioned, to land their ſupplies at a place in the bay ſeven leagues diſtant, while they engaged the Engliſh ſquadron, that at all events they might be ſafe.

Authors vary not a little as to the ſtrength of both fleets, which I take to be rather owing to partiality, than any real difficulty there was of coming at the fact. Mr. Burchet ſays, the Engliſh were but nineteen ſhips in all. Biſhop Kennet more truly reckons them twenty-two, wherein he agrees with all the French relations. The enemy's fleet conſiſted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight, according to their own, of no more than twenty-four ſail. The Engliſh had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had ſo pleaſed; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a cloſe engagement; but the French ſaved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three diviſions about ten in the morning on the firſt of May. The foremoſt diviſion conſiſted of eight ſhips under the command of Mr. Gaberet; the ſecond of the like force, was commanded by admiral Chateau-Renault; the third, which

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was alſo of eight ſhips, had for its commander Mr. Forant: the action was pretty warm for about two hours, but then ſlackened, becauſe a great part of the Engliſh fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both ſides till about five in the afternoon, admiral Herbert keeping out all the time to ſea, becauſe he found the diſpute very unequal, and that there was no other way by which he could poſſibly gain the wind, and thereby an opportunity of bringing his whole fleet to engage. But about the hour before mentioned, the French fleet ſtood into the bay, which put an end to the action. The Engliſh writers aſcribe this either to want of courage, or the admiral's being reſtrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ſhips under his convoy, and that, after they had entirely debarked the ſupply they had brought, he diſpoſed every thing in order to put to ſea the next morning, which he did.

This is the battle in Bantry bay, which, though inconſiderable enough in itſelf, is yet magnified by ſome writers into a mighty action. The French had one ſhip called the Diamond ſet on fire, and two others ſo much damaged, as to be obliged to draw out of the line. The affair was certainly very inconſiderable, and any advantage that was gained was rather to be aſcribed to a favourable wind, and ſuperior force on one ſide, than to any want either of courage or conduct on the other.

After the action admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly iſlands, and, having cruiſed there for ſome time, returned to Spithead; upon which occaſion king William went down in perſon to Portſmouth, where, to ſhew he would diſtinguiſh and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by ſucceſs, he declared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Aſhby of the Defiance, and captain Cloudeſley Shovel of the Edgar, giving at the ſame time a bounty of ten ſhillings to each ſeaman, and making a proviſion for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the reſt of the widows of ſuch as had been killed in the action. This was well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the neceſſity there is of keeping up the ſpirits of ſeamen, if we expect they ſhould perform great things. He ſaid, when he read the account of the battle of Bantry bay, that ſuch actions were neceſſary at the beginning of a war, though they would be raſh in the courſe of it; which ſhews his great penetration,

penetration, and accounts for his creating admiral Herbert a peer, after an affair in which he had certainly no advantage.

The fleet being at length refitted, the admiral ſailed with it for Torbay in the middle of June, where he was afterwards joined by a Dutch fleet, and by vice-admiral Killegrew's ſquadron, which had been cruiſing before Dunkirk. This combined fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of France, and continued cruiſing there, and in the ſoundings, till towards the latter end of Auguſt; and being then in great want of beer, and there being not the leaſt appearance of the French putting to ſea, they returned to Torbay, where ſoon after the fleet ſeparated, the larger ſhips which wanted repair being ordered into port, and the reſt diſtributed into ſeveral ſquadrons for different ſervices. Before we ſpeak more particularly of theſe, it will be proper to take notice of what was performed by ſome other ſquadrons, which had been detached earlier in the year.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had very promiſing aſpect on that ſide. He brought with him a very conſiderable ſupply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north which held out againſt him, *viz.* Londonderry and Iniſkilling. Of theſe he determined to make himſelf maſter, and might eaſily have done it, if he had been well adviſed; but, as biſhop Burnet juſtly obſerves, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils. He reſolved to begin with Londonderry, in reſpect to which two propoſals were made him; the firſt was, to attack the place vigorouſly, and take it as ſoon as poſſible by ſtorm; the other, to block up the city, and to act with his great army in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit his intereſt, till this place ſhould by dint of famine be compelled to ſurrender. Either of theſe methods might have ſucceeded, but king James declined theſe, and made choice of a third, which was to take the place by a ſlow ſiege, in order to inure his Iriſh army to fatigues, and to render them by this kind of diſcipline more fit for ſervice. This reſolution of his gave ſufficient time for an application to the government in England; and upon this two regiments of foot, under the command of colonel Cunningham and colonel Richards, with ſome ſupplies, were ſent thither: they arrived on the 15th of April in the Lough; but colonel Lundy, who was governor of the town, being, as it was commonly believed, in king James's intereſt, perſuaded thoſe gentlemen, that it was impracticable to defend the place, and that therefore the

the beſt thing they could do was to return and preſerve his majeſty's troops; which they accordingly did. The townſmen, having turned out their governor, however, made a noble defence, which gained time for another application to England.

During this ſpace, commodore Rooke, who had been ſent with a ſquadron in the month of May to the coaſt of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourſe with the Scots; and on the 8th of June he ſailed in with the Bonaventure, Swallow, Dartmouth, and a fleet of tranſport-ſhips, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with this force to relieve Londondery. The commodore concurred with him, as it was his duty, very chearfully in carrying on this ſervice. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving this place, they found they had laid a boom croſs the river, compoſed of chains and cables; and floated with timber, there being ſtrong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Upon a view of this, general Kirke reſolved to make himſelf maſter of the Inch, an iſland in Lough Swilly, in which the commodore aſſiſted him ſo effectually, that on the 16th he was in full poſſeſſion not only of that iſland, but of the paſs to the main; and, having performed this ſervice, he returned to his ſtation.

He continued there till the 22d, on which day he received by the Portland man of war a letter from the general, wherein he informed him, that, being ſatisfied the place was reduced to the laſt extremity, he was determined to attempt its relief at any rate. The commodore upon this left the Bonaventure at Portland on his ſtation, and, with the Deptford and Dartmouth, ſailed to the aſſiſtance of the major-general. He ſent the Dartmouth, commanded by captain, afterwards Sir John Leake, up to Kilmore to receive his orders, and then returned to the Bonaventure and Portland, with intention to continue there till the arrival of the three ſhips he expected from the earl of Torrington. With this aſſiſtance major-general Kirke, having properly diſpoſed the men of war, on the 30th of July ſent the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Browning, and the Phœnix of Colerain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with proviſions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Iriſh army made a prodigious fire upon theſe ſhips as they paſſed, which was very briſkly returned, till the Mountjoy ſtruck againſt the boom, and broke

broke it, and was by the rebound run aſhore; upon this the Iriſh gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon, and with their boats attempted to board her. But the ſailors firing a broadſide, the ſhock looſened her ſo, that they floated again, and paſſed the boom, as did the Phœnix alſo, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This ſeaſonable ſupply ſaved the remainder of that brave garriſon, which, after a hundred and five days cloſe ſiege, and, being reduced from ſeven thouſand five hundred to four thouſand three hundred, had only ſubſiſtence for two days left, the enemy raiſing the ſiege on the laſt of July.

Commodore Rooke, on the 13th of Auguſt, eſcorted the duke of Schomberg's forces, conſiſting of upwards of ten thouſand men, horſe and foot, embarked in ninety veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, and landed them ſafe in Groom's bay near Carrickfergus, whither he brought the remainder of the army and the artillery, and then continued with the general, till they had taken the town, and had not any farther occaſion for his aſſiſtance. He ſtationed afterwards as many ſhips and yachts of his ſquadron as he thought requiſite for the maintaining the correſpondence between England and Ireland, and preventing any attempt that might be made by French or Scotch privateers. He ſailed next with thoſe few ſhips that were remaining to Dublin, where he inſulted the city by manning his boats, and making a ſhew of landing; and on the 18th of September he actually endeavoured to burn all the veſſels that were in the harbour, and had certainly performed it, if the wind had not veered about, and blew a freſh gale, as the yachts and ketches were going in, which obliged him to abandon his deſign, and to put to ſea. King James was at this time in the place, and, which is ſtill more, was alſo an eye-witneſs of this bold attempt.

From the bay of Dublin commodore Rooke ſailed to Corke, where he attempted likewiſe going into the harbour, but was prevented by the briſk fire of the enemy made from their batteries, on which were mounted ſeventeen or eighteen pieces of cannon. He took poſſeſſion, however, of the great iſland, and might have done farther ſervices, if his ſhips had not by this time grown foul, and his proviſions low; which forced him to quit his ſtation, and repair to the Downs, where he arrived on the 13th of October, after having given by his activity, vigilance, and indefatigable attention to his duty in this expedition, an earneſt of the great things which he afterwards performed when Sir George Rooke, and admiral and commander in chief of the Britiſh fleet.

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As to the remaining naval tranſactions of this year, they were not many or great; and therefore I ſhall only mention the taking of two celebrated ſea officers in the French ſervice, *viz.* the gallant chevalier Fourbin, and the famous John du Bart. They commanded two ſmall frigates, and had under their convoy ſix rich merchantmen, homeward bound. Near the iſle of Wight they were chaſed by two of our fifty gun ſhips, which they engaged very bravely, though they ſaw that it was a thing impoſſible for them to avoid being taken. All they aimed at was to give their merchantmen time to eſcape, in which they ſucceeded; for, while they fought deſperately, the veſſels under their convoy got ſafe into Rochelle. As for the chevalier Fourbin and captain Bart, they were carried priſoners into Plymouth, from whence they not long after found means to eſcape, and got ſafely over to Cadiz. For this generous action the French king rewarded each of them with the command of a man of war: but our writers of naval hiſtory have been ſo careleſs, that I cannot find with any certainty who the captains were that took them. We have indeed a much more particular relation of this affair in Fourbin's memoirs, wherein it is ſaid they had twenty merchantmen under their convoy; that they fought two long hours, and that one of the Engliſh captains was killed in the engagement; but I think the relation, as I have given it, is more to be depended upon, as it comes from an unbiaſſed, and at the ſame time a very accurate hiſtorian.

I ſhall open the naval tranſactions of 1690, with an account of admiral Ruſſell's ſailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally ſpeaking, accounted a tranſaction of the former year; but my reaſon for placing it here, is the fleets not putting to ſea till the ſpring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majeſty, Charles II. having eſpouſed a princeſs of the houſe of Neubourg, ſiſter to the reigning empreſs, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an Engliſh fleet to conduct her ſafely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed ſuch a compliment never had been refuſed, even to ſtates in war with us, becauſe it was always taken as a tacit confeſſion of our dominion at ſea; which might, methinks, have ſecured it from biſhop Burnet's cenſure. On the twenty-fourth of November, admiral Ruſſell ſailed with ſeven large men of war, and two yachts, to Fluſhing, in order to receive her catholic majeſty, and her attendants; and had orders, as ſoon as the queen came on board, to hoiſt the union flag at the main top-maſt-head, and to

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wear it there as long as her majeſty was on board. On the eighteenth of January, 1690, ſhe arrived in the Downs; on the twenty-fourth, ſhe came to St. Helen's, whither their majeſties, king William and queen Mary, ſent the duke of Norfolk to compliment her, as did their royal highneſſes the prince and princeſs of Denmark, the lord Cornbury, and colonel Berkeley. The admiral had orders to put to ſea with the firſt fair wind, and was inſtructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French ſquadron there from coming out; and he endeavoured it on the beginning of February, and again towards the end of the month, but was forced back to Torbay on the twenty-third. Thence he ſailed again in a few days, but was driven back on the ſecond of March. At laſt he ſailed with a pretty fair wind, on the ſeventh of that month, with a ſtout ſquadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchantmen, bound for the Streights; and, after a very tempeſtuous paſſage, landed her catholic majeſty on the ſixteenth, at the Groyne; from whence he ſailed to execute his other commiſſion, but was forced by contrary winds into the harbour of Ferrol, where the Duke, a ſecond rate man of war, in a briſk gale of wind, ran aſhore, and was with great difficulty got off. The admiral having executed his commiſſion, and having left the vice admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean ſquadron, behind him, bore away with the firſt fair wind for England, and arrived at Portſmouth on the 28th of April, where he landed ſeveral perſons of quality who had attended her catholic majeſty in her voyage.

Vice admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the eighth of April, where having, according to his inſtructions, taken all poſſible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zuricſtzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon ſquadron. In this, however, he met with no ſmall difficulty, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather, which injured ſeveral ſhips of his ſquadron extremely, and the two Dutch ſhips, one of ſeventy-two, and the other of ſixty-two guns, after loſing all their maſts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing theſe unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was waſted; and ſo much the more through the coldneſs and inactivity of the governor of Cadiz, who, for his negligence in this reſpect, was juſtly ſuſpected of being in the French intereſt. Before things, through theſe diſadvantages, could be brought into perfect order, the vice admiral, on the ninth of May, received

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three different accounts of the Toulon ſquadron being at ſea. Upon this, he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that purſuant to his inſtructions, he ſhould immediately put to ſea, in order to go in purſuit of it. On the tenth of May, about four in the morning, he ſailed accordingly, with nine Engliſh, and two Dutch ſhips, and arrived the next day in the mouth of the Streights, where he was joined by captain Shelton, and his detachment, from the bay of Gibraltar, and at the ſame time received intelligence, that the French fleet was in the bay of Tetuan: thither he ſailed in queſt of them; his fleet conſiſting now of one ſecond rate, three third rates, ſix fourth rates, two fifth rates, in all twelve men of war, and two fire ſhips, beſides five Dutch men of war. On his arrival in Tetuan bay, he found only two ſhips, one at anchor, and the other under ſail; the latter put out Algerine colours, and eſcaped; but the former, being embayed, was taken by the Dutch vice admiral Allemonde, and proved to be a French ſhip bound for the Weſt-Indies.

The wind ſhifting, the admiral ſtood over again towards the Spaniſh coaſt, and being two leagues W. N. W. off Ceuta point, the man at the maſt-head ſaw ten ſhips to the north, with their heads lying eaſtwards. Upon this, advice was given to the Dutch admiral, and the Montague was ſent a-head to diſcover the enemy's motions; the fleet ſtill continuing to ſtretch over to Gibraltar. About one o'clock they were within two miles of the French ſquadron, which appeared to be on the run, and therefore our ſhips ſet their top-gallant-ſails, and crowded after them; but to little purpoſe, for the French being all clean ſhips, juſt come out of port, (whereas ſome of ours had been ſeventeen months off the ground), it is no wonder they got clear of them. The chace was continued till the next day, when the enemy were four leagues a-head, and the Dutch and one of the Engliſh ſhips as much a-ſtern, inſomuch, that the admiral had with him no more than four ſhips, which induced him to give over the chace; yet, between nine and ten in the morning, the Richmond and the Tyger forced one of the merchant ſhips on ſhore to the weſtward of Tariffa. About three in the afternoon, the whole fleet joined, and the admiral bore away for Cadiz.

The French writers have done their beſt to give this retreat the air of a victory: one of them tells us, that Mr. Chatteau-Renault, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the enemy, ordered all the merchant ſhips under his convoy, to ſail before, while he remained with his ſquadron of

eight men of war between them and the Engliſh; and that after this, perceiving one of the veſſels, which was a very bad ſailer, had fallen behind, he lay by till ſhe paſſed him, and then, perceiving the Engliſh ſquadron did not incline to engage, he continued his courſe. Such flouriſhes are ſo natural to theſe authors, that, after a very few inſtances, I ſhall content myſelf with a bare relation of them, and leave their credit to the candid conſideration of every impartial reader.

It was the 21ſt of May before vice-admiral Killegrew could reach the port of Cadiz, where, having made the neceſſary detachments for the ſafe convoy of our homeward-bound merchantmen, he, in purſuance of his inſtructions, ſet ſail for England, and in thirty-five days arrived at Plymouth with one ſecond and four third rates of ours, ſix Dutch men of war, the Half-Moon and Virgin prize. On his arrival at Plymouth, he received letters from the lords of the admiralty, informing him, that the French, after an engagement, had obliged our fleet to retire, and were with their own about Rye, Dover, and thoſe parts, and therefore he was to take all imaginable care of his ſquadron. Upon this he called a council of war, at which were preſent the Dutch admirals Allemonde and Evertzen, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear admiral of the red, then juſt returned from the Iriſh coaſt. Upon mature deliberation, they determined it was ſafeſt to proceed with the ſhips into Hamoze within Plymouth-ſound; for, as they were large ſhips, they could not run in at low water, and as they were in want of water, proviſions and ſea-ſtores, it was impoſſible for them to put to ſea; ſo that this was the only way left to be ſecure from any attempts of the French.

The French had been very induſtrious this year in ſending a large fleet to ſea, and that early in the ſeaſon; for on the 1ſt or 2d of March they embarked a great ſupply for Ireland under the convoy of a ſquadron of thirty-ſix men of war, which ſailed on the 7th of the ſame month, attended by four fire ſhips and five flutes, and were afterwards joined by another ſquadron from Provence, with ſeveral tranſports; ſo that in all they convoyed over ſix thouſand men, beſides ammunition and money. Part of theſe they landed on the 11th at Kinſale, and the reſt on the 13th in the bay of Corke. On the 8th of April they left the coaſts of that iſland, in order to return into the road of Breſt, which they did ſafely on the 23d, and then prepared to join their

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grand fleet, which had orders to aſſemble under the command of the count de Tourville.

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent on ſending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in perſon to Ireland. This great deſign was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majeſty left London to march toward the coaſt, where he embarked his forces on board two hundred eighty-eight tranſports on the 11th, and, eſcorted by a ſquadron of ſix men of war under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, ſailed for Carrickfergus, where he ſafely arrived on the 14th of the ſame month, and ſoon after diſmiſſed rear admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth ſquadron, with orders to join the grand fleet, which, as we have before ſhewn, he could not do, till it was too late.

There was nothing better underſtood in England than the abſolute neceſſity of aſſembling early in the year a ſtronger fleet in the channel. The honour of the kingdom depended upon it; for the French, after their ſmall advantage in Bantry bay, had given out, that they would the next ſummer inſult the joint fleets of the Engliſh and Dutch. What was ſtill more, the nation's ſafety depended on this meaſure no leſs, ſince the king and the greateſt part of his forces were abroad, ſcarce ſeven thouſand regular troops left in England; and ſuch as were in the intereſt of king James almoſt every where in motion, and waiting in all appearance for nothing, but the ſight of a French fleet on the coaſt, to take up arms, and declare againſt the government.

Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very ſlow, for which various, and ſome ſcarce credible cauſes are aſſigned. It was given out, that the greateſt part of the fleet was diſaffected; and, to wipe off this ſuggeſtion, it was thought neceſſary that an addreſs ſhould be ſent up from the Downs, which was accordingly done. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch ſent their fleet to ſea, and the Engliſh, knowing that nothing of conſequence could be done till after their junction, were the leſs ſolicitous about putting themſelves in order, till they heard of their being at ſea.

The conduct of the French in the mean time was of quite another kind; for, while the ſquadron before mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of ſixty ſail at Breſt, which was to put to ſea by the end of May: this they actually did, and, though they were forced by contrary winds to put back again to that road, yet on the 12th of June they put to ſea in three ſquadrons, each ſqua-

dron being divided into three diviſions. Of theſe the white and blue ſquadrons, commanded by count d'Eſtrees on board the Le Grande, a ſhip of eighty-ſix guns, formed the vanguard, conſiſting of twenty-ſix men of war. The main body was compoſed of the white ſquadron, commanded by the admiral count Tourville in the Royal Sun, a ſhip of one hundred guns; this ſquadron conſiſted likewiſe of twenty-ſix ſail; the blue ſquadron made the rear guard, commanded by Mr. d'Amfreville in the Magnificent, a ſhip of eighty guns, and in this ſquadron there were but twenty-five ſail. In all there were ſeventy-eight men of war, twenty-two fire ſhips, and the whole fleet carried upwards of four thouſand ſeven hundred pieces of cannon. On the 13th of June they ſteered for the Engliſh coaſt, and on the 20th found themſelves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took ſome Engliſh fiſhing boats, and, after having paid the people who were on board for their fiſh, he ſet them at liberty again; and theſe were the men that firſt brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coaſt, while ours was lying idle, and ſcarce in a condition to put to ſea, as biſhop Burnet very juſtly obſerves.

Our admiral, the earl of Torrington, was at St. Helen's when he received this news, which muſt have ſurpriſed him very much, ſince he was ſo far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no ſcouts to the weſtward. He put to ſea, however, with ſuch ſhips as he had, and ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt on Midſummer day, leaving his orders, that all the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips which could have notice ſhould follow him. In the evening he was joined by ſeveral ſhips, and the next morning he found himſelf within ſight of the enemy. The French landed, and made ſome priſoners on ſhore, and by them ſent a letter from Sir William Jennings, an officer in the navy, who had followed the fortunes of king James, and ſerved now as third captain on board the admiral, promiſing pardon to all ſuch captains, as would now adhere to that prince. The next day our admiral received another reinforcement of ſeven Dutch men of war under the command of admiral Evertzen; however, the fleets continued looking upon each other for ſeveral days. It is certain that the earl of Torrington did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to venture an engagement, and in all probability the reſt of the admirals were of the ſame opinion. Beſides, he waited for Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear admiral of the blue, who was to have joined him with the Plymouth ſquadron, and ſome other ſhips.

His whole ſtrength conſiſted of about thirty-four men of war.

war of ſeveral ſizes, and the three Dutch admirals had under their command twenty-two large ſhips. We need not wonder therefore, that, ſeeing himſelf out-numbered by above twenty ſail, he was not willing to riſk his own honour and the nation's ſafety upon ſuch unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed that her father's adherents intended a general inſurrection, and that, if the French fleet continued longer on the coaſt, this would certainly take effect, by advice of the privy council, ſent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as ſoon as it was light, on the 30th of June the admiral threw out the ſignal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under ſail, by a wind with their heads to the northward.

The ſignal for battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head ſails to the maſts, in order to lie by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch ſquadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into ſome diſorder. About half an hour after, our blue ſquadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in perſon, which made the centre of our fleet, could not come up till about ten; and this occaſioned a great opening between them and the Dutch. The French, making uſe of this advantage, weathered, and of courſe ſurrounded the latter, who defended themſelves very gallantly, though they ſuffered extremely from ſo unequal a diſpute. The admiral, ſeeing their diſtreſs, endeavoured to relieve them; and while they dropt their anchors, he drove with his own ſhip and ſeveral others between them and the enemy, and in that ſituation anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm; but diſcerning how much the Dutch had ſuffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the action, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eaſtward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was reſolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preſerve the fleet by retreating, and rather to deſtroy the diſabled ſhips, if they ſhould be preſſed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement by endeavouring to protect them. This reſolution was executed with as much ſucceſs as could be expected, which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals; for, by not anchoring when the Engliſh did, they were driven to a great diſtance, and by continuing

nuing to chaſe in a line of battle, inſtead of leaving every ſhip at liberty to do her utmoſt, they could never recover what they loſt by their firſt miſtake. But, notwithſtanding all this, they preſſed on their purſuit as far as Rye-bay, and forcing one of our men of war of ſeventy guns, called the Anne, which had loſt all her maſts, on ſhore near Winchelſea, they ſent in two ſhips to burn her, which the captain prevented by ſetting fire to her himſelf. The body of the French fleet ſtood in and out of the bays of Bourne and Pevenſey in Suſſex, while about fourteen of their ſhips anchored near the ſhore. Some of theſe attempted to burn a Dutch ſhip of ſixty-four guns, which at low water lay dry; but her commander defended her ſo ſtoutly, that they were at length forced to deſiſt, and the captain carried her ſafe into Holland.

We need not wonder, that a victory gained by the French fleet over the joint forces of the maritime powers ſhould extremely elevate the writers of that nation, who are ſo apt to run out into extravagant flights of panegyric on much ſlighter occaſions. The marquis de Quincy tells us that the Dutch fought with all imaginable bravery, and tacitly acknowledges, that they owed their misfortune to their being ſurrounded by French ſhips. He likewiſe owns, that ſuch of the Engliſh ſhips as engaged fought very well, and that the admiral endeavoured to ſuccour the Dutch, though he did it with much caution. But then, to enhance the victory as much as poſſible, he aſſerts, that the united fleets were at leaſt equal in force to the navy of France, though they had fewer ſhips. In this, however, he is certainly miſtaken, as I ſhall convince the reader by undeniable evidence. The Dutch ſquadron conſiſted of twenty-two large ſhips, and was by much the moſt formidable of the whole fleet, and yet that ſquadron carried but 1,360 guns; whereas the weakeſt of the French ſquadrons carried 1,526; and if we ſhould ſuppoſe the united fleet to have conſiſted of ſhips of the like force with the Dutch, which it is certain they were not, it would then have carried 3,462 guns; whereas the French fleet, according to this writer's own account, carried 4,702. This is ſufficient to ſhow how little dependence can be had even on the accounts of the faireſt French authors. Biſhop Burnet very rightly obſerves, that, amongſt the beſt judges, the count de Tourville was almoſt as much blamed for not making uſe of his victory, as the earl of Torrington was on account of his defeat.

After the engagement our fleet retreated towards the river Thames, and the earl of Torrington, going on ſhore,

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left the command to Sir John Aſhby, but firſt gave orders to captain Monck of the Phœnix, together with four other fifth rates, and four fire-ſhips, to anchor above the narrow of the middle grounds, and to appoint two of the frigates to ride, one at the Buoy of the Spits, the other at the lower end of the middle, and to take away the buoys, and immediately retreat, if the enemy approached; or, if they preſſed yet farther on him, he was ordered in like manner to take away the buoys near him, and to do what ſervice he could againſt them with the fire-ſhips; but ſtill to retire, and make the proper ſignals in ſuch caſes. On the 8th the French fleet ſtood towards their own coaſt, but were ſeen upon the 27th off Berry-head, a little to the eaſtward of Dartmouth, and then, the wind taking them ſhort, they put into Torbay. There they lay not long; for they were diſcovered the 29th near Plymouth, at which place the neceſſary preparations were made by platforms and other works, to give them a warm reception. The 5th of Auguſt they appeared again off of the Ram-head, in number between ſixty and ſeventy, when, ſtanding weſtward, they were no more ſeen in the channel this year.

As ſoon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council, where he juſtified himſelf with great preſence of mind; he ſaid, there were two things to be principally conſidered, the loſs that had been ſuſtained in the action, and the motives which had induced him to retreat. The firſt, he alledged, was owing to the ill-grounded contempt the Engliſh and Dutch officers had of the behaviour of the French at ſea; and, as to the latter, he affirmed, that he had acted according to the rules of prudence, by which he had ſaved the fleet, and with much ſteadineſs and ſpirit declared, that he had rather his reputation ſhould ſuffer for a time, than his country undergo a loſs, which ſhe might never be able to repair. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordſhip to the Tower; and that they might leſſen the clamours of the crowd, and give ſome ſatisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerneſs, where they were to make a thorough inquiry into the real cauſes of this diſaſter.

The fleet remained now under the command of Sir Richard Haddock, vice-admiral Killegrew, and Sir John Aſhby, who had orders to put it into the beſt condition poſſible; which they executed with great diligence, and by the latter end of Auguſt had forty-one ſhips of the line under their command, excluſive of the Dutch: yet, in ſpite of all their activity,

activity, it was very late in the year before they were able to undertake any effectual ſervice; and by that time it was neceſſary to lay up the larger ſhips, the remainder being found ſufficient for the embarkation of a body of troops under the command of the earl of Marlborough, whoſe winter expedition ſhall be taken notice of in its proper place. In the mean time let us return to the proceedings of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the ſquadron under his command, which we left, with that of vice-admiral Killegrew, in Plymouth-ſound.

On the 21ſt of July rear-admiral Shovel received orders to proceed with the ſhips under his command for Kinſale, to intercept ſome French frigates that were ſaid to be on that coaſt. Arriving at Waterford river, with intention to execute this commiſſion, he met with the agreeable news of lieutenant-general Kirk's having made himſelf maſter of the town of Waterford, but was at the ſame time informed, that Duncannon-caſtle, which by its ſituation commanded the river, ſtill held out, and that the lieutenant general for want of cannon was not likely to take it. Upon this, conſidering the importance of the place, and that no uſe could be made of the port of Waterford, while it remained in the hands of the enemy, he ſent advice to the lieutenant-general on the 27th of July, that he was ready to aſſiſt him by ſending ſome frigates up the river, and landing all the men he could ſpare out of his ſquadron under the protection of their guns. Accordingly, the next day he ſent in the Experiment and the Greyhound, two ſmall ſhips, to batter the caſtle, and under their fire landed between ſix and ſeven hundred men, all the boats of the fleet being employed in this ſervice. The caſtle all this time thundered upon them, though to little purpoſe; but, when general Bourke, who commanded there, ſaw the men landed, he thought fit to capitulate, and marched out at the head of two hundred and fifty men, with their arms and baggage, leaving to the Engliſh the fortreſs, which was furniſhed with forty-two pieces of cannon. A noble reward for one day's hard duty!

After this happy ſucceſs the rear-admiral ſailed for Limerick, where he was informed the French had a conſiderable number of ſhips; but finding ſoon after that the enemy was retired, and that his own ſquadron began to be in want of proviſions and ſea-ſtores, he came to a reſolution of ſailing to Plymouth, where he received a conſiderable reinforcement, with orders to proceed in queſt of the enemy. But theſe orders, which came from the lords of the admiralty,

ralty, were on the 18th of September countermanded by a freſh order from the king, directing him to detach ten ſhips into the Soundings for the protection of the trade, and to ſail with the reſt for the Downs; which he accordingly did.

After raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, king William returned into England, where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were ſtill in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and moſt of the convenient ports being ſtill held for king James, the earl of Marlborough propoſed a plan for the immediate reduction of that iſland: he obſerved firſt, that our fleet was now at ſea, and that of the French returned to Breſt, in which ſituation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to deſcents. He farther remarked, that there were at leaſt five thouſand land-forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet even in this late ſeaſon of the year, and land time enough to perform conſiderable ſervice. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and ſent orders to the admirals to ſend the great ſhips about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet the forces ordered for this ſervice.

The admirals hoiſted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate, and, having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Corke on the 21ſt of September in the afternoon. The next day they attempted to enter, but were for ſome time prevented by the fire of a ſmall battery of five guns, from which, however, the Iriſh were ſoon driven by two or three boats full of brave fellows, and then the whole fleet got into the harbour without any more interruption. On the 23d the forces were landed, and joined a body of between three and four thouſand men under the command of the duke of Wirtembergh, who, by an ill-timed diſpute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition.

The city of Corke was very well fortified, and had in it a body of four thouſand men: but the earl of Marlborough having obſerved that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th, which was performed with great expedition by five or ſix hundred ſeamen, carpenters, &c. and, after playing on the town for a few hours, made ſo conſiderable a breach, that on the 25th the generals reſolved to attack it, in which they were aſſiſted by ten pinnaces, manned by ſeamen well armed with hand-granadoes from the fleet. The beſieged

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were ſo terrified at this, that it was eaſily diſcerned the diſpute would not continue long; and indeed the Iriſh inſtantly capitulated.

But the very next day the fleet received orders to retire, which they did, leaving a ſquadron under the command of the duke of Grafton to aſſiſt the general: but that brave nobleman, having received a wound in the ſhoulder in the attack before-mentioned, died within a few days, when the command devolved upon captain Matthew Tenant, who was blown up in the Breda in Corke harbour; and then it fell to captain Crofts, who attended the earl of Marlborough till after the reduction of Kinſale, as well as Corke, which ſurrendered on the 15th of October, and then brought over the victorious general, who was preſented to his maſter at Kenſington on the 28th of that month, after having achieved, in a very few weeks more than all the foreign generals had been able to do ſince the beginning of the war in Ireland.

The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's deſire, the governor of Corke, and ſeveral perſons of quality, who were made priſoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into ſmall ſquadrons for ſeveral ſervices, and leave only a ſtrong ſquadron in the Downs under the command of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who cruized the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any ſucceſs remarkable enough to deſerve notice, except that the Deptford and the Crown, two ſmall ſhips, took a ſmall French man of war called the Fripon, commanded by captain St. Marca; ſhe carried but eighteen guns and ten pattereroes, and but a little before had engaged four Dutch privateers, whom ſhe obliged to ſheer off, though with the loſs of thirty men killed and wounded: yet now, notwithſtanding her force was ſo much weakened, ſhe fought till her captain and lieutenants were deſperately wounded, and her maſter killed; nor did ſhe yield at laſt, till her main-maſt was ſhot away by the Crown, and ſhe boarded by the crew of that ſhip. When the rear-admiral had ended his cruize, he ſent ſome of his ſhips to the coaſt of Ireland, others into the Soundings, and returned with the reſt into the Downs; and thus ended the naval operations in Europe.

We next proceed to the Weſt-Indies, where, within the compaſs of this year, there paſſed many things worthy of notice; but as the critical obſervation of time in this caſe would neceſſarily occaſion a great deal of perplexity in the narration,

narration, and force us to conſider it in ſuch a manner as muſt render it very obſcure as well as unconnected, we ſhall therefore refer the hiſtory of the naval tranſactions there to that period in which they were completed, and ſo take in the whole together, uniting the circumſtances of the ſeveral expeditions in as clear and ſuccinct a manner as the nature of the ſubject will allow.

The care of the adminiſtration to repair all paſt errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared viſible in the meaſures taken for ſending a great fleet early to ſea in the ſpring of the year 1691. In order to this, the week after the earl of Torrington was diſmiſſed from his command, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received inſtructions to uſe the utmoſt expedition in drawing together the ſhips of which his fleet was to be compoſed; and a liſt of them, to the number of ninety-one, of which fifty-ſeven were of the line of battle, was annexed to his inſtructions. He executed theſe directions with the utmoſt ſkill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to ſea.

The blue ſquadron was commanded by Henry Killegrew, Eſq; as admiral, Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, rear-admiral. Admiral Ruſſel in the Britannia commanded the red ſquadron, having, for his vice and rear admirals, Sir John Aſhby, and George Rooke, Eſq; His orders were to proceed in the Soundings as ſoon as he ſhould be joined by the Dutch, and he was likewiſe directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from diſturbing our trade. Theſe directions, however, were but indifferently executed, which our writers attribute to the ſlowneſs of the Dutch in ſending their ſhips to join the confederate fleet, which they had ſtipulated to do by the beginning of May, according to the proportion of five to eight, though biſhop Burnet ſays of three to five, of equal rates and ſtrength. Secretary Burchet, however, complains, that it was late in the month of May before there were twenty-eight Dutch ſhips in the fleet, whereas, according to the liſt publiſhed by the ſtates-general in the ſame month, there ought to have been forty-ſix, and thoſe too very large ſhips. This, however, is certain, that, notwithſtanding all his ſkill and care, admiral Ruſſel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and very ſcantily victualled; at the ſame time that he was ſo perplexed by his orders, and with the difficulties ſtarted upon every occaſion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably

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was as much cramped by his, that a great part of the months of May and June were ſpent to very little purpoſe; and, though the French fleet was not in ſuch forwardneſs this year as it had been the laſt, yet it was at ſea ſome time before ours had any intelligence of it.

If we may judge from appearances, one may ſafely ſay, that Lewis XIV. ſhewed a ſingular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe ſee how ſoon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the Engliſh, Spaniards, and Dutch; and, as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhauſted his treaſures, in order to render himſelf maſter at ſea. He appointed the count d'Eſtrees, vice-admiral of France, to command in the Mediterranean a fleet conſiſting of four large men of war, five frigates, twenty-ſix gallies, and three bomb-veſſels: and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to aſſemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean: it conſiſted of three ſquadrons, the white and blue commanded by M. Chatteau Renault in the Royal Dauphin of one hundred guns; the white ſquadron commanded by count Tourville in perſon, in the Royal Sun, the fineſt ſhip in France, which carried one hundred and ſix guns; the blue ſquadron under the marquis d'Amfreville in the Superb of ninety-eight guns. This fleet, though very conſiderable, and excellently provided with every thing neceſſary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and therefore count Tourville was inſtructed to avoid an engagement as much as poſſible, and to amuſe the enemy, by keeping, as long as might be, in the channel. This great officer did all that could be expected from him, in order to put early to ſea; but, in ſpite of all his diligence and application, it was the middle of June before he left the port of Breſt. But then it muſt be obſerved, that a ſquadron had been ſent under the command of the marquis de Neſmonde to carry ſupplies of all ſorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland.

Theſe were indeed great things, and what, all circumſtances conſidered, one could ſcarce conceive the French able to perform; yet they were far ſhort of what it was believed in England at that time they were in a condition to undertake, and therefore ſo many accounts were ſent to our admiral from court, of deſcents to be made here, forces to be convoyed there, and other ſtrange projects, that he was hindered from purſuing either the orders that were firſt given him, or executing his own deſigns; and, though he

he diſcovered a good deal of uneaſineſs under this, yet he continued for many weeks to complain and obey.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this ſpring, and, as the Engliſh and Dutch had a joint concern therein to the amount of upwards of four millions ſterling, both nations were extremely apprehenſive of its being attacked by the French, and therefore very preciſe orders were ſent to admiral Ruſſel to uſe his utmoſt care for its preſervation; and this he performed with equal induſtry and ſucceſs; for, having appointed ſingle ſhips to cruize for them on every point of the compaſs, he croſſed with the body of the fleet to Cape-Clear, on the Iriſh coaſt, and, being off Kinſale, received advice, that the Smyrna fleet was arrived ſafely in that harbour. Upon this, he ſent orders to captain Aylmer to join him immediately with the ſquadron under his command, reſolving to conduct the Smyrna fleet as far as Scilly, and then, if they had a fair wind, to leave them to proceed up the channel, having firſt taken the neceſſary precaution of ſending a frigate before to Plymouth, that he might be ſatisfied none of the enemy's ſhips were upon the coaſt.

Upon parting with this fleet, the admiral determined to lye off Uſhant, and, if the French were gone from thence, to follow them to Belle-Iſle; but, being afterwards of opinion that they lay in the ſea purpoſely to avoid him, he altered his reſolutions, and reſolved to go into a more proper ſtation in ſearch of them; ſo that, parting with the Smyrna fleet off Scilly the 13th of July, he firſt bent his courſe towards the French coaſt, from whence he ſent a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, deſiring that it might be conſidered, whether the fleet, before its return, could be ſerviceable towards the reduction of Ireland; for that the proviſions on board would laſt no longer than the latter end of Auguſt; and, after that month was expired, he thought it not ſafe for the great ſhips to be out of harbour, but he deſired that ſupplies of proviſion might be ready at Plymouth, that ſo the want of them might not incapacitate the fleet to perform any neceſſary ſervice.

Arriving in this ſtation, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was ſent to look into Breſt, where he ſaw about forty ſail coming out of that port, which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ſhips from Bretagne, eſcorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudeſley, to decoy theſe ſhips into his hands, made uſe of an excellent ſtratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a ſmall ſquadron of their fleet had made prizes of ſeveral Engliſh merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of falſe news, he ordered part of his ſquadron

dron to put out French colours, and the reſt to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally ſuppoſe it that ſquadron with their prizes. This ſucceeded in part; but the enemy diſcovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much miſchief.

Towards the latter end of the month of July, admiral Ruſſel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with freſh proviſions; ſome of theſe were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping ſcouts at a conſiderable diſtance on all points of the compaſs by which he could be approached, and theſe being chaſed by ours, they immediately ran, making ſignals to others that lay within them; ſo that it was impoſſible to come up with the body of their fleet, though that of the Engliſh and Dutch ſailed in ſuch a poſture, that the ſcouts on each wing, as well as thoſe a-head and a-ſtern, could in clear weather ſee twenty leagues round.

The admiral, being ſenſible of the dangers that might attend this ſituation, wrote home for freſh orders, which he received, but found them ſo perplexed, that, having intelligence of the French fleet being gone into Breſt, he, in the beginning of Auguſt, purſuant to the reſolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his laſt orders explained. In return he was directed to put to ſea again, which he did; and notwithſtanding his frequent repreſentations of the inconvenience of having ſuch large ſhips expoſed to the rough weather, which uſually happens about the equinox, he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of September, when he met with ſuch a violent ſtorm, that, after doing all that could be done for the preſervation of the fleet, he was conſtrained to bear up for ſo dangerous a port as Plymouth; and in doing this, through the violence of the wind, and the hazineſs of the weather, the ſhips were ſo ſcattered, that the greateſt part of them were not ſeen when the admiral himſelf came to an anchor in the Sound; but, when it grew ſomewhat clearer, one of the ſecond rates (which proved to be the Coronation) was diſcovered at anchor off Ram-head, without any thing ſtanding but the enſign ſtaff, and ſoon after ſhe foundered, her commander captain Shelton, together with her company, except a very inconſiderable number, being loſt. Many of the biggeſt ſhips were not able to weather the eaſtermoſt point of land at the entrance into Ply-

Plymouth ſound, and therefore were conſtrained to take ſanctuary there, in that unavoidable confuſion, which a lee ſhore, thick weather, and a very hard gale of wind, will always occaſion, inſomuch that the Harwich, a third rate, ran on aſhore, and bulged near Mount Edgcombe-houſe, and the Royal Oak and Northumberland tailed on the ground, though afterwards they were luckily got off. A great Dutch ſhip was ſeen at anchor above five leagues in the offing, with all her maſts gone; and ſeveral there were that very narrowly eſcaped the danger of the Ediſtone.

The admiral immediately gave orders for refitting ſuch of the ſhips as had been damaged in the ſtorm, and left Sir Cloudeſley Shovel at Plymouth to ſee it performed, directing him, as ſoon as they were in a condition to ſail, to ſend a ſquadron of ten ſail into the Soundings for the ſecurity of the homeward bound trade, himſelf, with the reſt of the fleet, ſteering for Spithead, where ſoon after he received orders to ſend the largeſt ſhips about to Chatham, as the Dutch admiral did to return home, with the firſt and ſecond rates under his command. Admiral Ruſſel was likewiſe directed to form a ſquadron of thirty ſail of Engliſh and Dutch ſhips to be ſent to the coaſt of Ireland, and he according appointed vice admiral Delaval for this command, who four times attempted to execute his orders, and was as often forced back by contrary winds, which, however, proved of no detriment to the ſervice, ſince the intelligence received of the French ſending a fleet to Limerick, proved falſe. Thus ended the naval operations of the year 1691, very little to the profit, honour, or ſatisfaction of the nation.

In the ſpring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral Ruſſel, who had been again appointed admiral and commander in chief by commiſſion, dated December the 3d, 1691. At this time, however, he was very far from ſtanding in high favour. He had expoſtulated freely with his majeſty on the diſgrace of the earl of Marlborough, and lived on no extraordinary terms with the new ſecretary lord Nottingham; but his character as an officer, and his known ſteadineſs in revolution principles, ſupported him, and the king reſolved to confide the fleet to his care almoſt whether the admiral would or not.

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The principal thing that ſeems to have been intended was, convincing not France alone, but alſo all Europe, that the maritime powers were ſtill lords of the ſea, by fitting out early ſuch a fleet as ſhould keep their enemies in awe, while a deſcent was made in Normandy. Something of this kind king William intimated in his ſpeech to the parliament, and was certainly expected both by this nation and the Dutch. When, therefore, the king left England in the beginning of March, his inſtructions to admiral Ruſſel were, to uſe all imaginable diligence in getting the fleet out to ſea; and at the ſame time he was promiſed, that his majeſty would not fail to quicken the Dutch.

As ſoon as Lewis XIV. perceived, either through unavoidable misfortunes, or the intrigues of his own miniſters, that it was a thing impoſſible to ſupport the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a reſolution of employing the forces, that were ſtill left king James, to ſerve his purpoſe another way. With this view he concerted, with the malecontents in England, an invaſion on the coaſt of Suſſex; and though for this deſign it was neceſſary to draw together a great number of tranſports, as well as a very conſiderable body of forces, yet he had both in readineſs, before it was ſo much as ſuſpected here. The land army conſiſted of fourteen battalions of Engliſh and Iriſh troops, and about nine thouſand French, commanded by marſhal de Belfondes; ſo that in all there could not be leſs than twenty thouſand men. The fleet of tranſports conſiſted of three hundred ſail, and was well provided with every thing neceſſary for the invaſion. In ſhort, nothing was wanting to the execution of this deſign, in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Eſtree's ſquadron of twelve men of war, which was to eſcort the embarkation, while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was alſo ready to put to ſea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this ſituation, king James ſent over colonel Parker, and ſome other agents of his, to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and ſome of theſe people, in hopes of reward, gave the firſt clear account of the whole deſign to our government at home; upon which, order after order was ſent to admiral Ruſſel to haſten out to ſea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

There were at this very critical juncture two conſiderable ſquadrons at ſea; one under the command of Sir Ralph

Ralph Delaval, which was ſent to bring home a fleet of merchantmen from the Mediterranean, the other under admiral Carter, near the French coaſt. It was apprehended, that the French would have endeavoured to intercept the former, and therefore, on the laſt of February, orders were ſent by the Groin packet-boat to vice admiral Delaval, to avoid coming near cape St. Vincent, but rather to ſail to Dingle bay, the mouth of the Shannon, or ſome other port thereabouts. But, for fear theſe orders might not reach him ſoon enough at Cadiz, an advice boat was ordered to cruize for him off Cape-Clear, with inſtructions to put into Corke or Kinſale. However, both theſe orders miſſed him, and he was ſo fortunate as to arrive in the beginning of March ſafe in the Downs.

As for rear admiral Carter, he was ordered to continue cruizing with his ſquadron of eighteen ſail, as near the French coaſt as it was poſſible, in order to be the better and more certainly informed of what they were doing. His majeſty king William, as ſoon as he arrived in Holland, took care to haſten the naval preparations with unuſual diligence; ſo that the fleet was ready to put to ſea much ſooner than had been expected, or at leaſt much ſooner than it had done the year before, and was alſo in a much better condition. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and, obſerving how great advantage the French might reap by the diviſion of ſuch conſiderable ſquadrons from our fleet, his firſt care was to write to court on this ſubject, and to deſire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction, and that timely notice be given to all perſons concerned. In return to this, he had orders ſent him to cruize between cape la Hogue and the Iſle of Wight, till the ſquadrons ſhould join with him, though he had propoſed the junction ſhould be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as ſoon as he received them, and plyed down through the ſands with a very ſcanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were againſt hazarding ſo great a fleet in ſo dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold ſtroke of the admiral, which was his own, was owing all his following ſucceſs.

On the 8th the fleet came ſafe off Rye, and that night the admiral ſent to the Dutch admiral to weigh and make ſail after him, that no time might be loſt; and he alſo

ſent a ſquadron of ſmall ſhips to look for Sir Ralph Delaval, being in great pain till the whole confederate fleet was in a body. On the 11th of May he ſailed from Rye-bay for St. Helen's, where in two days time he was joined by Sir Ralph Delaval, and rear admiral Carter, with their ſquadrons. While they lay there, the admiral received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, as ſecretary of ſtate, written by queen Mary's direction, wherein he was informed, that a ſcandalous report was ſpread, as if ſome of the officers of their majeſties fleet were diſaffected, or not hearty in their ſervice; and that her majeſty had thereupon been preſſed to the diſcharge of many of them from their employments: but her majeſty charged the admiral to acquaint his officers, that ſhe was ſatisfied this report was raiſed by the enemies of the government, and that ſhe repoſed ſo entire a confidence in their fidelity, that ſhe had reſolved not to diſplace ſo much as one of them. Upon this the flag officers and captains drew up a very dutiful and loyal addreſs, dated from on board the Britannia at St. Helen's, May the 15th, 1692, which was the ſame day tranſmitted to court, and on the next preſented by the lords of the admiralty to her majeſty, who was pleaſed to make this wiſe and gracious anſwer, which was publiſhed that night in the Gazette: "I always had this opinion of "the commanders, but I am glad this is come to ſatisfy "others."

When all the ſhips, Engliſh and Dutch, were come together, the admiral propoſed, that a ſmall detachment of ſix or eight frigates might be ſent to hover about the coaſt of Normandy; that at the ſame time the forces intended for a deſcent ſhould embark, and be landed at St. Maloes, and the grand fleet lie weſtward of that place, in order to protect them from the enemy. This propoſition being in part approved, he detached ſix light ſhips to gain intelligence; and, it being left to him to proceed as a council of war ſhould adviſe, he on the 18th of May ſailed for the coaſt of France. The next day, about three in the morning, the ſcouts, weſtward of the fleet, fired ſwivel guns, and, being in a ſhort time in ſight, made the ſignal of diſcovering the enemy. Immediately orders were given for drawing into a line of battle, and the ſignal was made for the rear of the fleet to tack, in order to engage the ſooner, if the French had ſtood to the northward. A little after four, the ſun diſperſing the fog, the enemy were ſeen ſtanding to the ſouthward. The admiral upon this cauſed the ſignal for the rear to tack to be taken in, and

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bore away with his ſhip ſo far to leeward, as that each ſhip in the fleet might fetch his wake, and then be brought to, and lay by, with his fore-top-ſail to the maſt, that ſo others might have the better opportunity of placing themſelves according to the manner formerly directed on ſuch an occaſion.

The confederate fleet was in good order by eight, having the Dutch ſquadron in the van, the red in the centre, and the blue in the rear. About ten the French fleet bore down upon them with great reſolution. About half an hour after eleven count Tourville in the Royal Sun, brought to, and began the action with admiral Ruſſel, being within three quarters muſket-ſhot. He plyed his guns very warmly till one, but then began to tow off in great diſorder, his rigging, ſails, and top-ſail yards being very much wounded. About two the wind ſhifted; ſo that five of the enemy's blue ſquadron poſted themſelves, three a-head, and two a-ſtern of their admiral, and fired very briſkly till after three. The admiral and his two ſeconds, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Aylmer, had all theſe ſhips to deal with. There was ſo thick a fog about four, that the enemy could not be ſeen; and, as ſoon as it was cleared up, the French admiral was diſcovered towing away northward; upon which the admiral followed him, and made the ſignal for chaſing.

While this paſſed between the admirals, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel was got to the windward of count Tourville's ſquadron, and engaged them; but, the fog growing darker than before, they were forced to anchor: and about this time it was that captain Haſtings, in the Sandwich, was killed, driving through thoſe ſhips of the enemy, by reaſon his anchors were not clear. The weather clearing up a little, the French followed their flying admiral, and the Engliſh chaſed the beſt they could. About eight in the evening it grew foggy again, and part of the Engliſh blue ſquadron, having fallen in with the enemy, engaged about half an hour, till they, having loſt four ſhips, bore away for Conquet-Road. In this ſhort action rear admiral Carter was killed, whoſe laſt words effectually confuted the baſe reports ſpread to blemiſh his reputation; for, finding himſelf mortally wounded, he recommended to captain Wright, who commanded his ſhip, to fight her as long as ſhe could ſwim.

The 20th of May proved ſo foggy, that it was eight o'clock before the Dutch diſcovered the enemy; and then

the whole fleet began to chaſe, the French crowding away weſtward. About four in the afternoon both fleets anchored; about ten they weighed again, and about twelve admiral Ruſſel's fore-top-maſt came by the board.

On the 22d, about ſeven in the morning, the Engliſh fleet continued the chaſe with all the ſucceſs they could deſire: about eleven the French admiral ran aſhore, and cut away her maſts; upon this her two ſeconds plyed up to her, and other ſhips began to hover about them; upon which the admiral ſent Sir Ralph Delaval, who was in the rear, to keep with him a ſtrength ſufficient to deſtroy thoſe ſhips, and to ſend the reſt, that were under his command, to join the body of the fleet. In the evening a great number of the enemy's ſhips were ſeen going into La Hogue. On the 23d the admiral ſent in Sir George Rooke, with ſeveral men of war, fire ſhips, and all the boats of the fleet, to deſtroy theſe ſhips in the bay. On their entering, it was perceived, that there were thirteen ſail; but they were got up ſo high, that none but the ſmall frigates could do any ſervice. Sir George, however, was reſolved to execute his orders; and therefore, having manned his boats, he went in perſon to encourage the attempt, burnt ſix of them that night, and the other ſeven the next morning, together with a great number of tranſport ſhips, and other veſſels laden with ammunition. One would think this was a remarkable piece of ſervice: indeed it was by much the greateſt that happened during the whole affair; for it was performed under a prodigious fire from the enemy's battery on ſhore, and within ſight of the Iriſh camp, and with the loſs only of ten men: yet biſhop Burnet, by an odd ſtroke, either of ill humour, or great negligence, has thought fit to blame Sir George, as if he had not been much inclined to fight.

Sir John Aſhby, with his own ſquadron and ſome Dutch ſhips, purſued the reſt of the French fleet, till they ran through the race of Alderney, among ſuch rocks and ſhoals as our pilots were abſolutely againſt following them; for which that admiral has been alſo cenſured, though perhaps without cauſe, ſince ſome of the ableſt ſeamen in England were of opinion, that there could not be a more deſperate undertaking than the flight of the French ſhips though that paſſage. But, though deſpair might juſtify them, yet it does not appear to me an argument, that Sir John Aſhby ought to have followed them.

It is very remarkable, that, though the confederate fleet was near double to that of the French, yet ſcarce half of

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it could engage, which was owing to their original diſpoſition, (by which, as the reader may remember, the blue ſquadron, of which Sir George Rooke was vice admiral, was directed to tack northward, and to weather), not at all to any deficiency in that admiral, as biſhop Burnet alledges; yet the defeat was one of the moſt ſignal that ever happened at ſea. If, indeed, Sir John Aſhby could have reached thoſe that took ſhelter in St. Maloes, it had in a good meaſure put an end to the French power at ſea. As it was, we muſt acknowledge it a moſt glorious victory, and that we ought to pay a juſt tribute of praiſe to the memories of all the brave men who achieved it.

We find this affair, notwithſtanding all the ruinous conſequences that attended it, treated in ſuch a ſtyle by the French writers, as to make it appear rather a victory than a defeat; and all this founded on the ſingle circumſtance of their attacking the Engliſh fleet. In order to explain that, we muſt obſerve, that count Tourville found himſelf obliged to take this ſtep, in obedience to his orders, which were ſo expreſs, that they did not leave any room for him to exerciſe his judgment. He called a council of war indeed, the night before the engagement, wherein moſt of the officers gave their opinions, that, conſidering the ſuperiority of the confederate fleet, and the ſituation themſelves were in, it was moſt prudent to avoid fighting. Upon this, after declaring his own ſentiments to be the ſame with theirs, he pronounced the king's orders, which appeared to be ſo preciſe for fighting the Engliſh, whether ſtrong or weak, that it was unanimouſly reſolved to obey them. Several reaſons have been aſſigned for the French king's giving ſuch orders.

After a particular account of the firſt day's engagement, the marquis de Quincy proceeds thus: "As to the advantage gained in this action, it muſt be allowed us, "that count Tourville did not loſe ſo much as a ſhip, "nor had he any that were diſabled; while, on the other "hand, the enemy loſt two, one ſunk, and the other diſ-"abled. The reſt of their ſhips were as ill treated as his, "beſides their ſpending abundance of fire ſhips without "any effect. Thus, in ſpite of the prodigious inequality "of the fleets, the ſucceſs was at leaſt equal in the firſt "day's engagement: it is true, it happened otherwiſe in "the ſucceeding days, in which, however, there fell out "nothing that ought to tarniſh the reputation of France at "ſea, ſince, while there remained any room for courage

"to

" to exert itſelf, they not only acted gallantly in their own " defence, but made them reſpected by their enemies. " What afterwards followed was the effect of unforeſeen ac- " cidents and inevitable misfortunes."

Yet, after this fine flouriſh, the marquis fairly confeſſes, the French flags ran for it, and that their other ſhips did the beſt they could to follow them; but partly through the want of ſafe ports on their coaſts, and partly through the vigorous purſuit of the Engliſh, they were burnt and deſtroyed in the manner before-related. Neither doth this writer, or any other of the French hiſtorians, pretend to diminiſh their own loſs, or to ſay that our admirals did not do their duty. On the contrary they aſcribe the ſafe retreat of part of their ſhips into the road of St. Maloes to their lucky paſſage through that dangerous Streight which I have before mentioned.

When admiral Ruſſel was ſatisfied, that the grand fleet could not do any farther ſervice againſt the French, he reſolved to return to St. Helen's, as well to refit the veſſels that were damaged in the late action, as to obtain a ſupply of proviſions and ammunition. This deſign he executed very happily, ſince he had ſcarce left the French coaſt, before the weather became ſo tempeſtuous, that his heavy ſhips muſt have ſuffered exceedingly, and ſuch as had loſt their maſts would probably have periſhed. Yet this meaſure, ſo prudent in itſelf, and ſo fortunate in its event, has been cenſured, as if the admiral had ſhewn too great eagerneſs to be at home, and too little care to proſecute his victory.

However, before he took this ſtep, he left Sir John Aſhby with twelve Engliſh ſhips, and three fire ſhips, in conjunction with a Dutch ſquadron of like force, commanded by vice admiral Callemberg, with orders to ſail for Havre de Grace, and to endeavour the deſtruction of ſo many of the French fleet as had taken ſhelter there; which ſervice, indeed, they did not perform, the enemy's ſituation, and the ſtormy weather, rendering it altogether impracticable. So that to blame the admiral for not expoſing the fleet, when it was impoſſible for him to have done any thing, is to ſhew a diſpoſition of finding fault at the nation's ſafety, ſince ſucceeding commanders are not like to uſe their judgments freely, when they find their predeceſſors ſuffer in reputation for doing what prudence, and regard to the ſafety of the fleet, directed. The principal reaſon, which influenced admiral Ruſſel on this occaſion, was his deſire to make the moſt of his victory, by immediately taking on board the troops intended for a deſcent, and carrying them

them over, with all poſſible expedition, to the coaſt of France.

It is not eaſy to give any account of this deſcent, ſince neither our public hiſtorians, nor the writers of public memoirs, have been able to leave us any certain ſcheme of this deſign farther than that it was to be a deſcent on the French coaſt, in order to alarm and diſtract the nation. Thus much is certain, that both we and the Dutch ſeemed to have very great confidence in this expedition, which was provided for at a vaſt expence, in order to which a promotion of officers was made on purpoſe. At firſt ſeveral regiments of horſe were intended to have been ſent; but at laſt theſe were reduced to fifty horſe, and two hundred dragoons. It is evident enough from this conduct, that admiral Ruſſel was not in the ſecret of this ſcheme, if indeed there was any ſuch ſecret, but knew in general only, that theſe troops were deſigned to land in France, and therefore he thought this the moſt proper opportunity for executing the project, be it what it would.

This was his great motive for returning to the Engliſh coaſt; and, to be ſure, he acted therein with great judgment and prudence. In his paſſage, however, he met with very rough weather, and, on his arrival, with a very great diſappointment; for inſtead of finding the troops ready to embark, and himſelf furniſhed with orders and inſtructions for the execution of the enterprize, he was informed by letters from the ſecretary of ſtate, that no certain reſolution was as yet taken in what ſervice to employ them, but that this was left to be ſettled by a general council of land and ſea-officers, when the fleet and the tranſports ſhould be joined. The plain ſource of all this confuſion was, that the miniſters of ſtate were not diſpoſed to take upon themſelves the direction of an affair, which they were apprehenſive would miſcarry, but were willing to put it upon the land and ſea officers, that they alone might remain accountable for whatever happened.

At laſt, very late in the month of July, the tranſports, with the forces on board, joined the fleet; and on the 28th of the ſame month, a council of war was held on board the Breda, where the ſchemes or rather hints of the miniſtry were ſeriouſly conſidered, and, upon the whole, reſolved to be impracticable. The admiral, however, ſent Sir John Aſhby with a ſtout ſquadron to endeavour, if poſſible, to intercept the French fleet, which was every day expected to ſail from St. Maloe's to Breſt; and, as ſoon as this was done, the admiral, with the reſt of the fleet and tranſports, ſailed for La Hogue.

Secretary

Secretary Burchet ſeems to ſay, that in his paſſage he received orders from the queen to return, and that, in obedience to theſe orders, he came back in a few days to St. Helen's. Yet there is ſomething very improbable in this, if we conſider, that as ſoon as an expreſs, detached by the duke of Leinſter, arrived at Whitehall with this news, the queen ſent down to the fleet the marquis of Caermarthen then lord-preſident of the council, the earl of Devonſhire lord-ſteward, the earl of Dorſet lord-chamberlain, the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, and the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to know the reaſon of their return, and to take proper meaſures for their putting to ſea again immediately. Theſe lords on their arrival found all the troops except two regiments, on board, and the fleet wind-bound. Every body then expected that the troops would reimbark, and at laſt they did ſo; but, inſtead of proceeding to France, they ſailed under the eſcort of a ſquadron of men of war, part to Oſtend, and part to Newport. There were two hundred and forty tranſport-ſhips, ſix or ſeven thouſand men, a prodigious quantity of ammunition of all ſorts, and whatever ſeemed requiſite for executing a great deſign, though ſo little came of it.

One cannot wonder, that, on ſo flagrant a miſcarriage as this, the mouths of all the world were opened. The Engliſh, who are not very famous for their patience on ſuch occaſions, made no difficulty of ſaying, that the nation was plundered and abuſed, and that, after immenſe ſums were drawn out of the people's pockets by the moſt grievous and burdenſome taxes, they were idly ſquandered away with chimerical projects. The Dutch ſcrupled not to exclaim againſt the treachery of the king's counſellors, and to affirm that every thing, that was tranſacted at London, was ſo ſpeedily betrayed to the French court, that it was in vain to hope any ſucceſs from deſigns concerted there. The French, according to their uſual manner, exulted ſtrangely on their deliverance, and attributed to the wiſdom and power of Lewis XIV. what was the pure effect of croſs accidents and party reſentments.

After ſending theſe troops into Flanders, the great ſhips were ordered about to Chatham, and the fleet divided into ſquadrons, as was judged moſt convenient for the ſervice: and thus ended the public tranſactions of this year.

This circumſtance of our loſing ſo many ſhips, after ſo great a victory at ſea, excited much clamour, eſpecially among the merchants, though the reaſons aſſigned for it by the board of admiralty were very plauſible at leaſt, if not ſatisfactory.

ſatisfactory. They ſaid, that the loſs the French ſuſtained ſo early in the year was the occaſion of their ſeamen being diſmiſſed the king's ſervice, and ſuffered to go on board privateers, which rendered them more numerous, and of greater force than ever, while, on the other hand, our keeping ſo great a fleet ſo long at ſea rendered it impoſſible for the admiralty to furniſh the merchants with proper convoys, at the ſame time that ſo large a number of men, as were employed on board the navy, forced our commanders of merchant-ſhips to proceed in their reſpective voyages worſe manned than uſual.

The king opened the ſeſſions of parliament on the 4th of November, in which he took notice both of their great ſucceſs, and great diſappointments at ſea, which gave occaſion to the ſubſequent inquiries. On the 11th the houſe of commons thanked admiral Ruſſel, in very ſtrong terms, for his courage and conduct in the affair of La Hogue; but this did not prevent a warm debate on account of the opportunities that were ſaid to be loſt after that ſignal victory. The admiral furniſhed the houſe with all the letters, papers, and inſtructions that were neceſſary for their information, and entered into a large account of the whole affair. Then Sir John Aſhby was examined as to his not executing the orders that were given him to deſtroy the French ſhips which got into St. Maloe's. Sir John cleared himſelf ſo handſomely, and ſet the whole matter in ſo fair a light, that the ſpeaker, by order of the houſe, took notice of his ingenuous behaviour at the bar, which gave ſuch ſatisfaction, that he was diſmiſſed from farther attendance.

The warmth the parliament had expreſſed in providing for the ſea-ſervice, joined to the clamour that had been raiſed on the defeat of the late expedition, obliged the king to take very early care of whatever related to the affairs of the navy, that nothing might hinder the ſending a ſtout fleet to ſea in the beginning of the ſpring. In the month of January, therefore, his majeſty was pleaſed to make a great change in the command of the fleet, in which he was ſuppoſed to follow chiefly the advice of the earl of Nottingham. Inſtead of appointing an admiral and commander in chief, he granted a commiſſion to Henry Killegrew, Eſq; Sir Ralph Delaval, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, to execute that office. Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the two firſt were thought to be ſo much in king James's intereſt, that it was believed the king was putting the fleet into the hands of ſuch as would betray him; for, though no exception lay againſt Shovel, yet he was but one or two. Whether the biſhop's

biſhop's conjecture was well grounded or not, I cannot pretend to determine; but the event very fully proved, that ſuch a joint commiſſion was a very bad expedient. Soon after his majeſty made George Rooke, Eſq; vice-admiral of the red, and Matthew Aylmer, Eſq; rear-admiral of that ſquadron, John lord Berkley, vice-admiral, and David Mitchell, Eſq; rear-admiral of the blue; and theſe promotions were declared on the 8th of February following.

To give ſtill a higher proof of the king's concern for, and attention to this neceſſary part of the public ſervice, his majeſty ſoon after went down to Portſmouth, as well to take a view of the ſtate of the place and its fortifications, as to examine in perſon into the condition of that part of the fleet which was then there. On this occaſion his majeſty went on board the ſhip where vice-admiral Rooke had hoiſted his flag, and conferred the honour of knighthood upon the admiral; after which he returned to London very well ſatisfied as to the condition of the fleet at Spithead. On the 12th of April the right honourable Anthony, lord-viſcount Falkland, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, Henry Prieſtman, Eſq; Robert Auſten, Eſq; Sir Ralph Delaval, knight, were appointed commiſſioners of the admiralty.

The war in Flanders requiring his majeſty's preſence early in the ſpring, the admirals were inſtructed to make all poſſible diſpatch in getting out the fleet to ſea, to endeavour, if poſſible, to block up the enemy in their ports, eſpecially in Breſt, which was thought very practicable, and to take all poſſible care of the merchants. In order to comply with the firſt part of their charge, they began to take half the ſeamen out of privateers; but this, notwithſtanding the preſſing occaſions of the public, and the great ſcarcity of men, was thought ſo heavy a grievance, and was beſides ſo viſible a favour to the enemy, that it was dropped. Then five regiments of foot were put on board, with a view to the debarkment at Breſt, which was a ſcheme of ſome of the land-admirals, and was always thought, by the ableſt of our ſeamen, a very dangerous, and at the ſame time a very impracticable project. Proviſions running ſcarce, a meſs was increaſed from four to ſix men; and yet, in ſpite of all theſe contrivances, they were not able to form a line of battle at St. Helen's till the 7th of May, 1693, which loſt them the opportunity of blocking up either of the French ſquadrons.

When the Engliſh and Dutch fleets joined, they made a formidable appearance, and every body expected ſomething very

very conſiderable would be performed. It appeared, however, but too ſoon, that things were in their old condition; that, the admirals had not proper orders to warrant their doing any thing of moment, and were too much divided in their opinions, to undertake any thing of themſelves. In ſhort, the only thing they could reſolve on was, that Sir George Rooke ſhould command the ſquadron appointed to convoy the Mediterranean fleet, and that, in caſe they had no exact intelligence of the French ſquadrons, the fleet ſhould accompany Sir George into a certain latitude.

If this deſign had been executed as ſoon as it was formed and talked of it had been honourable for the nation, and happy for the merchants; but the admirals were ſo timorous and diffident of their own power, that it was the beginning of June before they ſailed; and even then they had no intelligence of the enemy's motions, but took their meaſures at random: a circumſtance not raſhly to be aſſerted, and yet too important to be concealed, when ſupported by undeniable evidences.

The French, on the other hand, acted with greater prudence, in the diſpoſition of their naval ſtrength this year, than they had done during the continuance of the war. In order to repair the mighty loſs he had ſuſtained at La Hogue, the French king bought ſeveral large ſhips, and turned them into men of war; cauſed ſuch as wanted repair to be put, during the winter, into a condition to go to ſea; and, that they might not be detained for want of men, he ſuſpended in a manner the whole trade of France for a year, by forbidding any ſhips to go to ſea till his ſquadrons were manned: laſtly, to raiſe the ſpirits of the ſeamen, as well as to encourage ſuch officers as had done their duty in the laſt unlucky engagement, he made a grand naval promotion, which had preciſely the effect he expected from it, and excited ſuch a ſpirit of diligence and emulation, as is eaſier to be conceived than deſcribed. The reader will be convinced of the truth of this, when he is informed, that the French ſailed from the ocean for the Mediterranean in the middle of the month of May, in three ſquadrons, conſiſting all together of ſeventy-one ſhips of war, beſides tenders, bomb-veſſels, and fire-ſhips; ſo that they were actually on the coaſt of Portugal, before our Smyrna fleet ſailed.

The Engliſh fleet left Sir George Rooke with the Streight's ſquadron on the 6th of June in the evening, about fifty leagues W. S. W. off Uſhant, and returned to take up the cruizers, having all this time had no intelligence of the enemy. The lords of the admiralty at home, however, had

had an account directly from Portugal of M. Tourville's coming into Lagos-bay, between Cape St. Vincent and Faro, with no leſs than one hundred and fourteen ſail, great and ſmall. This exceedingly alarmed the government, and advice was inſtantly diſpatched to the fleet, which conſiſted now of ſixty-nine ſhips of the line of battle.

On the 23d of June a council of war was held at Torbay, in which it was reſolved to bear away for Liſbon directly, in caſe they could be properly victualled; but, to prevent all danger, orders were immediately diſpatched to Sir George Rooke, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. If this reſolution had been purſued, and the fleet had actually ſailed for Liſbon, ſomething might have been done worthy of the Engliſh nation. But upon the 1ſt of July another council of war was held, in which, though the queen's orders were produced for their executing what themſelves had before propoſed, yet the flags came to a new reſolution, which was to ſubmit it to her majeſty, whether, if the French ſquadrons were joined, and ſhould ſail north-about, the coaſt of England might not be expoſed to ſome inſult during their abſence.

It has been before obſerved, that the grand fleet quitted Sir George Rooke on the 6th of June, 1693, without having at that time any certain intelligence either of the force of the French ſquadrons, or where they were ſailed; which put that admiral under great difficulties, and therefore we cannot wonder, that he expreſſed ſome concern at the great riſk the numerous fleet of merchantmen, under his convoy, was like to run. It is true, his ſquadron was very ſtrong, conſiſting of no leſs than twenty-three men of war, and he had under him two flag-officers of great courage and experience, *viz.* the Dutch vice-admiral Vandergoes and rear-admiral Hopſon. But then the merchantmen under his care were near four hundred, and theſe not only Engliſh and Dutch, but Danes, Swedes, Hamburghers, Flemings, *&c.* ſo that our reputation as a maritime power was in a manner ſtaked for their ſafety.

When he left the fleet, he had a very fair and ſtrong gale of wind, which carried him at ſuch a rate as prevented any of the advice-boats, ſent with thoſe freſh inſtructions we mentioned, from coming up with him; and he was ſo unlucky too as not to meet with any ſhips at ſea that could give him notice of marſhal Tourville's fleet being in that part of the world. In this ſituation of things he purſued, as was his duty, his original inſtructions; and having left

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by the way the veſſels bound for Bilboa, Liſbon, St Ubes, and other places, he continued his courſe for the Streights.

On the 15th of June he ordered the Lark, a ſixth rate man of war, and a prime ſailer, to ſtretch a-head of his ſcouts in Lagos-bay, to get what intelligence they could of the enemy; but through ſome overſight in the captain, this was not properly executed. The next day the ſcouts diſcovered two of the enemy's ſhips, and engaged them in the afternoon, till, perceiving eight or ten ſail under the caye, they thought fit to quit the Frenchmen, to inform the admiral of what they had ſeen. Upon this a council of war was called, in which the admiral's opinion, for lying by till the enemy's ſtrength could be known, was overruled.

On the 17th, about break of day, ten ſail of French men of war were diſcovered, with ſome ſmall ſhips, which were chaſed by part of the Engliſh ſquadron, and a fire-ſhip taken, the crew of which poſitively aſſerted, that the whole ſquadron, though there were three flags amongſt them, conſiſted of no more than fifteen ſhips of the line. But the falſity of this aſſertion was diſcovered, and Sir George Rooke eaſily counted eighty ſail of men of war. Sixteen of theſe (amongſt which were three flags) plied up to the Engliſh ſquadron, while the vice-admiral of the white ſtood off to ſea, that he might fall in among the merchant-ſhips.

The Dutch vice-admiral about three o'clock ſent a meſſage to Sir Geoge, that being now ſenſible of the ſtrength of the French fleet, which he doubted before, as well as of their deſign, he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to avoid fighting, as it could only tend to their abſolute ruin. At this time they were within four miles of the enemy, and it was the ſentiment of Sir George himſelf, that they were too far advanced to think of retreating; and therefore, before he received this meſſage, he was reſolved to puſh for it; but conſidering afterwards, that, if the Dutch admiral had formed a right judgment, and both the ſquadron and the fleet under their convoy ſhould ſuffer greatly by this meaſure, the blame would fall entirely on himſelf, he brought to, and ſtood off with an eaſy ſail, that the Dutch and the heavy ſhips might work up to the windward. He, at the ſame time, ſent orders to the ſmall ſhips that were near the land, and therefore not likely to keep up with the fleet, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in the night to put into the neighbouring ports of Faro, St. Lucar, or Cadiz. This

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was all that was in the power of the admiral to do, and it is certain, that theſe orders were extremely well calculated for leſſening, as much as poſſible, the misfortune; and it ſhewed great preſence of mind in Sir George Rooke, to provide ſo wiſely for the moſt diſtant part of the fleet, when himſelf and thoſe about him were in ſuch imminent danger.

The admiral and vice-admiral of the blue, with about ten ſail of the enemy's fleet, fetched up the Engliſh ſquadron very faſt, ſo that about ſix in the evening they came up with two Dutch men of war, and ſome merchant-ſhips of that nation. The men of war were commanded by the captains Schrijver and Vande-Poel, who finding themſelves under the wind, and therefore in no probability of eſcaping, tacked in for the ſhore, and thereby drew the enemy after them, which ſaved the reſt of the fleet. The Dutch captains made a moſt gallant and deſperate defence, but were at laſt overpowered by numbers, and taken.

The admiral ſtood off all night, having a freſh gale at N. N. W. and the next morning found fifty-four ſhips about him, among which were only two Dutch, and one Hamburgher. Five ſail of the enemy's ſhips appeared to the leeward, and two to the windward, which laſt dogged him all day. On the nineteenth Sir George Rooke ſent for the officers of the men of war, and merchant-ſhips, on board, in order to get the beſt account he could of the ſtate they were in, and to concert the moſt proper meaſures for ſecuring the reinainder. In this council, moſt of the officers preſent were for going either to Liſbon, or bearing away for Ireland. The admiral, however, conſidering that they had not water enough on board, to enable them to carry the laſt-mentioned ſcheme into execution, and having alſo ſome hopes of meeting with part of his ſcattered fleet at the Madeiras, he determined to ſail thither; which he accordingly performed.

If the enemy, in executing this deſign of theirs, had ſhewed the ſame dexterity as in contriving, it is not eaſy to conceive how any part of the fleet of merchant-men could have been ſaved. But whether their admirals made a wrong diſpoſition, or whether their orders were but indifferently obeyed, certain it is, that they did not ſtrike near ſo heavy a blow as they might have done. Yet the miſchief they did was very great, and ſeverely felt both by the Engliſh and Dutch trade. According to ſome accounts, beſides four of the largeſt Smyrna ſhips, which M. Coetlogon burnt or ſunk at Gibraltar, and ſeven which he took, M. de Tourville and

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the count d'Eſtrees took two Dutch men of war, burnt a rich pinnace, and an Engliſh man of war; took twenty-nine merchant-men, and deſtroyed about fifty more. The value of the cargoes, and the men of war together, might amount to one million ſterling, or thereabouts; whereas the French, if they had taken the whole fleet, they muſt have been gainers of upwards of four millions. As it was, the loſs fell very heavy upon us, without much enriching them.

In order, however, to hide theſe miſtakes from the eyes of the people of France, and to magnify the advantage gained to the utmoſt, a pompous account was printed at Toulon, full of very extraordinary circumſtances, and ſwelling the loſs of the Engliſh and Dutch to the amount of ſixty millions of livres; that is, to about three times as much as it really was. The modeſty and impartiality of the Dutch accounts of this unfortunate affair, deſerve particular notice. They ſtate the loſs very near as high as the beſt French writers; but at the ſame time they confeſs it had been much greater, but for the prudence of Sir George Rooke, on whoſe conduct they beſtow ſuch praiſes, as a complete victory would ſcarce have extorted from his countrymen. I am, however, inclined to think he deſerved them; becauſe even biſhop Burnet, who was no great friend to that admiral, does not pretend to find out one wrong ſtep in this whole proceeding.

But the conſequences of this engagement were no leſs fatal than the action itſelf; for M. Tourville, to make amends for letting ſo great a part of the Engliſh fleet eſcape, reſolved to do his utmoſt to take or deſtroy ſuch ſhips as had retired into the Spaniſh ports. With this view, he came on the twentieth of July before Malaga, and ſent a meſſage to the governor, that he had no deſign to injure the town, unleſs they attempted to defend the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips; in which caſe he would bombard it. The governor anſwered, he had the king of Spain's orders to protect them, and therefore, as his duty required, he would do it to the utmoſt of his power. There were four Dutch ſhips and one Engliſh in the mole, which he attacked with great fury. The men on board the ſhips made a long and gallant defence, eſpecially the Union frigate, which the French twice attempted to burn, and were as often repulſed. But when it appeared a thing impoſſible to preſerve the ſhips any longer, againſt ſo unequal a force, the maſter thought proper to bore holes and ſink them.

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To Cadiz they ſent a ſquadron of fourteen men of war, and two bomb-ketches, and ſoon after followed with the whole fleet. But they were able to effect little; for the Engliſh and Dutch ſhips immediately retired out of the road into the port, where they were ſo well protected by the cannon of the place, that the French were forced to content themſelves with burning two ſhips they had intercepted in the road, and had hindered from getting in with the reſt. At Gibraltar, after an obſtinate defence, ſeveral rich ſhips were burnt and ſunk, together with a Dutch man of war. The marquis de Quincy, after relating theſe exploits particularly, tells us, that marſhal Tourville ſent twenty-four prizes into Toulon, and computes the whole loſs at thirty-ſix millions of livres, or thereabouts. It is now time to return to admiral Rooke, and the care taken by him of the remainder of the fleet of merchantmen under his protection.

When he formed a reſolution of going to the Madeiras, he ſent home the Lark man of war with the news of his misfortune, and then continued his courſe for thoſe iſlands, where he found at his arrival the Monk, captain Fairborne, and no other ſhips. After taking in water, and what elſe he had occaſion for there, on the twenty-ſeventh of June he ſailed for Ireland, and, on the twenty-ninth of July, 1693, he arrived ſafely at Corke, with about fifty ſail of ſhips of all ſorts, men of war and merchant-men. Soon after his arrival he received orders from the admirals, to ſend ſix of the largeſt ſhips to the fleet, and to go with the reſt to Kinſale. But Sir George, conceiving that little ſervice could be expected from the latter, becauſe they were in a very bad condition, choſe therefore to ſend them under the command of captain Fairborne to Kinſale, and went in perſon with the ſix men of war to the fleet, of the proceedings of which, from the time of Sir George Rooke's departure, we are next to ſpeak, though that is both a difficult and unpleaſant ſubject.

The flag-officers held a council of war on the ninth of July, in which it was reſolved to ſail forty leagues S. W. of Uſhant, and there to conſider what would be the next convenient ſtep for intercepting the enemy's fleet in their return from the Mediterranean. In purſuance of this reſolution, they put to ſea two days after: but were ſo terribly ruffled by a ſtorm, that they were forced to return into Torbay. Upon the ſeventeenth, the wind proving fair, they put to ſea again, and proceeded to their intended ſtation, from whence they ſent out light ſhips in ſearch of Sir George Rooke, and

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to cruize on the Spaniſh coaſt, in order to get ſome intelligence of the enemy. The former carried the orders we have before mentioned to the admiral; but the latter were not ſo lucky as to give any light into the proceedings of the French fleet.

While things were in this condition, an accident happened which might have been attended with very ill conſequences. Our fleet had ſailed when they were very indifferently furniſhed with proviſions, upon a promiſe that theſe ſhould be immediately ſent after them. In the beginning of the month of Auguſt, fifty veſſels, laden with proviſions, proceeded from the river of Thames in queſt of the fleet, under the convoy of two Engliſh and five Dutch men of war: but the fleet being forced from their ſtation, they not only miſſed them, but loſt their convoy. They met, however, with Sir George Rooke's ſquadron, in its paſſage from Kinſale, and he brought them ſafe to the fleet on the ſixteenth of Auguſt; and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month they had orders to return to St. Helen's, where they put the four regiments, that had been on board the whole ſummer, on ſhore; and then the fleet was diſperſed, having done as little for the honour of the Engliſh nation, as any fleet that ever was fitted out.

On the nineteenth of September, 1693, fifteen Dutch ſhips of the line of battle, and two frigates, were ordered by his majeſty to Holland; and twenty-ſix men of war, and ſeven fire-ſhips, were aſſigned for the winter guard, which it was then thought would have put an end to the military operations of this year; but it ſoon after appeared, that there was yet a ſecret expedition to be attempted, in order to ſoften a little the joy of the French for having taken the Smyrna fleet.

On the thirteenth of November, commodore Benbow, in conjunction with captain Philips, the engineer, with a ſquadron of twelve men of war, four bomb-veſſels, and ten brigantines and well-boats, ſailed for St. Maloe's, where they arrived on the ſixteenth, and about four in the afternoon anchored before Quince-fort. Three of the bomb-veſſels, with the brigantines and well-boats, bore in, and anchored within half a mile of the town. About eleven they began to fire, and continued firing till four in the morning, when they were conſtrained to warp, to prevent grounding. On the ſeventeenth they went in again, and threw ſeventy bombs that day. They continued firing on the eighteenth, but with frequent intermiſſions, which made the inhabitants believe they were about to withdraw: however, they landed

on an iſland near the town, and burnt a convent. On the nineteenth, being Sunday, they lay ſtill till the evening, when, by the favour of a freſh gale of wind, a ſtrong tide, and a very dark night, they ſent in an extraordinary fire-ſhip, of about three hundred tons burden, and which was intended to have reduced the town to aſhes; and indeed would have done it, but for an unforeſeen accident, for ſhe ſtruck upon a rock, within piſtol ſhot of the place where they intended to have moored her.

The engineer, who was on board, did all he could to get her off, but to no purpoſe. At laſt, finding the veſſel begin to open, and fearing ſhe might ſink, he ſet fire to her. The ſea-water, which had penetrated in many places, prevented the carcaſſes from taking fire. The exploſion, however, was terrible beyond deſcription; it ſhook the whole town like an earthquake, broke all glaſs and earthen ware for three leagues round, and ſtruck off the roofs of three hundred houſes. The moſt extraordinary thing of all was this, that the capſtern of the veſſel, which weighed two hundred weight, was carried over the walls, and beat a houſe it fell upon down to the ground. The greateſt part of the walls towards the ſea fell down alſo; and if there had been a ſufficient number of land-troops on board, the place might with eaſe have been taken and pillaged. As it was, they demoliſhed Quince-fort, carried off eighty priſoners, and frightened moſt of the people out of the town. This expedition was well timed, and well executed. It ſtruck a panic into the inhabitants of St. Maloe's, whence the moſt troubleſome of the French privateers were fitted out, and it ſerved to awake that whole nation from their golden dreams of the empire of the ſea, by ſhewing them what a very ſmall ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips could do, when commanded by men of reſolution and experience.

The king returned to England in the latter end of the month of October, 1693, under the eſcort of a ſmall ſquadron of men of war, commanded by rear-admiral Mitchel. On the ſixth of November, his majeſty declared his reſolution to employ admiral Ruſſel the next year at ſea. On the ſeventh the parliament met, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech. Upon which the houſe of commons came unanimouſly to a reſolution, that they would ſupport their majeſties and their government, inquire into the miſcarriages of the fleet in the preceding ſummer, and conſider of all poſſible ways and means for conſerving the trade of the nation.

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The houſe of commons, to ſhew they were in earneſt, examined all the admirals ſtrictly, particularly Sir George Rooke, though he was ſo ill as to be ſcarce able to ſpeak, and withal ſo lame of the gout, that a chair was ſet for him at the bar of the houſe. On the ſeventeenth of November they came to a reſolution, "That, upon examination of "the miſcarriage of the fleet, this houſe is of opinion, "that there hath been a notorious and treacherous miſ-"management in that affair." Yet, afterwards, a negative was put on a reſolution to cenſure the admirals commanding in chief; and ſo, by degrees, after much noiſe and clamour, the matter blew over.

But, notwithſtanding the admirals eſcaped, yet many things were laid open in the houſe of commons, which reflected extremely on the management of the navy. It appeared, particularly, that the ſum of 1,036,415l. was due for ſeamens wages. This ſtruck the houſe with aſtoniſhment, and accounted at the ſame time very fully for the backwardneſs of the ſailors in entering into the public ſervice. To provide a remedy for ſo great an evil, and to encourage the ſeamen for the future, the commons voted 500,000l. towards the diſcharge of the debt, and 2,000,000l. for the ſervice of the fleet, that his majeſty might be able to perform the promiſe he had made them of taking care that things ſhould go on next year better at ſea: His majeſty alſo made ſeveral changes in the miniſtry, which gave great ſatisfaction; for the late inquiries had made it evident, that the dependants on ſome great men were principally concerned in giving information to the French of all our motions: a conduct which, however coloured or clouded, was a moſt groſs and glaring treaſon againſt their country, ſuch as ought to have drawn upon them the ſevereſt puniſhments while living, and which deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity with a proper note of infamy, to prevent like practices in ſucceding times.

Before we ſpeak of the naval operations of the year 1694, it will be neceſſary to give ſome account of the ſending Sir Francis Wheeler with his ſquadron into the Mediterranean, as that was a meaſure not only concerted, but executed in the preceding year, though its being altogether independent of other affairs made it not ſo proper to mention it before. The great blow the Engliſh and Dutch commerce had received there by the intercepting the Smyrna fleet, and the danger there was in leaving the remains of that fleet any longer in Spaniſh harbours, engaged the board of admiralty to ſend their orders for Sir Francis Wheeler to proceed with

a ſquadron of twenty-five men of war and frigates, in conjunction with a Dutch vice-admiral and his ſquadron, to the Mediterranean, where he had inſtructions to uſe his utmoſt endeavour to procure the ſafe return of the plate-fleet into Cadiz; then he was to leave a ſufficient convoy for bringing home the ſhips in that port to England: he was next to convoy the Turkey ſhips as far as the channel of Malta; then, in conjunction with the Spaniſh fleet, he was to annoy the enemy's trade, till he judged his detached ſhips were about to return, and, after joining them at the appointed place of rendezvous, he was to bring back with him all the merchant-ſhips ready to ſail from any of the ports in the Streights, or from Cadiz.

On the 27th of November, in purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſailed, and on the 4th of December ſent the ſhips bound to Oporto thither under a convoy, as two days after he did thoſe bound for Liſbon and St. Ubes; and, having by his vigilance prevented a deſign of the French to intercept part of the merchant-ſhips under his convoy, he arrived on the 19th of January in the bay of Cadiz, having loſt company in his paſſage with only one of a hundred and ſixty-five ſhips which ſailed with him from England. So happy was the beginning of an expedition, which proved, afterwards ſo unfortunate!

On the admiral's arriving at Cadiz, he found the Spaniſh fleet in no condition to ſail, but had the ſatisfaction of finding the flota ſafely arrived. On the 25th of January rear-admiral Neville joined him with the ſhips he had ordered to cruize off Cape St. Vincent, together with the detached convoys which the French in vain had endeavoured to intercept. Sir Francis Wheeler, upon this, appointed a ſquadron of four Engliſh and as many Dutch men of war, with a fire-ſhip, under the command of vice-admiral Hopſon, to bring home the merchant-ſhips that were ready, and on the 10th of February ſailed with the reſt of the ſquadron to execute the remaining part of his inſtructions. On the 17th of the ſame month, being off the bay of Gibraltar, and having been driven out of the Streights-mouth, he met with a ſtorm, which increaſed till the 19th in the morning, when the admiral, ſeeing the Gut, ſtood away for it, and made a proper ſignal to the reſt of the fleet, and was followed by vice-admiral Callemberg, who firſt ſaw the ſignal, and other ſhips. But they, having the bay of Gibraltar open, and in all probability miſtaking it for the ſtreights-mouth, put in there, which occaſioned their unhappy misfortune; for it being a lee ſhore, foul ground, and their ſails

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flying into the air, they were forced to let go their anchors, of which many were loſt, moſt of their cables ſpoiled, and ſeveral of their ſhips run on ſhore.

In the mean time the Suſſex, on board which the admiral was, foundered at ſea, and himſelf, with all his crew, to the number of five hundred and fifty, were loſt, only two Turks eſcaping. The admiral's body was ſoon after found on a ſand-bank, in his ſhirt and ſlippers: it was gueſſed from thence, that, ſeeing the ſhip about to ſink, he intended to have thrown himſelf into the ſea, and attempt to ſave himſelf by ſwimming. The whole ſquadron ſuffered extremely, and were obliged to remain, by contrary winds, a long time at Gibraltar, and at length, in the beginning of May, ſailed for Cadiz. In the mean time vice-admiral Hopſon, in purſuance of the orders before-mentioned, ſailed with the homeward-bound ſhips, and arrived ſafely off the Lizard on the 5th of April, 1694.

On the 1ſt of May admiral Ruſſel took the command of the fleet at St. Helen's, which conſiſted of fifty-two Engliſh and forty-one Dutch ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and other ſmaller veſſels. On the 3d the admiral ſailed with the grand fleet, leaving Sir Cloudeſley Shovel with a ſtrong ſquadron at Portſmouth, in order to embark the land-forces. On the 9th, being fifteen leagues S. S. W. of the Lizard, the admiral was informed by the captain of a Swediſh ſhip, that there lay in Bertaume-bay a fleet of French merchantmen, bound to the eaſtward; upon which he immediately detached captain Pritchard in the Monmouth, together with the Reſolution and the Roebuck fire-ſhips, with orders either to take or deſtroy them. Accordingly, on the 10th, as ſoon as it was light, they made the French ſhore about ſeven miles from the fleet, and by five o'clock they ſaw ſeveral ſhips behind a point of land near Conquet-bay, which, upon a ſignal given from one of their ſcouts, immediately put to ſea. In the mean time captain Pritchard purſued the man of war that was their convoy, and forced her to haul in with the ſhore, and run againſt the rocks under the outermoſt caſtle; and this man of war proved to be the Jerſey frigate, which the enemy had taken from us in the Weſt-Indies, and which ſoon after blew up, and with her two ſloops of between ten and ſixteen guns. The merchant-ſhips were in all about fifty-five ſail, of which thirty-five were burnt or ſunk, twenty-five in Whiteſand-bay, four on the ſouth ſide of the point of the bay, and ſix on the ſouth ſide of Conquet, their lading being for the moſt part ſalt, wine, and brandy. Some few days after, two other

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ſhips took and deſtroyed ſeventeen French veſſels laden with corn and other proviſions.

The admiral returned back again to St. Helen's by that time he judged that Sir Cloudeſley Shovel could have executed the orders he had left with him; and finding the land-forces completely embarked, and every thing ready, he ſailed with the whole fleet on the 29th of May, having before given the neceſſary directions for the ſeparating, at a proper ſtation, of the ſquadron that was intended for the Breſt expedition, and which was to be commanded by the lord Berkley. On the laſt day of the month, at nine in the morning, a council of war was held on board the Britannia, in which it was reſolved, that the fleet deſigned for Breſt ſhould immediately proceed to Camaret-bay, and ſhould land the forces on board under the directions of lieutenant-general Talmaſh, and the neceſſary inſtructions were for this purpoſe given to lord Berkley, and the officers that went to command under him.

On the 5th of June the lord Berkley parted, with his ſquadron, from the grand fleet, having with him twenty-nine Engliſh and Dutch men of war of the line, beſides ſmall frigates, fire-ſhips, machines, tenders, well-boats, and five bomb-ketches. On the 6th a council of war was held, in which the proper meaſures were taken for landing the forces; and it was agreed, that lord Cutts ſhould command ſix hundred grenadiers, and lieutenant-general Talmaſh advance in perſon at the head of the troops that were to ſupport them. On the 7th the fleet came to an anchor between Camaret-bay and the bay of Bertaume, the French playing upon them with bombs from four batteries. The marquis of Caermarthen demanded leave of lord Berkley the admiral to go into Camaret-bay, in order to obſerve the ſituation of the forts, and the poſture of the enemy. On his lordſhip's return, and making his report, the admiral ordered two ſixty-gun ſhips to go in and cover the boats while they were landing: to which the marquis objecting that it was too ſmall a force, a council of war was called on the 8th, in which it was reſolved to ſend in three Engliſh and as many Dutch frigates, beſides the two men of war before-mentioned.

One of theſe, however, the Richmond, deſerted the poſt aſſigned her, and the marquis of Caermarthen carried in the other five, and poſted them in their proper places, which, though a very neceſſary, was a moſt dangerous ſervice, ſince, at their going in, a bomb broke over the Monk, a great piece of which ſtruck through her poop, and two decks more,

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and came out again into the water near one of the ſtern-ports in the larboard-ſide, in the gun-room, killing three marines, and one of them by the ſide of the marquis. So ſoon as the Monk got into the bay, and came up with the weſtern point, Camaret-fort fired upon her very warmly; and, when the reſt of the ſhips were properly diſpoſed, they were ſurpriſed to find themſelves played upon from three batteries, not one of which was diſcerned till they felt the ſhot from it. Theſe military compliments they returned with great ſpirit, and, by keeping a briſk and continual fire, covered the troops in their landing, which was not, however, performed with that regularity that might have been expected.

The reaſon of this, ſince I do not find it already ſet down in any of our hiſtorians, I think myſelf obliged to give, as I have had it from the mouths of many who were engaged in that warm ſervice. The French had been ſo well informed of our deſign, and ſuch ſtrange delays had been made in embarking the forces, that, when our fleet came upon the coaſt, they found the French every where covered by impregnable entrenchments, and ſupported by a body of regular troops, more numerous than the forces intended for this deſcent. This was repreſented to lieutenant-general Talmaſh in the council of war, and he was adviſed not to expoſe himſelf or his men: to which he anſwered; "This "advice comes too late: the honour of the Engliſh nation "it at ſtake, and therefore I muſt and will land. I know "that I ſacrifice myſelf and the men; but it is neceſſary, "and muſt be done, that both our enemies and allies may "know, that even deſperate undertakings cannot daunt En-"gliſh courage."

He embarked on board the ſmall veſſels, with about eight hundred men, and landed as many of them as he could, but to very little purpoſe; for ſeveral of the well-boats ſtriking, all that were in them were either killed or wounded before they could get to the ſhore, and thoſe that did land were very ſoon driven back to their boats, and with much difficulty carried off again. Amongſt the wounded was lieutenant-general Talmaſh himſelf, who received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he ſoon after died. The marquis of Caermarthen, afterwards duke of Leeds, whoſe courage no man ever called in queſtion, tells us on this occaſion, that, if the Engliſh force had been double to what it was, they would have found the attempt impracticable.

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When the men on board the ſhips ſaw only a few boats come off again, and the whole affair over, they began to be out of heart, and the marquis had much ado to bring them out of the bay. The Monk had not either a yard or a ſail, but was towed off; the reſt of the veſſels were alſo brought away with great difficulty, except a Dutch frigate called the Teeſep, of thirty guns, which had twelve feet water in her hold, all her men being killed except eight; and, of half an Engliſh company that was accidentally left on board her, only an enſign, a drummer, and a private man, eſcaped; ſo that they were obliged to leave her behind. A council of war being called in the evening, it was reſolved therein to return to Spithead. The loſs upon this occaſion was computed at ſeven hundred of the land-forces killed, wounded, and taken, and about four hundred killed and wounded on board the ſhips.

The marquis de Quincy, who is at once the moſt exact and moſt moderate of all the French writers, informs us, that, at the time this attempt was made, M. de Vauban had taken care to put the town of Breſt into an excellent ſtate of defence. It was ſurrounded with ſtrong walls, good ramparts, large and deep ditches cut in the rock, with baſtions and half-moons at proper diſtances. He had erected a new battery of ſixteen pieces of cannon and ſix mortars on the baſtion of the town, neareſt the caſtle, between it and the grand battery, with ſeveral ſmaller batteries in other places. He had likewiſe taken care to render all the vaults in the caſtle bomb-proof, and had made the beſt diſpoſition poſſible of ninety mortars, and three hundred pieces of large cannon. As for the veſſels in the port, they were placed out of the reach even of bombs; and, with reſpect to men, he had fourteen hundred bombardiers, three thouſand gentlemen who ſerved as volunteers, and of regular troops four thouſand foot, and a regiment of dragoons.

General Talmaſh's landing, therefore, with eight hundred men, might well be called a ſacrifice, and yet more than half theſe could never be got on ſhore; we muſt, therefore, admit, that when the marquis ſays four hundred were killed, five hundred forty-eight ſoldiers and forty officers made priſoners, he carries the thing a little too far. Father Daniel, however, and ſome other writers, carry it as far; and indeed moſt of them agree in computing our whole loſs at two thouſand. As to what they ſay of ſhips being ſunk, and hundreds of men drowned in the retreat, they are mere ornaments, which from frequent uſe are become neceſſary to a French detail, as their having but forty-

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five men killed in this action is another roke of the marvellous, which every reader perhaps may not be in the humour to credit.

After this unlucky attempt the poor wounded lieutenant-general propoſed, that a ſmall ſquadron of frigates and bomb-veſſels might be ſent into the harbour of Breſt to bombard that town; but this was judged to be a raſh, and, as things ſtood, an impracticable undertaking; and therefore lord Berkley ſailed immediately for our own coaſts, and arrived on the 15th of June, 1694, at St. Helen's. There they found the queen's orders to call a council of war, to conſider how the ſhips and troops might, after this fatal miſcarriage, be beſt employed. After ſeveral conſultations, it was reſolved to keep no more than four regiments on board, and to make ſome attempts on the coaſt of Normandy. Advice of this being ſent to court, and an anſwer being returned on the 27th of June, it was reſolved, in another council of war, firſt to bombard the town of Diepe, and then to proceed along the French coaſt, and do every where what prejudice they could. In purſuance of this reſolution they came before that place, but were forced to ſea by a ſtorm, and afterwards anchored off Dungeneſs, from whence they ſailed on the 5th of July, and arrived once more in Diepe road on the 8th. The next day they intended to have bombarded the place, but were prevented by exceeding foul weather for ſeveral days together.

On the twelfth they began about nine in the morning to play upon the town of Diepe, and continued without ceaſing till about nine at night. About eleven they ſent in one of their machines which the French call infernals, with an intent to burn the pier; but ſeveral veſſels full of ſtones, being very providently ſunk before it, rendered that ineffectual; ſo that, except aſtoniſhing the tow by the mighty noiſe, it did little miſchief.

Captain Dunbar, a Scots gentleman, who commanded it, acquired immortal honour by his intrepidity on this occaſion; for the train not taking effect as was expected, he went on board again, and finding the fuzee out ſet fire to it a ſecond time, for which he and thoſe who went with him were deſervedly rewarded. They continued the bombardment afterwards till day-light, and the ſtreets being narrow, the houſes old, and moſt of them built of timber, the town was on fire in twenty places at once; ſo that the far greater part of it was conſumed to aſhes. The French court did all they could to ſtifle the report of this, at leaſt

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at Paris; but the place was too near for any ſuch artifices to take effect; ſo that by endeavouring to leſſen, they really increaſed the people's apprehenſions, and all the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts would have abandoned their towns and villages, if forces had not been ſent to reſtrain them.

After the bombardment of Diepe, the Engliſh ſquadron ſailed along the coaſt, and obliged the French to march their forces night and day, in order to prevent the debarking any troops; which, however, was a thing the Engliſh admiral never intended. On the fifteenth, about noon, lord Berkley arrived at Havre de Grace, and about four o'clock he began to bombard it. On the ſixteenth, ſeventeenth and eighteenth, the French poured troops and militia into the place, in order to aſſiſt the inhabitants to put out the fires lighted from time to time by the bombs; and as the wind continued blowing all that time directly from the ſhore, the Engliſh were not able to do much, though they remained ſtill before the place, which threw all the adjacent country into a terrible conſternation. On the twenty-firſt, the wind being favourable, the ſmall craft and bomb-veſſels were ſent in, and continued bombarding the place the whole night, by which a third part of the town was burnt down, a great part of the wall demoliſhed, and, which was worſt of all, abundance of poor people killed. All this, however, could not be performed without loſs; many of the mortars melted, the Grenado bomb-ſhip was blown up, and the reſt of the ſmall craft ſo ſhattered, that it was thought convenient to retire. But, even in doing this, care was taken to give the French infinite diſquiet; for, appearing before La Hogue, their forces were drawn that way: but our ſquadron was in no condition to undertake any thing, and therefore, after alarming the enemy as much as poſſible, lord Berkley returned to St. Helen's on the 26th of July, 1694, in order to refit.

The court was very deſirous that ſomething ſhould be undertaken againſt Dunkirk, and to that purpoſe ſeveral expreſſes were diſpatched to the fleet; but, upon a nice examination of the different propoſals made by the engineers and pilots, they were all of opinion that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and that nothing could be undertaken this year with any probability of ſucceſs. A plan was then ſent of Calais, which came from the king in Flanders; but the ſcheme of bombarding that place was alſo judged impracticable by a council of war, which reſolution was chiefly owing to the diffidence of the pilots. On the 27th of Auguſt

guſt lord Berkley returned to London, and the command of the fleet, which conſiſted now only of frigates and ſmall ſhips, devolved on Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, whoſe inſtructions were expreſſed to undertake ſomething againſt Dunkirk at all events.

Mr. Meeſters, who was the inventor and director of the machines called infernals, was at this time in Flanders, endeavouring to collect pilots able to carry the ſquadron into the harbour of Dunkirk, or at leaſt ſo far into the road, as might enable them to deſtroy the enemy's ſhips. Sir Cloudeſley ſailed to the Downs in the beginning of September, and on the ſeventh was joined by Mr. Meeſters, with twenty-ſix Dutch pilots, when captain Benbow was appointed to command the ſmall ſhips, and to follow the inſtructions of Mr. Meeſters, whoſe pilots did not perform what was expected from them. On the twelfth, however, Sir Cloudeſley Shovel appeared before the town of Dunkirk, with thirteen Engliſh and ſix Dutch men of war, two bomb-veſſels, ſeventeen machines, and other ſmall craft. In the evening captain Benbow went in, and ſounded the weſtern channel, between the Brake and the Main, notwithſtanding a prodigious fire from the ſhips and the citadel. The next day all the boats and ſmall veſſels were ſent in again, with the Charles galley, and two bomb-veſſels.

In the afternoon two of the machines were ſent in. The firſt took fire before ſhe was near enough to do any execution: whether it was that the cannon of the place ſet fire to it, as ſome of the French writers ſay, or that thoſe on board, finding it impoſſible either to bring it nearer or to get it off, were obliged to let it burn there. The other, which was the biggeſt, went in boldly, and advanced very near the mole-head; but the tide ſet her on one ſide, ſo that ſhe drove a cable's length, and then blew up. It was found, that the French had, according to cuſtom, early intelligence of this deſign, and by driving piles before the pier-head, and ſinking ſhips on the back of the weſtermoſt pier, had ſecured themſelves againſt all attempts of this nature: Sir Cloudeſley Shovel being informed of this, and knowing that the ſpring-tides were over, ſailed away for Calais, and on the ſeventeenth ſent the bomb-veſſels in, and threw ſo many ſhells into the town, that about forty houſes were ruined; but the wind blowing hard that night, and a great ſwell of ſea happening, the admiral was forced to bear away, and the ſtorm continuing two days, he thought it not convenient to

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to ſtay any longer, but returned with his whole ſquadron into the Downs, from whence the bomb veſſels and machines were ſent into the river Thames.

We are now to turn our eyes towards the Mediterranean, whither admiral Ruſſel ſailed with the grand fleet as we have remarked, on the 6th of June, 1694. He arrived on the twenty-fifth off the rock of Liſbon, and thence ſent orders to rear admiral Neville, who, as we before obſerved, commanded the ſquadron which protected the Engliſh merchant ſhips at Cadiz, to join him, which he did, with the Dutch vice admirals Callemberg and Evertzen, with ſixteen ſhips of the line, which increaſed the number of thoſe in the fleet to ſixty-three. The admiral then reſolved to ſteer immediately for Barcelona, in order to ſave that city, and the province of Catalonia, from falling into the hands of the French, who at that time had a numerous army, and a great naval force, under the command of M. Tourville, or at leaſt very near the place. The French admiral had no ſooner intelligence of the approach of our fleet, than he retired precipitately from before Barcelona, and ſoon after ſhut himſelf up in the port of Toulon, which put it entirely out of diſpute, that the maritime powers were now able to give law to France in all parts of the world. The ſiege of Barcelona too was raiſed, to the infinite joy of the king of Spain, who teſtified his gratitude for this ſignal aſſiſtance, in the warmeſt and moſt public manner poſſible.

Our admiral, indeed, found the Spaniſh affairs in the moſt diſtreſſed condition imaginable. Their Armada conſiſted but of ten ſhips, and of theſe four only were of the line of battle; the reſt of ſmall force, and ſo rotten, that they could ſcarce endure the firing of their own guns. Their army in Catalonia was in a ſtill worſe condition; it conſiſted but of 9000 men, without clothes, without pay, without proviſions, without artillery, and even without tents. The towns on the ſea coaſt were ſo meanly fortified, that, on the approach of a French ſquadron, the people had no other way to ſecure themſelves but by flight. Admiral Ruſſel ſtated all this in a letter to the king, and at the ſame time offered the viceroy of Catalonia to do all that was in his power for his aſſiſtance; which, however, was not much, for, on the other hand, the demands made by the viceroy were exceſſively unreaſonable, and what the admiral was able to do could not much benefit him: which was the reaſon that, together with an apprehenſion of proviſions growing ſhort, induced the admiral to deſire the fleet might return home; for which, when he had made

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all the neceſſary preparations, and was on the very point of quitting the Spaniſh coaſt, he received an order under his majeſty's ſignet and ſign manual, directing him to winter at Cadiz. This embarraſſed him extremely, and the rather, becauſe no care was taken to ſend commiſſioners for victualling; ſo that this fell entirely upon the admiral, and was no ſmall addition to the load of cares with which he was already oppreſſed.

Yet, conſidering the importance of the ſervice, the dangers to which the men would be expoſed by miſmanagement in this affair, and how far the honour of the Engliſh nation was at ſtake, he applied himſelf to this new employment with ſuch diligence, that never men were better furniſhed with proviſions and wine; and this too was managed with ſo great economy, that notwithſtanding the apparent difference between obtaining proviſions for a great fleet and ſingle ſhips, yet the former was victualled at as ſmall an expence to the public as the latter, and in many circumſtances at a much cheaper rate; nor did the admiral, when he found it neceſſary, make any ſcruple of engaging his perſonal credit and private eſtate, for the ſervice of his country.

While the fleet continued before Alicant, the admiral diſpatched a ſquadron of ten ſail, under the command of rear admiral Neville, with orders to cruize between the iſlands and the Barbary coaſt, as well to intercept any French veſſels that might paſs that way, as to procure wood and ofner neceſſaries for the fleet. Soon after this, the admiral falling ill of a fever and bloody flux, he devolved the care of the fleet on vice admiral Aylmer, with orders to join rear admiral Neville, and in caſe he had any news of the French fleet's being come out of Toulon, to ſail in queſt of them without delay; but if not, to return to Alicant, which he did on the tenth of September. The admiral, though in a very weak ſtate of health, went very ſoon on board, and reſumed the command of the fleet, with which he proceeded to Cadiz, where he arrived on the eighth of November, 1694, and took all the neceſſary precautions to prevent the French from paſſing the Streights, without receiving proper notice of their motions.

While he continued there, the Spaniards ſent him frequent advices of the French fleet's being ready to quit Toulon; which, however, he did not much regard, as having better intelligence of his own. It is true, the French fleet was kept clean and well rigged during the winter, with deſign to have brought it round to Breſt; but the advices they had of admiral

admiral Ruſſel's force, and their knowledge of his diligence, had ſuch an effect on the mind of M. Tourville, that he could not be prevailed on to riſk the ſhips under his command in ſo dangerous a paſſage. His catholic majeſty was all this time ſoliciting our admiral to undertake impoſſibilities, ſuch as tranſporting five, then ſeven thouſand men, from Genoa on board his men of war, though he knew them to be foul by their being ſo long at ſea, and but indifferently provided with victuals; which, though the admiral refuſed, yet he did it with great decency, and at the ſame time offered unanſwerable reaſons in ſupport of his own conduct; adding, that he would write home to demand, amongſt other ſupplies, a reaſonable number of land forces: and in this manner the remainder of the year was ſpun out.

It is now requiſite to take notice of what was done at home in relation to naval affairs; and, in the firſt place, I muſt obſerve, that the king, on his return from Flanders, under the eſcort of a ſmall ſquadron, commanded by the marquis of Caermarthen, called the parliament together on the twelfth of November, and opened the ſeſſions with a ſpeech, which began thus: "I am glad to meet you here, "when I can ſay our affairs are in a better poſture, both by "ſea and land, than when we parted laſt. The enemy has "not been in a condition to oppoſe our fleet in the ſeas; "and our ſending ſo great a force into the Mediterranean "has diſappointed their deſigns, and leaves us a proſpect of "further ſucceſs." He recommended to them, at the ſame time, early and effectual ſupplies, and the paſſing ſome good law for the encouragement of ſeamen. The commons received theſe propoſitions very chearfully, and having examined the eſtimates that were laid before them for the next year, voted a ſupply of 2,382,712l. for the navy, which ſufficiently ſhewed how eaſy it was to engage the nation to give money, when they had any tolerable proſpect of ſeeing it well laid out.

The death of queen Mary, which happened towards the latter end of the year, ſerved not only to damp the ſpirits of the people, who had a wonderful affection for the perſon of that princeſs, but to give the enemies of the government an opportunity to attempt diſtreſſing the nation, by pretending that the parliament was legally diſſolved by her majeſty's demiſe. This, however ſtrange and ſingular, was the ſentiment of her majeſty's uncle, the earl of Rocheſter, and of ſome others; but certainly it was but very ill founded. The executive part of the government was, by law, in king William only, though the title, as well as the right, was declared

clared to be in their majeſties jointly. The calling of a parliament was certainly an act of the executive power, and conſequently it ought to have been underſtood in law as the ſpecial and immediate act of the king, though the writs ran in the joint names of both their majeſties, as all other acts of ſtate did, yet without impeachment or diminution of the king's authority. Upon this principle, and no body's ſeconding the earl of Rocheſter in his motion in the houſe of lords, the parliament was held to be no way affected by her death, but proceeded in its deliberations as if no ſuch accident had happened.

A conſiderable ſupply being ſent to the fleet in the beginning of the war, admiral Ruſſel reſolved to ſend a ſmall ſquadron up the Streights; it was compoſed of ſix ſtout frigates, and the command given to captain James Killegrew, who had inſtructions to protect our own trade, and to annoy that of the enemy. In their cruize, on the 18th of January, 1695, they diſcovered two French ſhips, *viz.* the Content, commanded by the marquis du Chalard, of ſeventy guns, and the Trident, under count d'Aulnoy, of ſixty guns, between Cape Bona and the iſland Pantalaera on the Barbary coaſt. The French men of war miſtook the Engliſh for merchantmen, and bore down upon them, but, quickly perceiving their miſtake, endeavoured to get away. It was four in the afternoon before captain Killegrew, in the Plymouth, could come up with them; and, the wind being then calm, ſhe alone engaged both the French ſhips for the ſpace of more than an hour, in which time capt. Killegrew was killed by a cannot ſhot. Then came up the Falmouth, capt. Grantham, who engaged them for near another hour, till the other four Engliſh frigates came in: whereupon the French ſeparated, the Carliſle, Newcaſtle, and Southampton, purſued the biggeſt of them, and the Falmouth and Adventure the leſſer, the Plymouth being forced to bear away for Meſſina, having loſt her fore-top-maſt, and her other maſts and rigging being very much ſhattered. The French made a running fight the night following and part of the next day, when, their ſhips being diſabled, and the count d'Aulnoy, one of their commanders, with many of their men killed, they both yielded. One of them, called the Trident, being leaky, and it blowing very freſh, the Engliſh ſent her to Gorgonti, and carried the Content to Meſſina, where they arrived the 2d of March. The Plymouth had fourteen men killed, and thirty wounded, and there might be about twice that number killed and wounded on board the reſt of the ſhips. The brave captain Killegrew was interred at Meſſina

Meſſina with all the honours due to his rank and merit. The news of this action reached home much about the time that the lords preſented their addreſs, which was a very fortunate circumſtance for the friends of the court, who mentioned it on all occaſions as a fact which fully ſupported their arguments. On the other ſide, a large account of this affair was printed at Paris, in which the marquis du Chalard ſaid a great many fine things of himſelf and his nation, but after all admits they were beat.

On the 15th of February, 1694, a great ſupply of proviſions arrived from England, and ſoon after admiral Ruſſel detached rear-admiral Neville, with a ſtrong ſquadron, to watch the motions of the French. In the beginning of April arrived the land forces, conſiſting of about four thouſand five hundred men, under the command of brigadier Stuart and other experienced officers, and with them came a large fleet of victuallers, and twelve bomb veſſels. The fleet then ſailed from Cadiz, and proceeded to Barcelona, before which port they arrived early in the month of May, and found the Spaniſh affairs in Catalonia in the ſame declining way in which they left them, notwithſtanding all the preſſing remonſtrances which had from time to time been made by our admiral to the Spaniſh court on that ſubject.

In the mean time rear-admiral Neville was ſent to eſcort a body of Spaniſh troops, which were to be tranſported from Final into that province. He had alſo directions to apply himſelf to the duke of Savoy, in order to be informed, whether, with the aſſiſtance of the fleet, he could undertake to invade any part of the dominions of France, or to aſſiſt in a deſign that was then formed againſt Toulon. But his highneſs, being intent upon taking Caſal, declined entering upon any meaſures of this nature; and therefore rear admiral Nevill was forced to content himſelf with the other part of his inſtructions, and rejoin the grand fleet with the Spaniſh troops under his protection, which he very happily performed.

It was about the middle of the month of July, when the marquis de Gaſtanaga, the Spaniſh governor of Catalonia, formed the deſign of retaking Palmos, in which he deſired the aſſiſtance of admiral Ruſſel. To this purpoſe he made him a viſit on board the fleet, where the admiral told him the ſituation things were in, the neceſſity he was under of ſending home Sir John Munden with ſome of the largeſt ſhips, and the impoſſibility there was of ſuffering the troops to continue for above a week or a few days longer

on

on ſhore. However, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties and diſappointments, he aſſured the marquis, that he was ready to do the very utmoſt in his power, both by landing the troops, and by ſending in a ſquadron of light veſſels to bombard the place. In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, the confederate forces, conſiſting of four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch, were landed; the former under the command of brigadier Stuart, the latter under that of count Naſſau.

This was on the 9th of Auguſt, and it was the next day before they joined the Spaniſh army, the very ſight of which was enough to diſcourage them. To enumerate their wants, would be tedious and unneceſſary, ſince in truth they were in want of every thing; and, if our people had not by accident brought with them ſome pick-axes and ſhovels on ſhore, they could not have intrenched themſelves; which, however, was very neceſſary, ſince the French had not only a good garriſon in Palamos, but an army at leaſt equal to that of the Spaniards, within ſight of the place. The bombardment, however, ſucceeded better; the greateſt part of the town and caſtle were deſtroyed: but the admiral, being informed that the French fleet were coming out of Toulon, thought proper to reimbark his forces, and to ſail for the coaſt of Provence, in order to watch the motions of the enemy.

After his departure from the coaſt of Catalonia, the admiral met with exceeding bad weather, which hindered him from accompliſhing ſome things he had in view. He found alſo, that his intelligence as to the deſigns of the French had not been very exact, and therefore thought it adviſeable to retire down the Streights; which he did, and arrived, towards the latter end of the month of September, in the bay of Cadiz. There he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring our trade in the Mediterranean from any interruption, by leaving a ſufficient force to fruſtrate the deſigns of the enemy, and even to aſſiſt the Spaniards, in caſe they ſhewed any greater care of their own concerns after his departure than they had hitherto done: and, having taken theſe precautions, and given proper inſtructions to Sir David Mitchel, rear admiral of the red, who was to be left with a ſquadron of three and twenty ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb veſſels, he turned his thoughts entirely to the carrying the reſt of the fleet back to England, moſt of the great ſhips being very foul, and many of them but indifferently manned. This deſign he very happily accompliſhed, arriving in November with twelve ſail of great

ſhips, excluſive of the Dutch, a frigate or two, and ſome fire-ſhips, on our own coaſt.

We are now to conſider what paſſed at home, and how thoſe meaſures were proſecuted, which had been concerted for humbling the French on the ocean. Our attempts the year before had not indeed anſwered the ſanguine expectations of ignorant people, who imagined that they were not to have left a houſe ſtanding on all the French coaſt, and on the other hand ſeemed but to juſtify too well what ſuch as were beſt ſkilled in maritime affairs had advanced as to the impoſſibility of performing any great ſervices in the way of bombarding; yet it was reſolved, that this ſhould be purſued. The great men in the cabinet, amongſt whom was the famous earl of Sunderland, perhaps the ableſt miniſter of his time, thought themſelves better judges of theſe matters than either the ſeamen or the people, and while they were able to ſhew their own force for the preſent, and while leſſen the French power for the future, and give infinite uneaſineſs to the whole French nation by ſuch expeditions, the expence of them, though conſiderable, was, in their judgments, very far from being thrown away.

They were, beſides, very ſenſible, that nothing could enable us and our allies to continue the war with any proſpect of ſucceſs, but our making ſuch uſes of our fleet as might leſſen the viſible ſuperiority of the enemy's forces by land. This had been effectually done by admiral Ruſſel while he continued in the Mediterranean; for though he found it impoſſible to enable the Spaniards to do any thing, who had little or rather no force at all, yet he had viſibly prevented the loſs of Barcelona, and indeed of all Catalonia, which nothing but his preſence could have kept, either this year or the laſt, out of the hands of the French, and the bombardments of laſt year had fruſtrated all the French ſchemes, and kept their whole naval force uſeleſs in their ports, which had been otherwiſe employed to our prejudice.

The fleet intended for this ſervice was in ſuch forwardneſs by the middle of June, that the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who was to command it, had orders to repair on board. On his arrival at Spithead, a council of war was called, in order to conſider what ſhould be firſt undertaken; and, upon mature deliberation, it was reſolved, that there was the greateſt probability of ſucceeding againſt St. Malo's. But the Dutch admiral Allemonde having acquainted lord Berkeley, that he had the king's abſolute orders to conſider the project for attacking Dunkirk before all others, this occaſioned

caſioned a freſh delay. However, when it was propoſed that the Dutch ſhould act ſeparately in this laſt undertaking, it was by them declared impracticable, and a full reſolution taken to execute immediately the deſign againſt St. Malo's.

With this view the fleet ſailed on the twenty-third of June; and on the fourth of July lord Berkeley, with all the ſhips under his command, came before the place, and began inſtantly to bombard Quince fort to the weſtward, and the battery, raiſed by the enemy to the eaſtward, on point Danbour, between which is the channel of the town. The firſt ſervice was performed by colonel Richards, who had three Engliſh and two Dutch bomb veſſels under his command, and the latter was committed entirely to the Dutch, who employed therein four bomb veſſels for many hours. On the fifth, every thing being ready to attack the town, lord Berkeley, about four in the morning, gave the ſignal. Upon this captain Benbow went on board the Charles galley, and hoiſted a flame-coloured flag, and immediately after, the Engliſh and Dutch frigates, appointed to guard the bomb veſſels, entered the channel, and came to an anchor within a mile and a half of the town, having colonel Richards, with the bomb veſſels, in a line before them. About ſix the bombardment began. All this time the enemy fired very warmly from the ſhore, from the batteries on the great and little bay in the iſland of Danbour, their gallies and boats taking alſo the opportunities of the tides, and rowing ſometimes ſo near as to gall with their ſmall ſhot the line of bomb veſſels. Yet, in ſpite of this interruption, the bombardment was ſo vigorouſly purſued, that about eight o'clock a great fire broke out in the eaſt part of the town, and vaſt clouds of ſmoke were ſeen aſcending in ſeveral places. Lord Berkeley, admiral Allemonde, and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, came in their boats to encourage the ſeamen, and expreſſed much ſatisfaction as to the manner in which the attack was diſpoſed.

An Engliſh and Dutch fire ſhip ſet the wooden fort on the Quince rock on fire, which burnt for two hours; and about four in the afternoon a great fire broke out in the weſt part of the town. By ſeven in the evening the bomb veſſels had ſpent their whole cargo of nine thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, and therefore the ſignal was made to put to ſea. This enterprize was executed by ſix Engliſh and four Dutch men of war, nine galliots, fourteen flat-bottomed boats, and two brigantines. The loſs ſuſtained by the enemy's fire were ſixty men killed and wounded, a bomb veſſel called

the Terrible, ſo ſhattered, that they were forced to ſet her on fire, two boats, and three or four barks ſunk. The bombardment laſted ſomewhat more than eleven hours, with all the ſucceſs that could poſſibly be expected, a great part of the place being burnt, and the enemy reduced to the neceſſity of blowing up ſeveral houſes, to prevent the whole from being deſtroyed.

The French accounts do indeed contradict theſe; but, at the ſame time, they are ſuch as cannot either raiſe the reputation of France, with impartial judges, or diſcredit what has been advanced on this ſubject by the Engliſh and Dutch. M. Quincy tells us, that the court appointed marſhal Choiſeul to command on the coaſt of Britany. At La Hogue he had two battalions of marines, three of militia, a regiment of horſe, and a regiment of dragoons; and, beſides theſe, he had a numerous corps de reſerve. M. d'Eſtrees commanded in the neighbourhood of Rochelle another conſiderable body of forces. The care of Breſt, and the adjacent country, was committed to M. Vaubon, who had a ſpecial commiſſion to enable him to command the marines, of which there were twenty-two battalions on the coaſt. All this ſhews how apprehenſive the French were of theſe viſits, into what confuſion they put them, and what mighty expences they were obliged to be at, in order to provide againſt their effects.

After this affair was over, a ſmall ſquadron proceeded to Granville, a place of ſome trade. This ſquadron conſiſted of eight frigates, and as many bomb veſſels. On the eighth of July, about nine in the morning, captain Benbow anchored before the place, and colonels Richard, about an hour afterwards, began the bombardment, which laſted till ſix in the evening, and then the ſquadron bore away, leaving the town all in flames, which is a fact the French have never offered to diſpute, though moſt of their writers ſlip it over without ſaying a word. On the ninth the fleet appeared before Havre de Grace; not with any deſign to attack it, but merely to alarm and harraſs the enemy: which having performed, they ſailed for Portſmouth, in order to make the neceſſary preparations there for an attempt upon Dunkirk, the deſtruction of which port would have given equal ſatisfaction to the Engliſh and Dutch, both nations ſuffering very much, though not equally, by her privateers, which were the very bane of all our northern and coaſt trade.

On the return of the fleet, four hundred ſoldiers were immediately embarked, and Mr. Meeſters received orders to prepare

prepare his machines, on the ſucceſs of which the whole affair depended. After this, all the proper machines were concerted with that engineer. But, whether through ſome backwardneſs in him, or from what other accident it is not very clear, ſo it was, that the month of July expired before the attempt upon Dunkirk was made. On the firſt of Auguſt lord Berkeley ſent in the bomb ketches, fire ſhips, and machine veſſels, with ſeveral light frigates and brigantines, to protect them againſt the enemies half-gallies, and other armed boats, of which they had a great many. About nine in the morning the bombardment began; about two in the afternoon four ſmoke ſhips were ſent in, which were burnt to little or no purpoſe. The bomb veſſels, however, continued firing till about five, and then with the frigates, *&c.* were ordered off. Several of the ſhells fell into the riſe-bank and upon the pier-heads, and three of the enemy's half gallies were ſunk.

Lord Berkeley, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, reſolved to proſecute his orders, and coming before Cadiz, called a council of war, in which it was determined to endeavour firſt of all to burn a wooden fort erected at the entrance of the pier-heads, which was furniſhed with fourteen heavy cannon; and, with ſeveral other batteries, defended the entrance of the place in ſuch a manner, that it was abſolutely impoſſible any thing could be undertaken till theſe obſtacles were removed. To this end colonel Richards was ordered to fill two well-boats with the materials of a fire ſhip, and to diſpoſe the boats for making a formal attack. Several accidents prevented the execution of this deſign till the ſeventeenth of Auguſt in the morning, when, anchoring eaſtward of the town, the bombardment began with ſuch ſucceſs, that by noon the place was on fire in ſeveral parts. About this time the enemy's half gallies came out, and ſtood along under the ſhore, in order to break the line of bomb veſſels; but the frigates and brigantines ſtanding in, put them into ſuch confuſion, that they retired with precipitation, and with much difficulty recovered the pier-heads. The bombardment was then continued, without any interruption, till about five in the afternoon, by which time ſix hundred ſhells were thrown into the place. The magazine and the riſe-bank were entirely burnt, ſeveral houſes deſtroyed, and many more very much damaged; with this particular circumſtance in our favour, that, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemy, and a prodigious fire from their batteries, we ſuffered very little loſs; only

captain

captain Oſborne, who commanded the Alborough ketch was killed by a cannon ball.

The marquis of Caermarthen, who had the command of a ſquadron ſtationed off the Scilly iſlands, was ſo unlucky as to miſtake a fleet of merchantmen for the Breſt ſquadron; whereupon, without taking any pains to be ſatisfied whether he was or was not in the right, he retired immediately into Milford haven, which expoſed the Barbadoes fleet in ſuch a manner, that many of them were loſt, two Eaſt-India ſhips were taken at ſea, and three more were either burnt or taken near Galway in Ireland, by ſome privateers acting under king James's commiſſion. Theſe five ſhips, biſhop Burnet tells us, were worth a million, and therefore we need not be ſurpriſed, that by the loſs of them, which affected ſo many people, a great clamour was raiſed among the merchants.

The campaign in Flanders being over, king William returned to England, and on the eleventh of October arrived at Kenſington, and immediately after publiſhed a proclamation, by which he diſſolved the parliament, and called a new one, which was to meet on the twenty-ſecond of November following. About the ſame time Sir George Rooke received orders to proceed with all expedition to the fleet, with the ſquadron under his command. He was on this occaſion declared admiral of the white, and admiral and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips in the Mediterranean, with inſtructions to protect the Engliſh commerce, to annoy the enemy, and, in caſe they paſſed the Streights, to follow them with the whole fleet, or a ſtrength proportionable to theirs.

Sir George parted from the Engliſh coaſt on the ſixteenth of October, 1695, with ſeventy ſail of men of war and merchantmen under his command, and in thirty-eight days arrived ſafely in the bay of Cadiz. There he applied himſelf with the utmoſt diligence to the ſecuring the ſafe return of the Turkey fleet, and protecting every where the Engliſh trade from the danger to which it ſtood expoſed from the French privateers; but, as to the latter part of his inſtructions, he found himſelf ſcarce in a capacity to carry them into execution, the force he had in the port of Cadiz being much inferior to the ſtrength he knew the French had at Toulon, and therefore he was obliged to provide the beſt he could for his ſecurity there: many of the great Engliſh ſhips, and moſt of the Dutch under his command, being ſo foul, that it would have been unſafe to have hazarded them in an engagement. In this ſituation Sir George Rooke remained

mained for ſome time, and then received his majeſty's commands to return for England.

We now enter on the tranſactions of 1696, in which both the French and the allies were reſolved to exert their utmoſt force for continuing the war, though they were both heartily weary of it, and had ſufficient reaſons to wiſh for peace. At home our party-debates ran higher than ever. The Tories were formed into a fixed oppoſition to government, making it a capital point of patriotiſm to perplex public affairs; the Engliſh merchants were exceedingly uneaſy at the loſſes they had ſuſtained in trade, and all Scotland was in confuſion on account of the oppoſition given to the project they had formed for eſtabliſhing an Eaſt-India company, and making alſo a ſettlement in the Weſt-Indies at Darien.

While the parliament directed its councils to the finding out remedies proper for ſo many evils, the French were contriving how they might turn our domeſtic diſputes moſt to their own advantage, and at laſt projected the means to ſet on foot a conſpiracy here, while they were preparing there all things neceſſary for the making a formidable invaſion. Thus at the cloſe of the war they made, as their policy commonly is, vaſt efforts, as well in hopes of carrying their point, as to juſtify their departure from it, in caſe, after ſo bold an attempt, they ſhould meet with freſh diſappointments.

It was pretty early in the winter that the French king formed the project of invading England, and by this means reſtoring king James. But the firſt ſuſpicion, that was had here of his deſign, aroſe from his making a grand promotion of ſea-officers, and amongſt them no fewer than twenty captains of men of war; which looked as if they did not intend to let their fleets be idle, as they had done for two years paſt: and what greatly alarmed the nation was, that we had no conſiderable naval force at home to oppoſe them. Their greateſt preparations being at Toulon, confounded our politicians not a little, and ſerved to keep their attention fixed at the Mediterranean.

But in the beginning of January, 1696, the French ſcheme began to unfold itſelf, by the early ſailing of a fleet to Dunkirk. It was uſual for them to ſend a large number of victuallers thither in the winter, eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron of men of war. But the fleet now ſent was much greater than formerly, and the ſquadron, that ſailed with it as an eſcort, conſiſted of ſeventeen men of war. Soon after this an army of twenty thouſand men, drawn with all poſſible

poſſible ſilence from the adjacent garriſons, was brought down to the ſea-coaſts, and five hundred tranſports provided with extraordinary diligence and ſecrecy, in order to carry over the greater part of them to England, while moſt of our large ſhips were laid up, and the reſt either in the Mediterranean, or refitting here, in order to be ſent thither. So that hitherto all things ſeemed to favour the views of the enemy, who were not a little rejoiced at an accident that happened at Gillingham in the river Medway, where the Royal Sovereign took fire, and was totally conſumed, though without prejudice to any of the ſhips which lay near her.

It was the intention of Louis XIV. to have embarked at Dunkirk 16,000 men, who were to be commanded by king James in perſon, and under him by the marquis of Harcourt, then lieutenant-general, and afterwards marſhal of France. This embarkation was to have been eſcorted by two ſtrong ſquadonrs under the marquis of Neſmond and John du Bart, all which might have been executed, if bad weather and contrary winds had not prevented it. In the mean time the duke of Berwick, Sir George Berkeley, and ſome other experienced officers, were ſent over to diſpoſe the malcontents here to perform their part in this undertaking. But, when all things were ſuppoſed to be in perfect readineſs, the whole ſcheme was happily diſcovered, and on the twenty-fourth of February the king came to the houſe of peers, ſent for the commons, and in a ſet ſpeech informed them of the whole affair.

At the ſame time orders were given for aſſembling, with the utmoſt diligence, the greateſt number of ſhips poſſible; and admiral Ruſſel, after having aſſiſted at a board of admiralty, where proper inſtructions were prepared, went down to Deal, and on the twenty-fifth of February hoiſted the Union flag on board the Victory, and in a few days ſtood over to the coaſt of France, having under his command upwards of fifty ſhips of the line, Engliſh and Dutch, at a time when the French believed we could not aſſemble ten; which extraordinary expedition confounded all their deſigns, and rendered the invaſion abſolutely impracticable, after all the pains and expence that had been for ſome months employed about it.

On the twenty-eighth of February the admiral came to an anchor off Gravelin, with part of the fleet, and lord Berkeley, with a ſquadron under his command, lay between him and Dunkirk. As the admiral paſſed by Calais, he perceived the harbour crowded with all ſorts of ſmall veſſels

for

for the intended embarkation of the French troops. As for the ſeventeen men of war, which were to have eſcorted them, thirteen were run in as cloſe to the pier of Dunkirk as poſſible, as proved to be all large ſhips. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with ſome other experienced officers, were ſent to look upon them, to ſee if there was any poſſibility of burning them or not; but, after a long conſultation with Mr. Meeſters and the engineers, it was declared to be impracticable, and thereupon the admiral determined to quit that ſtation, and return into Dover road, leaving a ſquadron under Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to watch the motions of the enemy.

This ſquadron continued cruizing in the Downs all the month of March, without attempting any thing; but, towards the end of the month, being reinforced with ſeveral Dutch ſhips, fire ſhips, and bomb-veſſels, he received orders, on the ſecond of April, to undertake the bombardment of Calais; in purſuance of which, he immediately came before that town, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for executing thoſe orders. On the third the bomb-veſſels began to fire about noon, and continued firing till evening, in which time above three hundred bombs and carcaſſes fell either in the town, or among the ſhips in the harbour, with ſuch effect as to kindle fires in both, and muſt certainly have done a great deal of miſchief. But as moſt of the bomb-veſſels and brigantines had their rigging deſtroyed, and their mortars diſmounted, (the wind too blowing very hard from the ſhore), Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, having left a ſquadron to keep in the French men of war at Dunkirk, returned into the Downs, where he received orders on the 11th of April to join the grand fleet at Spithead. But, before he could execute theſe orders, Sir George Rooke arrived in the Downs with his fleet from the Streights, and took upon him the command.

All the views of France were now totally diſappointed, and the Engliſh ſtrength at ſea became ſo formidable, that they were able to undertake little or nothing againſt it. Yet, to keep up the ſpirits of the people, and in ſome meaſure to embarraſs the Engliſh and Dutch, orders were diſpatched to the Toulon ſquadron, directing that it ſhould immediately ſail into the ocean; and at the ſame time John du Bart was commanded to proceed out of the harbour of Dunkirk, with eight men of war and two fire-ſhips. In the mean time Sir George Rooke arrived at Spithead, after having detached ſeveral of his cleaneſt ſhips for particular ſervices, receiving there a commiſſion appointing him

admiral

admiral and commander in chief of the fleet. His inſtructions were, to lye in ſuch a ſtation as ſhould be moſt proper for preventing the Toulon ſquadron from getting into any of the ports of France; upon meeting them he was to fight, and, upon his receiving notice of their getting into any port, he was to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to burn or deſtroy them there; or, in caſe he had intelligence of their getting ſafe to Breſt, he was then to return to Torbay, and to remain there till he ſhould receive orders.

On the fourteenth of May, 1696, Sir George Rooke with the fleet, being on the coaſt of France, received certain intelligence, that the Toulon ſquadron was ſafely arrived at Breſt. Upon this he held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, that, as many of the largeſt ſhips in the fleet were very foul, and the whole much inferior to the combined ſquadrons in the harbour of Breſt, they ſhould immediately purſue the laſt part of their inſtructions, and return to Torbay; which accordingly they did, and there the fleet was ſoon reinforced to the number in the whole of one hundred and fifteen ſail, of which no fewer than eighty-five were of the line of battle.

A reſolution having been taken in the privy-council as to the bombarding the French coaſts, orders were ſent to Sir George Rooke, towards the latter-end of the month of May, to return to the ſervice of the board as one of the lords of the admiralty, it being intended to intruſt the fleet, or at leaſt ſuch a part of it as ſhould be employed in the before-mentioned ſervice, to the care of the lord Berkeley of Stratton, who had behaved ſo gallantly the year before. Theſe orders reached Sir George Rooke on the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1696; but, before he returned to London, he received advice, that ſeventy French men of war were actually lying in Camaret-bay, with three blue flags, and a white one flying, of which he gave advice to the admiralty, on his coming to town.

Lord Berkeley hoiſted the union flag on board the Britannia on the third of June, 1696, the ſame day that Sir George Rooke ſet out for London; but he ſoon found, that, notwithſtanding his commiſſion, he was very far from having the command of the fleet: for having propoſed to a council of war the attacking of Breſt, which was the project approved by the privy-council, they reſolved that it was in their opinion impracticable, as on the ſixteenth of the ſame month they did the ſame as to the propoſal of Sir George Rooke, before-mentioned. His lordſhip being determined, however,

however, not to remain any longer inactive, ſailed on the twenty-fourth for the French coaſt. On the third of July the admiral ſent the Burford and the Newcaſtle, with a fire-ſhip, to the iſland of Groy, with orders to land. On the fourth the fleet came to an anchor about two leagues from Belleiſle, and barges and pinnaces were immediately manned, in order to make a deſcent upon Hoat, one of the iſlands called Cardinals, which they performed, ravaged the whole iſland, and burnt the only town that was upon it: they did the ſame in the iſland of Hodicke, and brought off a great number of cattle. On the fifth a great reinforcement was ſent to captain Fitzpatrick, who had landed in the iſland of Groy, where they deſtroyed twenty villages, containing about thirteen hundred houſes, took a ſhip from Newfoundland, and twenty ſmall veſſels, and carried off about fifteen hundred horſes and black cattle.

The ſame day Sir Martin Beckman, who was ſent to bombard the town of St. Martin's in the iſle of Rhee, performed his commiſſion very exactly, throwing, in the ſpace of one night, two thouſand two hundred and thirty bombs and carcaſſes into the place, by which the beſt part of the town was entirely burnt down, with all their warehouſes, and the goods contained in them, notwithſtanding the place was very well fortified, and our ſquadrons ſuſtained a very warm fire all the time. On the ſeventh the ſame ſquadron, which conſiſted but of ten men of war, bombarded Ollonne, and in the ſpace of a night threw into it almoſt two thouſand bombs and carcaſſes, which had ſuch an effect, that the town was ſeen to be on fire in fifteen places at once. After this the admiral, not finding it convenient to land on Belleiſle, continued to alarm the French coaſt till towards the latter end of the month; and then, through want of proviſions, and the weakneſs of the fleet, occaſioned by making ſeveral detachments, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of returning to Spithead.

The French affected to ridicule theſe, as they had done former bombardments, and the ſame humour ſeems very unaccountably to have poſſeſſed abundance of people at home. Even Mr. Burchet, ſpeaking of my lord Berkeley's exploits, calls them LITTLE ENTERPRISES; and yet nothing is more certain, than that the French were grievouſly affected by them, their country being kept in a perpetual alarm. This the reader will eaſily diſcern, when he is told, that between Breſt and Goulet there were forty batteries erected on one ſide, and twenty-five on the other; that on theſe batteries were mounted nineteen mortars, and four hundred

hundred and eighty-nine pieces of heavy cannon, and above ſixty thouſand men, quartered up and down on the coaſts to prevent the bad effects of an invaſion. If France had been under no concern, ſuch precautions would never have been taken; if ſhe was, the bombardment that ſpread this terror muſt not have been ſuch ſlight things as ſome writers endeavour to repreſent them, or, if they were, what were thoſe whom they ſo frighted?

It is agreed on all hands, that the care taken this year of our trade was ſo great, that the orders of the lords of the admiralty were ſo well executed, that our ſeveral fleets of merchantmen returned ſafe, notwithſtanding the French made it their principal buſineſs to intercept them. In two inſtances, indeed, we were ſomewhat unlucky: the firſt was in Newfoundland, of which an account will be given elſewhere; the other in reſpect to the Dunkirk ſquadron, of which the following is a very exact account: In the month of May, 1696, rear-admiral Benbow had the command given him of a ſmall number of ſhips, with orders to prevent Du Bart from getting out of that port. When the rear admiral arrived before it, he found the French ſquadron ready to ſail, and his own too ſmall to guard both the eaſt and the north channel. He did, however, his beſt; but the weather proving hazy, and he cruizing before the north channel, Du Bart gave him the ſlip, and, having a fair wind, was quickly out of reach.

Rear-admiral Benbow reſolved, however, to purſue him, and did ſo; but the Dutch, for want of proper orders, refuſed to follow him. Du Bart in the mean time executed his ſcheme, which was to attack the Dutch Baltic fleet in their return home, which he performed on the eighth of June. This fleet conſiſted of upwards of one hundred ſail of merchant ſhips under an eſcort of five frigates. Du Bart took all the men of war, and at leaſt half the merchantmen. In the height of this victory the outward bound Baltic fleet appeared in ſight under an eſcort of thirteen men of war, who immediately attacked Du Bart, and forced him to burn four of the men of war, and thirty-five merchantmen, and to turn the fifth frigate, which had on board the crews of all the reſt, adrift, ſo that ſhe was retaken; but, according to the French accounts, he came back after all with fifteen prizes into the road of Dunkirk.

Rear admiral Benbow convoyed afterwards, with his ſquadron, our northern fleet to Gottenburgh, and thence proceeded to Hamburgh; and, returning homewards in the month of September, he had ſight of Du Bart's ſquadron,

dron, and chaſed him till he ſaw it was to no purpoſe: he had the ſatisfaction ſoon after of joining four Engliſh and eleven Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, which came north-about, and thereby eſcaped the French privateers, and luckily enough for them, even Du Bart himſelf, though they muſt have had fight of his ſquadron.

Thus ended the naval operations of this year in this part of the world, where we certainly diſappointed all the French deſigns, did them no ſmall damage on their coaſts, kept the beſt part of their fleets blocked up in their harbours, and protected our trade better than it had been for many years paſt; yet in the next ſeſſion of parliament, which began on the 20th of October, 1696, one of the firſt things the houſe of commons did was to enter into an inquiry into the late miſcarriages of the fleet, and this expoſed Sir George Rooke and Sir Cloudeſley Shovel to ſeveral ſtrict examinations, in which, however, nothing appearing that could be conſtrued either an omiſſion or breach of duty, the affair dropped, and the houſe afterwards voted the ſum of 2,372,197l. for the maintenance of forty thouſand ſeamen, and of the two marine regiments, and for the ordinary of the navy, and the charge of the regiſtry of the ſeamen.

We are now arrived at that period of our hiſtory, which naturally leads us to take a view of what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies from the beginning of the war to the cloſe of the next year 1697; and, as our reaſons for treating this ſubject at once have been already given at large, we ſhall enter upon it here without farther introduction. The revolution took place in our colonies as eaſily as it had done at home, on a principle which was very emphatically expreſſed by one of our governors, who, when he was ſummoned by a man of war to ſubmit to king William and queen Mary, very ſenſibly anſwered, that, if they were king and queen at Whitehall, they ſhould be ſo there, and proclaimed them immediately.

By this means the plantations were ſecured againſt every thing except foreign invaſions, and to theſe they were not long expoſed, ſince, towards the end of the year 1689, orders were given for fitting out a ſquadron for Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, under the command of captain Lawrence Wright, who was directed to ſail as ſoon as poſſible, and had very ample inſtructions given him. It fell out, however, in conſequence of abundance of unlucky accidents, that he did not leave Plymouth till the eighth of March following. Arriving in Carliſle-bay on the eleventh

of

of May, 1690, he found all things there in a better poſture than he expected; and towards the latter end of the month, when his men were pretty well recovered of the ſcurvy, he ſailed for the Leeward Iſlands, in order to aſſiſt general Codrington, who was preparing for an expedition againſt St. Chriſtopher's, where we had been joint poſſeſſors with the French, who had now driven us out, and had made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland.

The commodore ſailed on the third of June to Montſerrat, where he was joined by the general from Antigua with ſuch a force as the Engliſh colonies could ſupply. Thence they proceeded together to Nevis, in conſequence of a reſolution taken in a council of war, to make a deſcent as ſoon as poſſible upon the iſland of St. Chriſtopher. On the twenty-third Sir Timothy Thornhill landed, with five hundred men, to the eaſt of Frigot's bay, and, having twice engaged and routed the French, marched on to Baſſeterre, and in the way beat the French forces a third time. This broke the ſpirits of the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they gave general Codrington no diſturbance, when he landed with three thouſand men, and marched the ſame way. The fleet at the ſame time ſailed into the road, in order to batter the town and forts, while the general attacked it by land. The French, however, ſaved them the trouble, by abandoning the place, and ſetting it on fire. In about three weeks time the whole iſland was reduced; and, the ſeaſon of hurricanes coming on, the fleet returned triumphantly to Barbadoes, and the deſign of making farther conqueſts was poſtponed to another year.

In the month of January, 1691, the commodore received freſh orders from England, directing him to ſtay ſome time longer in America; upon which he took up ſix of the largeſt merchant-ſhips, turned them into men of war, and on the twelfth of February ſailed for the Leeward Iſlands. There an unhappy difference ſprung up between him and general Codrington, which ruined the expedition; for though in the month of April they landed in Marigallante, and in a great meaſure ruined that ſettlement, from whence they proceeded to Guadalupe, and remained there ſome time; yet, on the news of a French ſquadron's being in the neighbourhood, they haſtily re-embarked their forces, and reſolved to abandon the enterpriſe, at the ſame time almoſt that the French had determined to abandon the iſland. Soon after this, commodore Wright returned to Barbadoes, where finding his conduct univerſally diſliked, he, under pretence of ſickneſs, quitted the command, having firſt ſeparated the

the ſquadron to different ſervices; and ſoon after returned, with very little reputation, to England.

The ſame year ſome other expeditions were undertaken againſt the French in this part of the world. The colony of New-England found itſelf ſo liable to diſturbance from the ſettlement the French had at Port-Royal, in Nova-Scotia, that it was reſolved to attack it, and that too as ſoon as the war broke out. With this view, a conſiderable fleet, with ſeven hundred land-forces on board, was fitted out under the command of Sir William Phips, who ſailed from Nantaſcot on the twenty-eighth of April, 1690, and by the middle of the next month he completed his deſign, and reduced Port-Royal and the adjacent ſettlements under the dominion of the Engliſh. His quick ſucceſs in this, induced the colony to undertake an enterprize of greater importance, which was no leſs than the reduction of Quebec, the capital of the French ſettlements in Canada. This was certainly a well laid ſcheme, and if it had been executed with equal prudence, muſt have turned very highly to the advantage of the Engliſh, as experience hath convinced us ſince. The colony ſhewed on this occaſion a very extraordinary meaſure of public ſpirit, by raiſing no leſs than two thouſand men, whom they embarked on board their fleet of thirty-two ſail, great and ſmall, without demanding or expecting any aſſiſtance from hence.

With this force Sir William Phips ſailed from Hull, near Boſton, on the ninth of Auguſt, and arrived about the beginning of September, before the river of Canada, but was there unluckily, by contrary winds, detained in ſuch a manner, as that it was three weeks before they arrived at Quebec. This gave the count de Frontenac, governor there for the French, an opportunity to prepare for his defence, and of drawing all the ſtrength of the colony to Quebec, which Sir William Phips expected would have been divided, by an army marching over land and attacking Mount-Royal fort, at the ſame time that he fell upon the city. This army was to conſiſt of a thouſand men from New-York, Connecticut, and Plymouth colonies, and fifteen hundred Iroquois. The Engliſh marched as far as the great lake of Canada, but not finding canoes ready for them to paſs it, and the Indians not joining them according to their agreement, they returned; by which unfortunate miſcarriage count Frontenac had no need to make any detachments for the ſecurity of Mount-Royal.

Sir William ſummoned the count to ſurrender the city, but received a very inſolent and haughty anſwer. On the eighth

eighth of October the Engliſh landed, under lieutenant-general Whalley, to the number of fourteen hundred, for to that number they were now reduced by the ſmall-pox, and other diſeaſes. In the mean while, Sir William brought his ſhips to bear on the weſt end of the city, waiting till general Whalley ſhould begin the aſſault. But this gentleman hearing that count de Frontenac had four thouſand men within, and was provided to make a vigorous defence, notwithſtanding the entreaties of the Engliſh ſoldiers to the contrary, reſolved immediately to embark. Sir William expecting the ſignal for their attacking the town on the eaſt ſide, ſent a meſſenger on ſhore to know the reaſons of their not giving the aſſault; which when he underſtood, and ſaw many of the men were almoſt frozen to death, to which we may add, the colonel and others ill of the ſmall-pox, he ordered them on board to refreſh themſelves; and calling a council of war, it was therein reſolved to return. Thus ended this fruitleſs expedition, which coſt the colony of New-England ſo large a ſum of money, and as to which mighty expectations had been raiſed.

In the latter-end of October, 1691, captain Ralph Wren, who then commanded the Norwich, had orders to ſail with that and two other fourth rates to Barbadoes, and from thence to the Leeward Iſlands, where he was to take upon him the command of ſuch ſhips as were in that ſtation; and his general inſtructions were, to ſecure the trade and plantations, and to annoy the enemy. He ſailed from Plymouth on the twelfth of December, and on the ſixteenth of the next month arrived in Carliſle-bay, in Barbadoes. He had not been there long, before he was informed, that the French had a ſtout ſquadron at ſea, which had taken the Jerſey, that was to have been added to commodore Wren's ſquadron.

Upon this news the governor and council of Barbadoes agreed, that two large merchant-ſhips ſhould be fitted out, in order to join the five men of war already under the commodore; and that with theſe he ſhould attack the French ſquadron, though it conſiſted of nine ſail. Accordingly the commodore quitted Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, and cruized for about a week, but without ſeeing the enemy, and then returned. Another council of war being held, it was therein reſolved, that the commodore ſhould proceed with his ſquadron, and the merchant ſhips that were then ready, for the Leeward Iſlands. This he accordingly performed, and on the twenty-firſt of February he fell in with a French ſquadron of eighteen men of war, from ſixty to

forty

forty guns. They laboured all night to engage him, and about eight in the morning, on the twenty-ſecond, the enemy having a freſh gale, and moſt of the commodore's ſquadron not a breath of wind, four of their ſhips bore down upon the Mary, commanded by lieutenant Wyat, who defended her very well, until the commodore could come to her aſſiſtance. At the ſame time, the Mordaunt, commanded by captain Boteler, with one of the hired ſhips, and the England frigate, commanded by captain Stubbs, were warmly engaged in the very midſt of the enemy; but they cleared themſelves with all the bravery imaginable. The commodore finding the great diſproportion as to the ſtrength, his ſquadron conſiſting then but of ſeven ſhips, and that the merchant ſhips, which were under his care, had taken the proper and uſual methods for their own ſecurity, he, after a warm engagement of four hours, wiſely provided for the ſafety of the ſhips of war, under his command, by bearing away. He did this, however, with ſo little ſail, that he ſecured the three ſhips which the enemy gave chaſe to; and they, as much tired of his company, readily ſtood away from him. Thus, by a due mixture of courage and conduct, the commodore ſaved his ſmall ſquadron, and gained an high reputation, this having been reckoned one of the beſt-conducted actions of the war.

The government being very ſenſible of the inconveniencies reſulting from their want of having a ſufficient force in the Weſt-Indies, reſolved, in the year 1692, to put an end to the complaints that had been made from moſt of the colonies on that ſubject, by ſending a powerful fleet thither, under Sir Francis Wheeler, as gallant and as judicious an officer as any in the navy. The ſquadron he was to command conſiſted of twelve men of war, beſides ſmaller veſſels; and he was likewiſe empowered to take under his orders ſuch ſhips of war as he ſhould find in that part of the world. He had under his convoy alſo a certain number of tranſports, with fifteen hundred land-troops, and had aſſurance given him, that he ſhould find another body of very good troops ready aſſembled in Barbadoes; and, in conjunction with them, he had inſtructions to fall upon ſome of the French ſettlements, which it was judged very practicable for him to reduce.

Sir Francis left our coaſts in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month touched at Madeira, from whence he ſailed for Barbadoes, and arrived there on the firſt of March. There it was unanimouſly

reſolved, in a full council of war, that Martinico ſhould be the place attacked; and advice was ſent to general Codrington of the arrival of the ſquadron, that he might draw together the forces of the Leeward Iſlands, in order to join the regiments brought from England, and the troops (about eight hundred foot) raiſed in Barbadoes; to which Sir Francis Wheeler offered to join another regiment, compoſed of ſeamen, to be commanded as colonel by him in perſon.

April the fifteenth, 1693, the ſquadron, with all theſe troops on board, arrived at Cul de Sac Royal, in Martinico; but, inſtead of proceeding to perform without delay what they came thither about, it was reſolved, in a council of war, held on the twentieth, that the men ſhould reimbark, and the ſquadron ſail to Dominica, there to take in water, and to give the men, who were very ſickly, an opportunity of refreſhing themſelves. As the commodore was very ſenſible this manner of acting would be indifferently reliſhed at home, he deſired and inſiſted, that every member of the council of war ſhould give his opinion in writing; by which it appears, ſcarce any but Sir Francis Wheeler, and lieutenant-colonel Colt, were for landing and acting vigorouſly.

Sir Francis, towards the latter end of May, ſailed for New-England, and arrived at Boſton on the twelfth of June. He immediately propoſed to Sir William Phips, then governor, the attacking Quebec a ſecond time. But though nothing could have been more agreeable to that brave and public-ſpirited man, yet, as circumſtances then ſtood, he could not cloſe with it. Such an expedition required a ſtrength of four thouſand men at leaſt, and theſe the governor could not poſſibly draw together by the beginning of July, which was the very lateſt a fleet that was to be thus employed could ſail; and therefore this grand deſign appearing every way impracticable, was dropt, even by thoſe two men, who of all others, had it moſt at heart. This diſappointment determined the commodore to quit Boſton as ſoon as poſſible; and therefore, on the third of Auguſt, he left that place, and proceeded for Newfoundland, reſolving to attempt ſomething there worthy of the force with which he left England, and the honour allowed him of carrying the union flag, from a view to the advantages which, it was not doubted, would reſult to the nation from his expedition.

On the eighteenth of Auguſt he arrived at Placentia, and found the enemy much ſtronger there than he expected; for,

for, in the firſt place, the town was well fortified; next, there were in the harbour ſeveral ſtout privateers, the haven itſelf excellently provided with batteries, heavy cannon, bombs, *&c.* with at leaſt two thouſand ſoldiers and inhabitants, well diſciplined, and moſt of them old buccaneers. Sir Francis, however, was not to be diſcouraged; he called a council of war, laid down the method in which the place ought to be attacked at once by ſea and land, and took upon himſelf the going in with the men of war to batter the great fort, which was the moſt dangerous part of the undertaking. However, as there were eleven land to ſix ſea officers in this council, they reſolved the whole to be impoſſible and impracticable. Sir Francis Wheeler was exceedingly chagrined at this new diſgrace; but, to ſhew how little this inactivity agreed with his diſpoſition, he gave orders for deſtroying the French fiſhery at St. Peters; which was done effectually, and ſo that it was not ſoon or very eaſily recovered.

On the twenty-eighth of Auguſt he ſailed from the bay of Bulls in Newfoundland for England, where he did not arrive till the eighteenth of October following, his ſhips in a bad, and his men in a much worſe condition, ſo that they were ſcarce able to navigate them. Yet, as unfortunate as this expedition proved from firſt to laſt, Sir Francis never fell under the leaſt cenſure. The accounts he tranſmitted home, joined to the letters from the reſpective colonies, and the extracts of proceedings in councils of war, juſtified him ſo clearly, and ſet his courage and conduct in ſo fair a light, that, when he arrived at Portſmouth, he had the ſatisfaction of finding a commiſſion, appointing him rear-admiral of the red; a preferment, which, as it was obtained purely by merit, ſo it never expoſed him to envy.—But to look now to another coaſt.

The royal African company, finding themſelves much diſturbed in their trade by the new ſettlements made by the French in the mouth of the river Senegal, and having exact intelligence of the ſchemes concerted by that nation for extending their own trade in thoſe parts, and deſtroying ours, reſolved to exert the great force they had in Guinea, to ſecure themſelves from all theſe apprehenſions, by attacking the enemy immediately, in order, if poſſible, to the diſpoſſeſſing them of their ſettlements, before they could gain any intelligence of the deſign. If, on their forming this project, they had applied themſelves to the adminiſtration, and had either procured aſſiſtance for the execution of it, or aſſurance of having their conqueſts protected, they had cer-

tainly carried their point, and the French been beaten out of that advantageous trade, perhaps for ever.

But they were at this time ſo much afraid of the enemy's penetrating whatever was tranſacted at the ſecretary's office, that the African company reſolved to riſk this underſtanding, without communicating their ſecret to any body. With this view they ſent orders to John Booker, Eſq; then their agent-general in Guinea, to attempt, if he found it practicable, the execution of the deſign which they had formed; and, that he might be ſatisfied as to the authority upon which he acted, they ſent him a copy of the commiſſion they had received from the king and queen, impowering them to commit hoſtilities, and annoy the enemy in any places within their juriſdiction.

Mr. Booker, upon receipt of theſe letters and this commiſſion, immediately applied himſelf to execute what the company directed, and in the month of December, 1692, having drawn together a ſufficient force, he embarked them on board the company's ſhips and ſloops, and, ſailing from the river of Gambie, arrived in the mouth of the river of Senegal on new-year's-day, 1693. Having with ſome difficulty got over the bar, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking Fort Bourbon; but the governor, M. Dumoulin, knowing his own condition beſt, and that he muſt ſoon be compelled to ſurrender, ſent to Mr. Booker to demand terms, upon which he offered immediately to give up the place. This propoſition was accepted, and the Engliſh that evening entered into poſſeſſion of the fort, which the French had held upwards of fifty years.

Mr. Booker continued here till the twenty-fifth of the ſame month, and then embarked his forces in order to make a deſcent on the iſland of Goree, the only place which remained to the French in Guinea. He arrived there on the firſt of February; and, after alarming the enemy till the fourth, he in the night landed an hundred men under the old fort, from whence he advanced to attack the new, called the fort of St. Michael, a well-fortified place, furniſhed with twenty-eight pieces of cannon. They made ſome ſhew of defending themſelves at firſt; but, being indifferently provided with ammunition, about noon they deſired to capitulate, and on the eighth marched out with all military honours, and were carried to James-iſland, in virtue of the articles ſigned by Mr. Booker; from whence they were to be tranſported into Europe on board the company's ſhipping, but at their own expence.

Affairs

Affairs in the Weſt-Indies went all this time extremely ill: the French deſtroyed our trade by their privateers, diſturbed our ſettlements continually, and frequently made deſcents upon them, particularly on Jamaica, where they committed great havock, and enriched themſelves exceedingly at our expence. The few ſhips of war we had in thoſe parts were ſo far from being able to defend our colonies effectually, that ſeveral of them were taken by the enemy; and, in ſhort, things were in ſo bad a way, that the adminiſtration at home thought the loſs of our colonies no improbable thing, as appears by the inſtructions given to the commodores of the ſquadrons, and the commanders in chief of the land-troops. On the other hand, our good allies the Spaniards were no leſs, or rather were ſtill more diſtreſſed by the enemy than we; all trade between their colonies was deſtroyed, their coaſts plundered, and every thing ſubject to the mercy of the privateers, that were equipped in whole ſquadrons from the French ſettlements in Hiſpaniola.

About the beginning of the year 1694 ſome propoſals were laid before the council, for our undertaking, in conjunction with the Spaniards, to drive the French out of the iſland of Hiſpaniola. To this there was at firſt ſome attention given; but afterwards it being repreſented, that the Spaniards, at the bottom, were not either willing or able to join with us in any ſuch undertaking, it was laid aſide. Other buſineſs intervening, it does not appear either the council or the board of admiralty thought any more of the plantations till towards the latter end of the year, when they were alarmed with the account of a briſk attempt made upon Jamaica by M. Ducaſſe, the French governor of St. Domingo. He ſailed in the month of June with three men of war, and twenty-three tranſports, having on board fifteen hundred men for the coaſt of Jamaica, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth of the ſame month, and made a deſcent on Port-Morant, which they found abandoned, and, marching from thence up the country, they plundered, burnt, and deſtroyed whatever they met, and carried off money and effects to a very great value. But they ſoon found, that the fine ſchemes of conqueſt they had formed to themſelves were altogether impracticable, and that the only thing they had to do was to return with what they had got. The people of Jamaica, when they found their property in danger, aſſembled readily for its defence, and behaved themſelves ſo well in an engagement with the French, that it contributed not a little to make the latter for the preſent

ſent ſick of this deſign, and to hinder them from reſuming any project like it afterwards.

The complaints that were ſent home on this affair, joined to the repreſentations of other colonies, the remonſtrances of the Weſt-India merchants, and the fear of a parliamentary inquiry, obliged the miniſtry to reſume this long-neglected ſubject, and to think ſeriouſly of ſending to America ſuch a force, and under ſuch officers, as might do more than had hitherto been done. With this view they directed, that a ſquadron of five ſail of men of war, and two fire-ſhips, with twelve tranſport-veſſels, ſhould be got ready, with the utmoſt diligence and ſecrecy, to rendezvous at Plymouth in the beginning of the year 1695. The command of the ſquadron was given to captain Robert Wilmot, an officer of great reputation and experience. The command of the land-forces was intruſted with colonel Luke Lillingſton, and that they might be the more ſubject to orders, and better directed, they were reduced into a ſingle regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred men; and, beſides theſe, there were ſpare arms for another regiment, and in ſhort every thing elſe provided that could be deſired for ſecuring the ſucceſs of ſuch an expedition; and all this was done with ſuch ſecrecy, that even the officers who were to be employed had no diſtinct knowledge of the deſign they were to execute, but only knew in general, that they were to be ſent to the Weſt-Indies to protect our plantations, and annoy the enemy.

When all things were ready, the commodore had his inſtructions given him ſealed up, with orders not to open them till he arrived in the latitude of forty degrees. Inſtructions were alſo given to colonel Lillingſton for the regulating of his conduct, and for giving him a clear view of the extent of his command. Before they ſet out for Plymouth, both the commodore and the colonel were ſeparately exhorted to be extremely careful in keeping up a right correſpondence, becauſe that hitherto all our expeditions had ſuffered more through the weakneſs and miſunderſtandings of our own commanders, than through any extraordinary courage or conduct ſhewn by the enemy; and, that this might be the eaſier, their commands were made as diſtict as, the nature of the ſervice conſidered, it was poſſible.

The ſquadron ſailed from Plymouth the latter end of the month of January; but, before they were in a condition to act, the commanders differed, and all things were in confuſion. Colonel Lillingſton in his account aſſerts, that the commodore opened his inſtructions in an unwarrantable manner,

manner, and that, after he had done ſo, he propoſed to the colonel to take what care they could of themſelves at the expence of the public ſervice. The colonel rejected this offer as became a man of honour, and the commodore thenceforth prepared to execute his ſcheme in ſpite of all the colonel could do to prevent him.

Towards the latter end of March, 1695, they arrived before the city of St. Domingo, where the Spaniſh governor, on the recept of the King of Spain's letters, promiſed them all the aſſiſtance in his power; but how he performed this promiſe, is not very well agreed. Mr. ſecretary Burchet in his hiſtory charges him with creatiug unneceſſary delays, which were of great prejudice to the expedition. On the other hand colonel Lillingſton aſſerts, that the Spaniſh governor behaved in every reſpect like a man of honour, concerted with him the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for attacking Cape François, and performed all he undertook with the utmoſt punctuality. It muſt be obſerved, that the force of the allies then in Hiſpaniola was ſuch, as that the ruin of the French ſettlements might have been well expected from it. The Spaniſh governor marched one thouſand ſeven handred; the commander of our land-forces was able to debark about twelve hundred men; the commodore promiſed to join his force with five hundred ſeamen; the Spaniards actually added three men of war to our fleet, and, to prevent any diſputes about the command, the Spaniſh admiral took down his flag.

The firſt thing that was attempted was the ruin of the French ſettlement at Cape François. When the fleet was arrived within ſight of the place, the commodore abſolutely preſcribed the place where the land-forces ſhould go on ſhore; and though colonel Lillingſton repreſented to him, that it was extremely hard to oblige the troops to a march of five leagues and a half, when, by only rowing one league and a half, the boats might land them cloſe by the fort which they were to attack, the commodore gave him barely the hearing, but purſued his own project, and they ſoon dicovered with what view.

The Engliſh and Spaniſh troops joined, and continued their fatiguing march till they arrived within five miles of Fort St. Francis, where they ſaw the French blow up their works, and abandon the place. When the troops came up, they were ſurprized to find the Engliſh colours hoiſted on the fort, and a ſingle ſeaman left to attend them: but the myſtery was ſoon explained; commodore Wilmot no ſooner ſaw the place abandoned, than he rowed to ſhore with five hundred

hundred men, entered it, and carried off all that was worth carrying. This diſguſted, as it well might, both the Engliſh and Spaniſh forces; and, if they had not been compoſed of veteran troops, and men who had a great reſpect for their officers, a mutiny muſt have followed, which would have deſtroyed the whole deſign. But colonel Lillingſton pacified them as well as he could, by promiſing to take care they ſhould not be treated in this manner for the future, if it was in his power to prevent it.

After this extraordinary exploit it was reſolved to attempt Port de Paix, where M. Ducaſſe commanded in perſon; but he quitted the place, leaving in it a garriſon of ſix hundred men.

On the firſt of June the Engliſh and Spaniſh troops marched by two different roads toward the place they were to attack, and the ſquadron ſailed thither at the ſame time, but with this extraordinary circumſtance, that, if the Spaniſh admiral out of pure humanity had not left ſome tranſports to take in our ſick men, they muſt have been left to periſh; for commodore Wilmot had ſomething elſe in his head than to take care of invalids, and had therefore ſailed as ſoon as the reſolution was taken. The march was very fatiguing; it took up ſixteen days before they arrived in ſight of Port de Paix, and then there was a great deal of time loſt in getting the artillery and ammunition on ſhore. At laſt this too was performed, and the ſiege of the place was begun in a regular manner: and the commodore, to ſhew his willingneſs to aſſiſt, landed a great body of ſeamen, and inveſted it on the other ſide.

On the third of July, the breach being practicable, and colonel Lillingſton employed in making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general ſtorm, the enemy took a reſolution of deſerting the place, and forcing their way through the quarter of the commodore. Their force conſiſted of about five hundred and thirty men, of which about one hundred and fifty were negroes, but well armed and diſciplined. Their greateſt difficulty was to carry off their women, children, and the moſt valuable part of their effects. The latter they packed up firſt, and put them in ſmall bundles on the backs of the women, who, with the children, marched in the front, under a good eſcort, while three hundred men fell into the quarters of our ſeamen, and, by expoſing themſelves to a very briſk fire, which laſted for a long time, gave the reſt an opportunity to retreat. The affair was conducted with equal reſolution and addreſs; but not without a very conſiderable loſs.

Colonel

Colonel Lillingſton, as ſoon as he had heard the firing, gueſſed at the cauſe, and immediately detached his brother, with two hundred and fifty men, to ſupport the ſeamen. When major Lillingſton arrived, the affair was over, and he marched directly to take poſſeſſion of the fort, in order to ſecure whatever the French had left behind them; and having poſted centinels every where, and put the reſt of his men under arms, he thought that all was ſafe, but in this he was miſtaken; commodore Wilmot, at the head of his whole corps of ſeamen, followed him inſtantly. As ſoon as the commodore came up to him, he clapped his hand upon his ſhoulder, with this familiar ſalutation, "Now, major, I am ſtronger than you." After which he removed his guards, broke open the ſtore-houſes, and carried off every thing that was worth taking, "with a dexterity," ſays colonel Lillingſton, "very natural to ſeamen."

This kind of proceeding was not like to produce much good; the commodore offered to carry the ſick men to Jamaica, and to leave colonel Lillingſton to attempt, in conjunction with the Spaniards, the taking Leogane and Petit-Guavas; but they were weary of ſuch kind of treatment, and had ſo many men diſabled by the unneceſſary hardſhips to which they had been expoſed, that it was reſolved, in a council of war, not to proſecute either of the deſigns before-mentioned; but to demoliſh the fort, ruin the adjacent country, carry off the artillery they had taken, and ſail with all the Engliſh forces to Jamaica.

To this the Spaniſh governor conſented, becauſe he ſaw the impoſſibility of their performing, in the condition they were in, what they had projected; and of this he was the better judge, becauſe he had an exact account of the French forces that M. Ducaſſe was aſſembling at Cul de Sac, and with which, it was expected, he would march to give them battle, as having no other means of preſerving the French ſettlements; though in this there was a great deal of danger.

The confederate army, in ſixty days, ruined their plantations for a hundred miles round, carried off a thouſand negroes, demoliſhed two ſtrong forts, wherein they took one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with a vaſt quantity of all ſorts of ammunition and naval ſtores; ſo that there ſeems to be no reaſon to think colonel Lillingſton exaggerated, who computes the loſs of the French at 200,000l.

The account given us of this affair by French writers, agrees pretty well with our own. It is true, that they give great

great commendations to M. Ducaſſe, governor of St. Domingo, who was certainly gallant men, but who had no opportunity of ſhewing his bravery on this occaſion. In the main, however, they agree, that miſunderſtandings between the allies proved the ruin of the whole affair; and that nothing could amaze, and at the ſame overjoy people more, than the news of the Engliſh troops embarking for Jamaica did M. Ducaſſe and his army. The ſame writers intimate, that the colony of Jamaica was much wanting to itſelf, in not laying hold of this opportunity to make a deſcent on the French ſettlements, in revenge for the miſchiefs done them by the inhabitants of this colony, under M. Ducaſſe, the year before, which, if they had done, in all probability the French muſt have been driven out of Hiſpaniola; and, as things then ſtood, there is no great reaſon to doubt the Spaniards would have been well pleaſed to have ſeen an Engliſh colony ſettled in their room.

But all ſuch views for the glory of England were effectually defeated by the ſailing away of the Engliſh ſquadron from Hiſpaniola, on the twenty-third of July, 1695, with the land-forces on board. The governor and people of Jamaica gave the commodore a very indifferent reception, having had previous intelligence of his behaviour through the whole affair. Several councils of war were held, to conſider how practicable a ſecond attempt might be in conjunction with a conſiderable force from this iſland. But, after much deliberation, this deſign alſo came to nothing. The commodore, in the mean time, followed his buſineſs cloſely; that is to ſay, he converted the plunder he had taken into money, which he veſted in all ſorts of merchanchize fit for the Engliſh market, and took in the goods privately on the back of the iſland. When this was done, his next care was to get back to England with his ſquadron, with the great wealth he had amaſſed on board of it. He left Jamaica on the third of September, 1695, but met with a very bad paſſage.

On the ſhoals of Florida he loſt a fourth rate man of war in a manner which gave great cauſe to ſuſpect he never intended to bring her home. After this an epidemic diſtemper broke out on board the ſhips, which carried off a multitude of ſailors and ſoldiers, and not a few officers, among whom was the commodore himſelf. This diſeaſe prevailed at laſt to ſuch a degree, that there was ſcarce found men enough to bring home the ſquadron, which did not arrive till very late in the year. I cannot help cloſing this account by obſerving, that commodore Wilmot left ſixteen thou-

thouſand pounds in effects on board his own ſhip, which engaged his family in a long ſuit with captain Butler. Such are the wretched effects of ſacrificing public concerns to the narrow views of private intereſt!

Towards the latter end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invaſion. It was known that the French were fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Breſt; and for what ſervice, the intelligence our ſecretaries had could not inform them. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, therefore, was ſent with a conſiderable force to block them up, which, however the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy, and obliged them to abandon all thoughts of a deſcent. In this we only deceived ourſelves, for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true ſcheme, which was the ſending a ſtrong ſquadron into the Weſt-Indies, to attack ſome of the Spaniſh plantations in thoſe parts. The Sieur Pointis was the perſon who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no leſs than three years in bringing it to bear.

At firſt this was conſidered as a very extraordinary piece of intelligence, which alarmed us the more, becauſe, conſidering the force we had in that part of the world, there was but too great probability of their ſucceeding.

To fruſtrate this blow, where-ever it was intended, orders were given for a ſmall ſquadron to aſſemble at Portſmouth under the command of captain Meeze, and other orders were at the ſame time diſpatched to Mr. Neville, who commanded our fleet in the Mediterranean, and who was now made vice-admiral, which he was directed to open, when he had taken due care of the homeward-bound fleet, and ſhould be fifty leagues S. W. by W. from Cadiz. He found himſelf in this ſituation about the middle of the month of February, 1696-7, and, then conſulting his inſtructions, found that he was to join captain Meeze's ſquadron at the iſland of Madeira, where, after cruizing a long time, he was met by the captain, now made a real-admiral, in his own ſhip the Briſtol; and, the Lightning fire-ſhip having loſt company with the reſt of his ſquadron in a fog, a little after he left the Iſle of Wight. On the ſeventeenth of April vice-admiral Neville arrived at Barbadoes, where he found moſt of the ſhips he expected, except the Dutch, who joining him, however, ſoon after, they bore away for Antigua, where they arrived the third of May, 1697. There it was reſolved in a council of war to ſail for Porto-Rico, in order to take as much care as poſſible of the Spaniſh

niſh galleons. Before he reached his intended port, he had intelligence, that M. Pointis was ſailed from Hiſpaniola on the twenty-firſt of March, N. S. with twenty-ſix ſhips ſmall and great. It was then reſolved in a council of war to proceed forthwith to Jamaica, in order to take in a ſupply of water and proviſions.

On the fifteenth of May, 1697, the admiral, being off the eaſt end of the iſland, met with a ſloop, the maſter whereof informed him, there was a flying report of the French ſquadron's being before Carthagena; upon this he ſailed from Port-Royal, and attempted to go through the Leeward channel; but in that he was prevented by the dying away of the land-breeze, and contrary to what had been ever known by all perſons acquainted with thoſe parts, the ſea-breeze blew for ſix days and ſix nights together, during which time an Engliſh ſloop came in, that left Porto-Bello the eighteenth of this month, in company with the galleons, (which were fifteen in number), and two days after parted with them, ſteering away N. N. E. for Jamaica, where they intended to take in proviſions, for which they were ſo much ſtraitened, that they had not enough to carry them to the Havannah. The vice-admiral ſent out two ſloops to look for them, the one off the keys of Point-Pedro, and the other off thoſe of Porto-Morant, and to let their general know, that he was going to Carthagena to ſee what could be done againſt the French, but that he would return to Jamaica in a ſhort time. The twenty-fourth of the ſame month he took advantage of a ſmall gale from ſhore to ſteer for Carthagena, in hopes of finding the French either embarraſſed in the ſiege of the place, or in embarking the plunder; for, according to the beſt accounts he could get, the Spaniards were very ſtrong there, and had been ſo lucky alſo as to have pretty early intelligence of the viſit that was deſigned them; but the croſs accidents, that kept the vice-admiral ſo long on the coaſt of Jamaica, fruſtrated his good intentions, and hindered our retaking from the French the beſt part of what they took from the Spaniards, which muſt otherwiſe probably have happened.

In order to give a diſtinct account of this extraordinary affair, which is ſomewhat partially related both by Engliſh and French writers, I muſt purſue the hiſtory of Pointis's voyage, and ſhew how and when he executed the ſcheme he propoſed; for this will naturally bring us back to this very point of time when vice admiral Neville ſailed in ſearch of him and his ſquadron. As the ſucceſs of Pointis's expedition

pedition depended upon the aſſiſtance he was to receive at St. Domingo, he ſailed thither directly, and arrived on the coaſt February 19, 1697. The governor M. Ducaſſe had taken care to provide every thing purſuant to his inſtructions, ſo that the Sieur Pointis met with no retardment but what proceeded from his own imperious diſpoſition, which hindered him from giving the buccaneers the ſatisfaction they expected; and this produced a mutiny or two, which nothing could have quieted but the preſence of Mr. Ducaſſe, who was actuated wholly by public ſpirit, and exerted his utmoſt intereſt among theſe people to keep them ſteady; at the ſame time he ſuffered as much as they did from the inſolence of the general, who, proud of his commiſſion, and full of himſelf, behaved without any regard either to the rank or circumſtances of others.

After about a fortnight's ſtay to forward all neceſſary preparations, the whole fleet ſailed for Carthagena, and arrived before that city on the third of April. The force brought from France by M. Pointis conſiſted of ſeven large ſhips of war, about ten frigates, and ſmall veſſels of ſeveral ſorts, on board which were two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty ſoldiers, in all four thouſand and ten, to which M. Ducaſſe added another ſtout ſquadron, on board of which were fifteen hundred buccaneers, ſoldiers, and volunteers. They firſt attempted the ſtrong fort of Boca-Chica, which was carried by aſſault; then they attacked Neuſtra Signora de la Popa, a monaſtery on a hill, which commands the place; they beſieged and took likewiſe the fort of St. Lazarus, and at length ſtormed the ſuburbs, which forced the governor to think of a capitulation; and this, being granted him on pretty good terms, was concluded April 24, 1697, when the city was ſurrendered to the French, who loſt before it upwards of five hundred men; neither could it have been ever taken but for the aſſiſtance of M. Ducaſſe, and the troops he commanded, though Pointis uſed them very ill through the whole affair, and, after it was taken, actually ſhut them out of the city, putting off from time to time the diſtribution of the booty, which amounted to about twenty millions of livres, and not allowing ſo much as to put a check on ſuch as received it.

It is very evident from this account, that if our vice-admiral, on his having the firſt information of the enemy's being ſailed for Carthagena, which was on the fifteenth of May, had proceeded thither inſtead of going to Jamaica, he had unqueſtionably ſurpriſed the French in the harbour of that place; and, as the Spaniards had actually aſſembled

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an army to retake the city, it is not eaſy to gueſs how the French would have eſcaped, who were by that time ſplit into factions amongſt themſelves, and at leaſt one half of them fallen ſick. But though he miſſed them then, yet on the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1697, being half ſeas over from Jamaica, he ſaw the Sieur de Pointis's ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven men of war, and two or three frigates, at no great diſtance; upon which he endeavoured to engage them, but could not. The Warwick indeed exchanged ſome ſhot with one of the Frenchmen; but, in ſpite of all the ſail ſhe could make, the ſhip got away from her, as the reſt did from the admiral. The Warwick, perceiving this, bore down on a fly-boat belonging to the French fleet, and took her, having on board a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition, with as much plate as made the prize worth two hundred thouſand pounds, and is a pretty good ſample of what mighty treaſures were on board the reſt.

Five days the vice-admiral continued the purſuit, in which five ſhips, amongſt which his own and rear-admiral Meeze's were included, ſprung their fore-top-maſts, and their ſails were ſo torn, that it was found impoſſible to continue the chace with any hopes of ſucceſs. This again was a narrow eſcape; the French themſelves own it, they were of much inferior force, they were ill manned, moſt of their ſhips were foul; and, if they had fought, many of them muſt have been taken without doubt. I ſee no manner of cauſe to cenſure the vice-admiral's conduct on this occaſion, becauſe it was beyond queſtion his own and his officers intereſts to have fought, upon the preſumption that their own ſuperior force would have put them in poſſeſſion of all the plunder the French fleet obtained.

The buccaneers, on their return to Carthagena, met with no reſiſtance; and therefore, having driven the inhabitants into the great church, they told them how general Pointis had treated them, which, as they alledged, obliged them, though againſt their will, to come back to make a demand of five millions, which once paid them, they promiſed to retire without doing any kind of violence. The poor Spaniards did their utmoſt to rake together this ſum; but it was all in vain. The French took what they brought, and, as ſoon as they had done bringing, theſe miſcreants had recourſe to ſuch cuelties, as are ſcarce credible, to force diſcoveries. After all, in the ſpace of about five days, they amaſſed near 1,000,000 of crowns in money, and above as much more in rich goods; after which they fell out amongſt themſelves as to the diviſion of it, the buccaneers refuſing

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the inhabitants of Domingo an equal ſhare, becauſe, as they ſaid, they were at great expence on that iſland before they failed, when the inhabitants were at home in their own houſes. This diſpute, however, was ſoon adjuſted on the arrival of a ſhip from Martinico, with advice that a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was in queſt of them: they inſtantly quitted the place, embarked their plunder with all imaginable diligence, and contrived to get to ſea as ſoon as poſſible, and retire to St. Domingo.

When our ſquadron found it impracticable to engage the French, the vice-admiral thought it expedient to proceed to Carthagena, in order to ſee if the galleons were ſafe, and how far he could be uſeful to the Spaniards. He arrived in the port in the evening of the thirty-firſt of May, and found the place quite abandoned; for the inhabitants were ſo much afraid of the buccaneers returning a third time, that they were fled into the woods. Two days the vice-admiral remained in the port before he prevailed upon the governor and ſome of the principal inhabitants to return, and then failed, after ſending a frigate to St. Jago to inform the governor of the Havanna, and the general of the gallies, of what had paſſed, that they might the better provide for the ſafety of the galleons.

On the ſixth he diſcovered eight ſail of buccaneers cloſe under the ſhore; upon which, a detachment was ſent to deſtroy them. The enemy crowded all the ſail they could, in hopes of eſcaping, but only four were ſo lucky as to effect it. One was forced upon the Spaniſh coaſt, not far from Carthagena, her crew taken by the inhabitants, and compelled to work in the repair of their fortifications. Another was forced aſhore at St. Domingo, and beat to pieces. The Chriſt, a fine ſhip, commanded by captain Coſuy, who had two hundred and fifty men on board, and about 350,000 crowns in ſilver, was taken by a Dutch ſhip, as was the Flying Hart of the ſame force and value, commanded by captain Pierce, by captain Dilkes, and her crew were brought into England.

The governor of Jamaica conſidering that the fleet muſt ſoon be obliged to return home, reſolved to ſuggeſt the deſtruction of that neſt of pirates, Petit-Guavus, to the vice-admiral, as the moſt important ſervice that, as things were circumſtanced, could be done to the Engliſh colonies in general, and Jamaica in general. Vice-admiral Neville inſtantly complied with it, and left the execution of the ſcheme

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to rear-admiral Meeze, who was detached from the fleet, June 22, 1697, for this very purpoſe, with nine ſhips of war, great and ſmall. On the twenty-ſeventh he arrived at a ſmall diſtance from Petit-Guavas, and debarked ſome of his forces, ordering the ſhips to come in the next day.

On the twenty-ninth he ſurpriſed Petit-Guavas, entering the place before it was light, and ſeized the guard. He had at firſt thoughts of remaining there ſome ſhort time; but the ſeamen, and at laſt, through their example, the landmen, began to plunder and drink ſo hard, that when the rear-admiral altered his ſentiments, and reſolved to burn and abandon it, there were not above fifty ſober men, under his command, out of nine hundred. When he gave out this order, the whole was executed with ſuch precipitation, that notwithſtanding there was abundance of gold and ſilver in the place, yet very little was ſaved or brought away. However, the burning the town, and carrying off priſoners a good number of negroes to Jamaica, was a great and ſeaſonable ſervice to the Engliſh colonies, and gave the enemy a remarkable check, which they did not ſoon recover: to ſay the truth, it was one of the moſt important actions done during the war.

Vice-admiral Neville, having wooded and watered with all the diligence imaginable, ſailed to meet rear-admiral Meeze, and, then bringing away the homeward-bound ſhips from Jamaica, reſolved to proceed to the Havanna, in order to preſerve the galleons. He ſailed in the beginning of July, and, coming about the middle of that month on the coaſt of Cuba, the ſeamen became exceſſively ſickly, and rear-admiral Meeze died before they reached the Havanna. On the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month the vice-admiral arrived before that port, and ſent in advice to the governor of his want of water and other refreſhments. The governor ſent him a civil meſſage, but refuſed to admit his ſquadron, and did not even ſupply his neceſſities, or at leaſt not in all reſpects. As for the general of the galleons, when he was informed that the vice-admiral came on purpoſe to convoy that rice fleet home, which was the principal point of king William's inſtructions, far from being ſatisfied with theſe unuſual acts of kindneſs to allies, he excuſed himſelf from putting his ſhips under our protection, ſuppoſing, or at leaſt pretending, his orders would not warrant it. The true reaſon, however, both of his and of the governor's conduct, might probably be, their fear of having the place

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of the greateſt conſequence in the Weſt-Indies, and the richeſt fleet of that age, for there were fifty millions on board the galleons, taken at once, ſince both had been left in the vice-admiral's power, if he had once been admitted into the haven.

This kind of treatment, after the pains he had taken to ſave the galleons, and to ſerve the crown of Spain on every occaſion, broke the vice-admiral's ſpirits very much. He had always counted upon eſcorting the galleons, and believed ſo acceptable a ſervice would entirely efface the memory of former misfortunes; but being diſappointed again, and reflecting on the little ſervice that with ſo ſtrong a ſquadron he had been able to do to his country, it threw him into a kind of hectic fever, which hung upon him till he arrived in Virginia, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and there he died, as much of grief as of his diſtemper, to the great regret of all who knew him, as he was a perſon of courage, prudence, and integrity; who wanted not either will or abilities to do his country ſervice, though his fortune fell ſhort of his zeal.

By his demiſe the command of the ſquadron devolved upon captain Robert Dilkes, who, from Virginia, arrived ſafely in England on the twenty-fourth of October, 1697, with the whole ſquadron, though poorly manned, and the ſhips many of them foul and rotten; ſo that, notwithſtanding the great hopes that had been entertained of our doing mighty things in the Weſt-Indies, all came to nothing; for, beſides this, we met with other diſappointments in that quarter of the world, that were no leſs mortifying than thoſe we have mentioned.

The Sieur Pointis thought himſelf ſafe when he arrived off Newfoundland, as not having the leaſt knowledge that we had a ſtout fleet there, under the command of the late Sir John (then captain) Norris, ſo that he made no difficulty of going into the bay of Conception, and of lying there careleſly enough, though we had a force ſufficient at St. John's to have given a good account of him and his Spaniſh plunder. It was on the twenty-third of July our ſquadron had advice, that five French ſhips were ſeen in Conception-bay, and they immediately concluded it was M. Neſmond's ſquadron come to attack them; and therefore, inſtead of going to look for the enemy, they wiſely conſidered how, in caſe they fell upon St. John's, they ſhould be beſt able to defend themſelves, and bent all their endeavours that way.

Captain Norris was from the beginning a little ſuſpicious that this was not the outward-bound French ſquadron, and therefore ſent the Mary galley, a clean tight ſhip, to diſcover what they were. But before they could have any news from her, he received a letter from the maſter of a ſhip taken by the French at ſea, and put on ſhore in Newfoundland, in order to procure freſh proviſions. In this letter there was a diſtinct account of M. Pointis's ſtrength, and of his ſquadron's having on board the rich plunder of Carthagena. Captain Norris was raviſhed with this epiſtle, called a council of war immediately, and preſſed that no farther time might be loſt, but that without more ado they might ſail in queſt of the enemy. Other people, however, were in no ſuch haſte; they doubted whether the letter might not be intended to draw them out of their ſtrength, and thereby expoſe St. John's, and the whole country, to the French; and therefore, after a long debate, it was reſolved in the council of war, to remain where they were, and to expect the French in cloſe quarters, without running unneceſſary hazards.

About noon, on the twenty-ſixth, they received advice, that the five French ſhips were ſeen the night before at anchor a little eaſtward of Belle-iſle, by Portugal Cove, and the next day, upon a meſſage from colonel Gibſon, there was another conſultation, when this intelligence was read; but it was reſolved to remain till the two captains arrived, who were ſent to make a diſcovery. Soon after, one of them came with twenty-one Frenchmen, that he had taken in a boat at Carboniere, who ſaid, they were ſent by M. Pointis to procure freſh proviſions. The other captain returned alſo from Portugal Cove, who ſaw the French ſhips at anchor, one of them of three decks, two from ſixty to ſeventy guns, and two more of above fifty. The council adjourned till the next morning, and then calling the priſoners before them, they related all they knew, fearing that otherwiſe they ſhould be very ill treated. They ſaid the ſquadron had not been at any other port ſince they left the Weſt-Indies, and that hearing of an Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe parts, they had appointed Placentia, in Newfoundland, for the place of rendezvous; but, through the hazineſs of the weather, were obliged to drop anchor in Conception-bay.

But notwithſtanding all this and other corroborative evidence, to prove that this was in reality M. Pointis's ſquadron, the council of war ſtill over-ruled captain Norris, who

who was eager for fighting, and obliged him to remain in the harbour of St. John's, which they fortified with ſuch induſtry, that when Mr. Neſmond arrived, which was about two and thirty days after the other ſquadron had been firſt ſeen, the place was in ſo good a ſtate of defence, that though the French ſquadron conſiſted of ſixteen ſail, of which ten were of the line of battle, yet they were ſo well ſatisfied with the ſight of the preparations made for their reception, that they thought proper to retire without ſo much as firing a gun, and thereby left all Newfoundland in our poſſeſſion, which was confirmed by the enſuing peace.

M. Pointis, however, though he got ſo happily clear of this affair, met with another, which gave him a good deal more trouble; for, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, 1697, he fell in with a ſquadron commanded by captain Harlow, whom he boldly engaged about three in the afternoon. After a briſk diſpute of two hours, the French made a ſignal for tacking, when one of their ſhips, being diſabled, eſcaped with much difficulty, and put the reſt into ſome confuſion. They bore away as faſt as poſſible, and by ten at night the Engliſh ſquadron loſt ſight of them. The fifteenth, being a clear day, the enemy was diſcovered by four in the morning, at the diſtance of four leagues; upon which captain Harlow continued the chaſe till evening, but with very little advantage, our ſhips being fouler than theirs, though they were returned from ſo long a voyage. The next day they got clear away, and the day following entered the harbour of Breſt, having as happily and as ſtrangely eſcaped variety of dangers, as any ſquadron that ever went to ſea.

It is not eaſy to account for M. Pointis's bearing down upon captain Harlow's ſquadron; nor can one readily apprehend, how the Engliſh ſhips, juſt come out of port, came to ſail ſo much worſe than the French. Some myſtery there was in this, which was never revealed to the public, though, in all probability, ſomething might be diſcovered to the lords of the admiralty, which it was not proper ſhould come abroad. Thus we have run through the hiſtory of what paſſed in the Weſt-Indies during this war, and are now returned to the naval tranſactions in Europe, in the year 1697, where we ſhall find not many extraordinary actions to detain us.

His majeſty going in the ſpring of the year to Holland, he was pleaſed to declare Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; then at the head of the admiralty, one of the lords-juſtices in his abſence;

ſence; and ſoon after it was known, that his majeſty had created him baron of Shingey, viſcount Barfleur, and earl of Orford. Theſe honours ſeemed not only fit but neceſſary, ſince his lordſhip, as biſhop Burnet well obſerves, had the whole authority of high-admiral, though not the title. His preſence, therefore, being requiſite at the board, Sir George Rooke was declared admiral of the fleet, and actually went down, in the beginning of June, to Portſmouth, in order to take upon him the command of it. On his arrival, however, he found things but in a very indifferent condition: for though the ſhips made a handſome figure enough in the lift at the admiralty, yet they were in fact not half manned, and worſe victualled; ſo that if a Dutch ſquadron had not happily joined them, it is on all hands agreed, they could not have put to ſea. But by the latter end of the month, his force being augmented by two ſquadrons, which had been under the command of vice-admiral Mitchel, and rear-admiral Benbow, the admiral found his ſtrength increaſed to forty-four ſail of the line, and therefore he put to ſea for ſome time, but was obliged to return ſooner than he intended, for want of proviſions.

In the month of September he detached vice-admiral Mitchel with a ſquadron, to meet and ſuſtain vice-admiral Neville, who was expected home with the galleons from the Weſt-Indies; but before he reached the cape of St. Vincent, he had notice of the return of that ſquadron, and did not therefore think proper to continue any longer at ſea. He was afterwards ordered out again in October, when he performed nothing worthy of remark, except the bringing in fifteen Dutch Eaſt India ſhips, which had loſt moſt of their anchors and cables, and muſt otherwiſe have been in great danger of periſhing themſelves. Soon after he received the king's orders, to bring over the Czar from Holland, which he did; that monarch arriving in England on the eleventh of January, and was ſo acceptable to that great prince, that with the king's leave, he attended him during the whole time he ſtaid in England, and had the honour alſo to command the ſquadron which eſcorted him on his return to Holland, in his way back to his own dominions. His behaviour toward that great and glorious prince, was ſuch as gave him entire ſatisfaction, ſo that he retained a grateful remembrance of it many years after, when he came a ſecond time into Holland, and expreſſed it by taking notice of many points in naval diſcipline, in which he was inſtructed by admiral Mitchel.

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Rear-admiral Benbow ſailed from Spithead on the eleventh of April, 1697, with a ſquadron conſiſting of ſeven third-rates and two fire-ſhips, and inſtructions to protect the trade of this nation in every inſtance in his power. and to annoy the enemy. With this view, he was ſtationed from ten to fourſcore leagues from Scilly, but was able to perform nothing remarkable during the beſt part of the month of May, though he was joined by five ſhips of war more, and therefore he returned to St. Helen's about the twenty-firſt of that month, from whence he ſailed again on the twenty-fourth, with four third rates and two fire-ſhips, for his former ſtation; and, after having ſeen two Eaſt-India ſhips pretty far out to ſea, he received ſuch intelligence as to our homeward-bound Jamaica ſhips, as induced him to repair to Plymouth, in doing which he had the good fortune to join the Virginia and Weſt-India fleets, and their particular convoys, off the Lizard; and, ſoon after meeting vice-admiral Mitchel off the Start, he was by him directed to repair to Plymouth with the merchant-ſhips, where he received orders from Sir George Rooke to repair to the fleet then paſſing weſtward, and to take care for ſending eaſtward a convoy with the trade.

But theſe orders were contradicted by others from the lords of the admiralty, dated the tenth of July, and he, in obedience to them, proceeded with the ſquadron before Dunkirk, which captain Beaumont had commanded a conſiderable time before, conſiſting of ſix third rates, beſides the Newark, two fourth, one fifth, and two fire-ſhips; but three of thoſe third rates were ordered away to the Downs by the lords of the admiralty.

The rear-admiral, as ſoon as he arrived with his ſquadron, went in perſon with his boat before the pier-heads of Dunkirk, where, though he diſcovered not one veſſel in the road, yet he ſaw fifteen or ſixteen ſail of great ſhips within, one of which bore a flag. With captain Beaumont he found two orders from the lords of the admiralty, the firſt directing him to purſue and burn du Bart's ſhips where-ever he could find them, except under the protection of the forts in Norway or Sweden; the other, to obey any orders he might receive from his majeſty, who was then in Holland. On the thirtieth of July, rear-admiral Vandergoes joined him with eleven Dutch ſhips, and it was propoſed, that one of the ſquadrons ſhould lie ſo, as that Dunkirk might be ſouth of them, and the other in or near Oſtend road; that, if du Bart ſhould attempt to paſs out either at the north

north or eaſt channel, they might the better diſcover him; but no other anſwer was made by the Dutch flag, than his ſhips were foul, and not in a condition to purſue him.

The French ſhips at Dunkirk were in all eleven, from fifty to twenty-ſix guns; and about the beginning of Auguſt they were all, except M. du Bart's own ſhip, hawled into the baſon to clean, ſo that it was judged they were making ready to come out the next ſpring tide. But ſince our ſhips, as well as the Dutch, were all foul, little ſervice could be expected from their chaſing, and it was almoſt next to an impoſſibility to block up clean ſhips at Dunkirk with foul ones. The rear-admiral, therefore, propoſed, that four of his beſt ſailers might be ordered to Sheerneſs to clean, and that the others might come to the Downs not only to take in water, which they very much wanted, but to heel and ſcrub; and this he judged might be done before the approaching ſpring could afford the French an opportunity of getting over the bar. But at this time it was not thought adviſeable, though afterwards he received orders to do it; ſo that for the preſent he only ſent the ſhips from time to time to the Downs to water, as they could beſt be ſpared. It is evident enough from this large account of the matter, that our diſappointments were frequently owing to the want of proper orders, and the not paying a due attention to ſuch pieces of advice as the commanders of ſquadrons thought themſelves in duty obliged to offer. On the twenty-third of Auguſt du Bart left Dunkirk with five ſail, having the prince of Conti on board, whom the French attempted to make king of Poland. The rear admiral purſued him, but to no manner of purpoſe; and, before he returned to his ſtation, eight other ſhips were gone, which he purſued likewiſe, but with the ſame want of ſucceſs: and this was the laſt action of the war; for, on the tenth of September following, peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one ſide, and the crown of France, on the other, at Ryſwick, by which the French king acknowledged king William's title, and, as the French hiſtorians ſay, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years; but this was not from any principle either of juſtice or moderation, but with views of quite another ſort, as was foreſeen then, and in the ſpace of a few years fully appeared.

We have now brought this long war to a concluſion, and it is but juſt that we ſhould offer the reader ſome reflections on

on the conſequences of it to the naval power and commerce of England. Firſt then, with reſpect to our navy, we have ſeen that the war opened with a very bad proſpect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vaſt number of able ſeamen, and perhaps as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to ſea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and, according to the general rule of political reaſoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the ſea.

All this proceeded from the ſudden change in our government, which perhaps left many of our officers diſaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the adminiſtration and the commanders of our fleets is always deſtructive to our maritime power, and therefore, inſtead of wondering that things went ſo ill in the three firſt years of the war, we may with more juſtice be ſurpriſed, that they went no worſe. Our party diviſions not only enervated our own ſtrength, but created ſuch jealouſies between us and the Dutch, as blaſted the fruits that muſt have been otherwiſe produced by this cloſe and fortunate union of the maritime powers. Of this we have the fulleſt proof in the caſe of the earl of Torrington, whom even the enemies of the government made it a point to ſupport, becauſe they knew that preſerving him muſt give diſtaſte to our allies, and who on the other hand was proſecuted by many who believed him innocent.

But when once the government was thoroughly ſettled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the ſtates, it ſoon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at ſea. Our misfortunes at the beginning of the war created inquiries and cenſures, which were, and always will be, followed with victories; for, when officers find themſelves in danger for acting ill, they will endeavour to eſcape it by doing well: whereas, if they once find that they may prefer private profit to that duty which they owe the public, with impunity, they will not fail to run into that broad road. This accounts for our ſucceſs in the middle of the war, and the declenſion of it afterwards, when the board of admiralty began to feel its own ſtrength, and the management of naval affairs was reduced to a court-ſyſtem, by which ſuch men were ſure of protection, as could be depended on in other reſpects than their commands in the fleet.

But

But notwithſtanding theſe and ſome other miſcarriages, no leſs prejudicial to the intereſt of the nation, yet, on the whole, the French ſuffered much more in their maritime power than we, as Mr. Burchet has ſhewn us; and conſequently, if we conſider the ſituation of both nations, the eaſe with which it was in our power to repair our loſſes, and the almoſt inſuperable difficulties the French had to ſtruggle with in this reſpect, we muſt conclude, that not only they but the whole world had full evidence, from thence, of their being no way able to ſtruggle againſt the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this ſtill more apparent, I muſt obſerve, that king William, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament at the concluſion of the war, aſſerted our naval force to be near double what it was at his acceſſion; whereas I do not find in any of the French hiſtorians, that they attempted to build new ſhips during the progreſs of the war, or to do any thing more than finiſh ſuch as were then upon the ſtocks, purchaſing, as occaſion required, large merchantmen, which they converted into frigates.

In this light, therefore, we were gainers by the war, of which the French ſeemed to be very ſenſible, ſince they avoided all general engagements; and, in particular actions between ſmall ſquadrons or ſingle ſhips, the ſtrictneſs of their diſcipline gave them great advantages, ſince their veſſels, generally ſpeaking, were much cleaner than ours, and conſequently were able to leave us whenever they found themſelves too hard preſſed, of which ſeveral inſtances have been given in the foregoing ſheets. At the ſame time, however, it muſt be confeſſed, that the French fleets, generally ſpeaking, behaved very well at ſea, and that we ſuffered conſiderably even in thoſe actions where we were victorious, as well as where our ſhips were taken by ſurpriſe, or beaten as convoys, by a ſuperior force.

But, with reſpect to our trade, it is certain, that we ſuffered infinitely more, not only than the French, but than ever we did in any former war, where there was a nearer balance between our trade and that of the enemy. This proceeded in a great meaſure from the vigilance of the French, who, as we have already ſhewn, made it their choice, nay, their great monarch made it his glory, to carry on the war in a piratical way, on purpoſe to diſtreſs our merchants, and excite a loud clamour here for a peace. Another reaſon why our commerce ſuffered ſo much, was that ſpirit of avarice which prevailed, and which engaged many merchants to attempt making a ſudden fortune by

ſuffering

ſuffering their ſhips to run, inſtead of waiting for a convoy. It cannot indeed be denied, that a third principal cauſe of our miſcarriages was the want of proper attention at the board of admiralty, where officers were generally heard with too much, and merchants with too little favour. To this we may add that ſpirit of rapine and corruption which prevailed among the ſea-officers at this time, and which too often induced them to conſider their commiſſions rather as powers given them to provide for themſelves and their families, than as truſts received for the benefit of the public.

After this impartial repreſentation of the ſtate of our affairs at its concluſion, we need not wonder that a peace, and a peace ſo advantageous as that of Ryſwick was, ſhould give the greateſt ſatisfaction to the nation in general, and to the trading part in particular. That it did ſo, may appear from the government's cauſing a ſpecial gazette to be publiſhed, on purpoſe to make known the French king's ratification and proclamation of the peace at Paris two days ſooner than it would have otherwiſe been; and by the numerous addreſſes of thanks and congratulation, which were ſent up from all parts of the kingdom to felicitate his majeſty upon this occaſion, and to expreſs their juſt ſenſe of being delivered from the burden and expence of ſo bloody and deſtructive a war. Neither ought it at all to abate the merit of this treaty, that the French ſtruck medals, magnifying their ſucceſs in the war, and their demonſtrating themſelves thereby a match for all the reſt of Europe, ſince, if they had really been ſo victorious, and had gained ſuch advantages, the wonder was ſo much greater that they ſhould ſtoop to ſuch a peace. But though it may be true, that in many reſpects the French had the advantage in this war, yet undoubtedly they foreſaw they were unable to ſupport ſo vaſt an expence as it brought upon them, and as their weakneſs increaſed much faſter in proportion than that of the maritime powers, this in a few campaigns would have quite changed the face of things, and either brought on the total ruin of France, or obliged her to make peace upon ſtill worſe terms than were demanded now.

It muſt therefore be allowed, to the honour of this reign and of this adminiſtration, that, however they managed the war, they gained by the peace all, and indeed more than could be expected. By the fourth article the French king engages his word and faith not to diſturb the king of Great-Britain in any of his dominions, not to aſſiſt, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the ſaid king,

nor

nor to give ſhelter to any rebels or conſpirators againſt him. By the fifth the free uſe of commerce or navigation is reſtored between the ſubjects of both kings. By the ſeventh all places taken during the war, either in Europe or in America, are reſtored. As great care was taken of our allies, every thing was ſtipulated for them which with any ſhew of juſtice they could deſire; ſo that, by the concluſion of this treaty, the general peace of Europe was reſtored, and we were left at full liberty to improve the advantages, afforded thereby, for the rectifying whatever was amiſs in our domeſtic œconomy, extending our commerce, and eaſing our people. How far theſe points were ſtudied or neglected, ſhall be our buſineſs to examine in the next chapter.

# MEMOIRS

## OF

## ILLUSTRIOUS SEAMEN, &c.

INCLUDING A NEW AND ACCURATE

## NAVAL HISTORY.

The Naval Hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN continued through the remaining part of the reign of king William III. comprehending the moſt remarkable tranſactions in relation to our commerce and plantations, with the memoirs of ſuch eminent ſeamen as flouriſhed in this period of time.

THE affair of the Eaſt-India company in Scotland has been mentioned in the former chapter; but I did not inſiſt upon it then, becauſe it would have interrupted the thread

thread of our hiſtory, and becauſe I apprehend it would come in more naturally here. It is certainly, even at this time, a very delicate ſubject, eſpecially for one who profeſſes to follow truth at the expence of all parties and characters whatever. But the pleaſure which reſults from acting fairly in matters of this nature, is a ſufficient compenſation for any riſque that a writer can run by his impartiality; and therefore I ſhall lay, without reſerve, the true ſtate of this matter before the reader, as it appears to me.

The revolution brought back to Scotland ſeveral worthy patriots, whom the jealouſy of former reigns had driven into Holland, Germany, and other countries. Theſe, from the time of their return, thought of nothing ſo much as the putting the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper foot. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of parliament, that is, of the parliament of Scotland, for the encouragement of foreign commerce, and, in conſequence of that law, procured another in 1695, for ſetting up an Eaſt-India company. When this was done, it was found requiſite to take in ſubſcriptions: and, as it was not eaſy to find money enough in Scotland for the carrying on ſo expenſive a deſign, the company's agents endeavoured to procure ſubſcriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amſterdam, in which they were certainly ſufficiently ſupported both by the royal and legiſlative authority.

But as the carrying this ſcheme into execution gave great umbrage to the Eaſt-India companies in England and Holland, they took, as it was very natural for them to do, the beſt meaſures they could to hinder the ſucceſs of theſe applications. This, however, had ſome very untoward conſequences, ſince theſe companies could effect nothing but by the interpoſition of their reſpective governments; and by this means his majeſty's name, as king of England, and Stadtholder of Holland, came to be made uſe of, to thwart thoſe deſigns which actually had his ſanction as king of Scotland. This, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, embarraſſed king William prodigiouſly; for it forced him to act in a manner little ſuitable to his inclinations, ſince, on an application of the Scots, he was obliged to promiſe that he would not countenance any ſuch attempt to their prejudice; and, to gratify the Engliſh and Dutch, he found himſelf obliged to part with two very uſeful and able miniſters, the marquis of Tweedale and ſecretary Johnſton, becauſe the former had given the royal aſſent to the law which eſtabliſhed the Scotch Eaſt-India company, in which, however,

however, he had only followed his inſtructions; and the latter for promoting the deſign, which, no doubt, he took to be, what it really was, an act of duty to his country. Yet theſe ſteps ſerved only to palliate things for the preſent, and inſtead of healing the breach widened it, as will be ſeen hereafter.

The managers of the Eaſt-India company in Scotland, finding their deſigns for carrying on that trade ſo vigorouſly oppoſed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers veſted in them by the late act of parliament, reſolved to turn their endeavours another way for the preſent, and to attempt the ſettlement of a colony in America, on the iſthmus of Darien. Every body knows, that this is a very narrow tract of country, which unites the two great continents of north and ſouth America, and that conſequently it muſt be very advantageouſly ſeated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and as the new colony ſent thither actually purchaſed their lands from the native proprietors, and ſettled there by conſent, it was apprehended that the Spaniards had no right to diſpute this eſtabliſhment; and that, if they did, the planters might defend themſelves without involving the nation in a war.

The colony was accordingly ſettled at a vaſt expence; but it was ſoon found, that great miſtakes had been made in relation to the conſequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only conſidered it as an invaſion on their rights, and began to take our ſhips upon it; but the Engliſh alſo grew very uneaſy, and made warm repreſentations to his majeſty on this ſubject, which produced private orders to the governor of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them proviſions. As it was foreſeen that theſe meaſures would naturally occaſion great diſturbances in that part of the world, it was found requiſite to ſend a ſquadron thither to protect our trade, to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increaſe of pirates, which had been very great ever ſince the concluſion of the peace, occaſioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment; and having been long uſed to live by plunder, had not either the will or the means to procure a ſubſiſtence for themſelves by any honeſt employment. There were alſo other reaſons which made the ſending ſuch a naval force requiſite, as will appear in the ſubſequent account of its proceedings.

Rear-

Rear-admiral Benbow was made choice of to command this ſquadron, which conſiſted of three fourth rates, and a ſmall French prize. He ſailed from Portſmouth on the twenty-ninth of November, 1698, and arrived at Barbadoes the twenty-ſeventh of February following. He executed there, and at the Leeward Iſlands, what he was directed by his inſtructions to do, and being informed that the Spaniards at Carthagena had ſeized two of our ſhips, with an intent to employ them in an expedition they were then meditating againſt the Scots at Darien, he, like a brave and public-ſpirited commander, as he really was, reſolved to prevent it, and reſtore theſe ſhips to their right owners. With this view he ſtood over to the Spaniſh coaſt, and coming before Boca-Chica caſtle, he ſent his men on ſhore for wood and water, which though he aſked with great civility of the Spaniſh governor, he would ſcarce permit him to take.

This highly nettled the admiral, who thereupon ſent his own lieutenant to the governor, with a meſſage, importing, that he not only wanted theſe neceſſaries, but that he came likewiſe for two Engliſh ſhips that lay in the harbour, and had been detained there ſome time, which, if not ſent to him immediately, he would come and take by force. The governor anſwered him, in very reſpectful terms, that if he would leave his preſent ſtation, in which he ſeemed to block up their port, the ſhips ſhould be ſent out to him. With this requeſt the admiral, without the leaſt heſitation, complied; but finding the governor trifled with him, and that his men were in danger of falling into the country diſtemper, which doubtleſs the Spaniſh governor foreſaw, he ſent him another meſſage, that if in twenty-four hours the ſhips were not ſent him, he would come and fetch them; and that, if he kept them longer than that time, he would have an opportunity of ſeeing what reſpect an Engliſh officer had to his word. The Spaniards, however, did not think fit to make the experiment, but ſent out the ſhips within the time; with which the admiral returned to Jamaica, where he was received with much kindneſs and reſpect.

There he received an account, that the Spaniards at Porto-Bello had ſeized ſeveral of our ſhips employed in the ſlave-trade, on the old pretence, that the ſettlement at Darien was a breach of the peace. At the deſire of the parties concerned the admiral ſailed thither alſo, and demanded theſe ſhips; but received a ſurly anſwer from the admiral of the Barlovento fleet, who happened to be then at Porto-Bello. Rear-admiral Benbow expoſtulated with him on this

this head, inſiſting, that, as the ſubjects of the crown of England had never injured thoſe of his catholic majeſty, he ought not to make prize of their ſhips for injuries done by another nation. The Spaniards replied ſhrewdly, that ſince both the crowns were placed on the ſame head, it was no wonder he miſtook the ſubjects of one crown for the other. After many altercations, however, and when the Spaniards ſaw that the colony at Darien received no aſſiſtance from Jamaica, the ſhips were with much to do reſtored. On his return to Jamaica, towards the latter end of the year, he received a ſupply of proviſions from England, and ſoon after orders to return home; which he did with ſix men of war, taking New-England in his way.

While rear-admiral Benbow was thus employed, vice-admiral Aylmer was ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron into the Mediterranean, in order to confirm our treaties with the governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, which he performed very effectually; for, being a man of a generous temper, he executed all things with ſuch magnificence, and treated the deputies ſent on board him in a manner ſo well ſuited to their tempers, that they were eaſily drawn to do thoſe things for him, which an officer of another diſpoſition would never have obtained.

It was intended too that he ſhould have ſecured the galleons, in caſe the French attempted to ſeize them on the death of the king of Spain, which was daily apprehended; but for this he certainly came too late, and though no body pretended to fix any imputation on his character in this reſpect, yet there was great blame laid on the board of admiralty, for not fitting out this fleet ſooner.

But we now return to matters of a more public concern. A war had ariſen between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, which greatly affected the peace of the north; a thing that can never happen without intereſting the maritime powers. It will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething as to the grounds of this war, becauſe the part we took in it was very much to the honour of the Engliſh nation, and ought to eſtabliſh it as a maxim, that whenever it is really neceſſary to aſſiſt our allies, we ought to do it vigorouſly, and at once; which is the way not only to ſerve them, but to ſave a very conſiderable expence to us. There was, towards the cloſe of the year 1699, a private treaty made by ſeveral princes for attacking the king of Sweden, afterwards the famous Charles the twelfth, but then a perfect youth, and even for diſmembering the Swediſh monarchy. According

to

to this ſcheme, the king of Denmark was to invade Holſtein, the elector of Brandenbourg was to fall into the Swediſh Pomerania, the king of Poland was to attack Livonia, and in caſe the dukes of Zell and Hanover moved to the aſſiſtance of the Swedes, the Landgrave of Heſſe, and the duke of Wolfenbuttle, were to fall upon them.

This was an alliance founded entirely upon intereſt and ambition, for the Swedes had done nothing to deſerve this treatment; and therefore, upon the firſt breaking out of this confederacy, his Swediſh majeſty addreſſed himſelf to king William and the States-General, as guarantees of the treaties made for ſecuring the tranquility of the north, by preſerving there a proper balance of power. At firſt it was thought requiſite to interpoſe only our good offices. But when the king of Denmark over-ran Holſtein, and the king of Poland firſt attempted to ſurpriſe, and then beſieged Riga in Livonia, it became neceſſary to take other meaſures, eſpecially when it was known that the Czar was inclined to enter into the confederacy. The point in debate with his majeſty was, whether he ſhould do what was neceſſary, and what he was obliged to by treaties, without conſulting the houſe of commons; or whether he ſhould lay the whole matter before the parliament, and leave the deciſion of it to them. Some of the miniſtry were for taking the latter method, but the king was for the former, and with good reaſon; he ſaid, the executive part of the government was in him, and therefore he would do what was fit for him to do, and acquaint the parliament with it at their next meeting.

His majeſty, in the ſpring of the year 1700, ſent over a ſtrong ſquadron to Holland, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who, in the latter end of May, was joined by a Dutch ſquadron; and, having the command of the whole fleet, he ſailed for the Sound, where he arrived about the middle of June. There he found the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of twenty-eight ſail of the line of battle ſhips, ranged athwart of the narrow paſſage, under the guns of their caſtle of Cronenburg, oppoſite to Helſingburg; and here alſo he received aſſurance from count Wutchtmeiſter, admiral-general of Sweden, that he would take the firſt opportunity of joining him with the ſquadron under his command. Not long after a ſignal was made, as had been agreed, from Helſingburg, that the Daniſh fleet were under ſail; whereupon our admiral weighed anchor, and advanced into the Sound, to prevent any miſchief which might otherwiſe happen to the Swedes. But the Daniſh ſhips anchored again on this ſide of the grounds, not only to guard the

paſſage,

paſſage, but to prevent our joining with the Swediſh ſquadron, which were come down to the South-ſide of tha channel.

In this poſture the fleets lay for ſome time, Sir George Rooke expecting that the Swedes would, according to what had been promiſed, have puſhed through; which in all probability they might have done in leſs than two hours, for it had blown freſh at S. S. E. But the opportunity being loſt, he got under ſail, and came nearer to the iſland of Huen. Meanwhile the Danes plyed towards him in a line of battle, but anchored about noon near three leagues off, in the mouth of the channel leading up to Copenhagen, and the Swedes were much about the ſame diſtance on the other ſide of the grounds. The Danes then endeavoured to amuſe the admiral with an account of a treaty, in hopes that, while it was negociating, he would ſuſpend hoſtilities; but he purſued the ſpirit of his inſtructions, which required him to promote not a negociation, but a peace; and therefore, being informed that the Swediſh fleet had paſſed the channel of Flinterena on the third of July, he ſailed the next day, and anchoring off Landſcroon, the Swediſh fleet joined him on the ſixth; upon which the Danes retired into their harbour, where they were very well ſecured; and tho' the united fleets pretended to bombard them in the port of Copenhagen, yet either they could not, or would not, do them much miſchief.

The confederate fleet conſiſted of fifty-two ſhips of the line; but as ſo great a ſtrength was not neceſſary to keep in the Danes, part was detached for other purpoſes; for there were ſent to Gottenburg a fourth and a fifth rate of the Engliſh, and three ſhips of the States-General, to cover the forces which the king of Sweden intended to tranſport to Tonningen, on the river of Eyder, and three Engliſh, with ſix Swediſh, together with three Dutch ſhips, were ordered into the ſouth channel going into Copenhagen, with the bomb-veſſels, from whence they bombarded the Daniſh fleet ſome hours, but not with much greater ſucceſs than before; nor did thoſe on our ſide receive any damage from their ſhells, or the ſhot from the town, the ſhips and the pontoons. Preparations were now making for a vigorous deſcent in Roge-bay, and between Copenhagen and Elſinore at the ſame time; but the winds being contrary, thoſe troops which embarked at Udſtedt, being chiefly horſe, could not get over to the bay before-mentioned, as was intended, ſo that they were put on ſhore, and ordered to Landſcroon and Helſingburg, to be tranſported from thence;

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and the latter end of July, the king of Sweden landed with about five thouſand foot, near four miles on this ſide Elſinore, without any great loſs, although the Danes had brought down a body of horſe and foot, and three or four field-pieces, to oppoſe them.

This quick motion was intended to accelerate the negociations that were then carrying on, and it had the deſired effect; for the Danes, exceſſively alarmed at ſo unexpected a proceeding, ſent orders to their plenipotentiaries at Travendale to ſign the preliminaries on the terms propoſed by the mediators; and this being ſignified to Sir George Rooke, he refuſed to let the combined fleet cover any longer the deſcent of the Swedes, there being enough already done to ſecure a peace, which was ſigned on the eighteenth of Auguſt, 1700, and left the king of Sweden at liberty to act againſt the Czar and the king of Poland, who had both invaded his dominions in this critical juncture.

When the buſineſs was done, the combined fleets returned, and the States-General were ſo ſenſible of the prudent management of the Engliſh admiral, that they thanked his majeſty for having entruſted him with the commiſſion. I cannot help obſerving upon this occaſion, that when Sir George Rooke was ſo unlucky as to labour under the diſpleaſure of a powerful party in England, he was known and acknowledged in Holland to be the beſt officer, and the greateſt ſeaman of the age. This, perhaps, was the reaſon, that, notwithſtanding the difference of parties, king William always preſerved a good opinion of this gentleman, and employed him as long as he lived in the moſt important commands.

We are now to return to affairs nearer home. The death of the king of Spain changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had ſo lately made a very neceſſary peace, upon a new, expenſive, and dangerous war, contrary to the genius, at leaſt, if not, as the patriots of thoſe times aſſerted, to the intereſt of the nation.

I would by no means be underſtood to cenſure this war as unreaſonable or unjuſt; all I aim at is to diſtinguiſh grounds from pretences, and to juſtify king William's meaſures in this reſpect from their true motives, rather than from thoſe which were uſed only to colour them in compliance with the nation's temper at that time. The king, who was a very wiſe man, and a conſummate politician, ſaw plainly, that the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, if it fell entirely into the hands of the houſe of Bourbon, would leave it abſolutely in the power of that houſe to give law to the reſt of

Europe, and to deſtroy that independency ſo neceſſary to Great-Britain and Holland, which yet reſults from the balance that had hitherto been kept between that family and the houſe of Auſtria. He ſaw too, that the ſenſe which other powers had of their particular grievances and immediate danger from the power of the French king, afforded the means of combining ſuch a force as might be able to bring that monarch to reaſon, and to conſent to ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would leave things in their former ſtate, and ſecure the ſeveral potentates of Europe in the poſſeſſion of their juſt rights.

This induced him to engage reciprocally Papiſts and Proteſtants to ſupport each other's pretenſions; for, by the grand alliance, Great Britain and the States undertook to procure ſatisfaction to the pope, as, on the other hand, the emperor and other catholic princes ſtipulated to ſupport the proteſtant intereſt, and maintain the rights of the maritime powers in reſpect to their commerce. This it was that made the whole a common cauſe; and, though theſe articles expoſed the alliance to very popular objections amongſt party-men at home and abroad, yet to perſons of judgment and ſagacity, nothing could recommend it more. In all confederacies the good of the whole muſt be regarded, and to this the particular views of all the ſeparate princes and powers who compoſe it muſt give way; and therefore if, conſidering things in this light, the general alliance formed againſt France in 1701 was right and well founded, all the cavils, raiſed againſt it from the party-ſpirit that prevailed here, were equally frivolous and unjuſt.

When the reſolution was once taken to have recourſe again to arms in order to preſerve the balance of power, the firſt care was for the fleet, which his majeſty reſolved ſhould be much ſuperior to that of the enemy, his majeſty being extremely ſenſible of the ill conſequences that attended the want of this ſalutary precaution at the beginning of the laſt war. Preparatory to this was the new commiſſion of the admiralty in the ſpring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man univerſally beloved and eſteemed.

Th command of the fleet was very judiciouſly beſtowed upon Sir George Rooke, who on the ſecond of July went on board the Triumph in the Downs, where he hoiſted the flag. He ſoon after ſailed to Spithead, where he was ſpeedily joined by the reſt of the fleet, conſiſting of forty-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, and ſmall veſſels. He had under him ſome of the greateſt ſeamen of the age:

age: he was not long after reinforced by fifteen Dutch men of war of the line, beſides frigates and ſmall veſſels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waeſſenaar.

The whole fleet was obliged to wait at St. Helen's until the middle of Auguſt for want of proviſions; and, when he put to ſea, the wind blew in a few hours ſo high, that he was conſtrained to put back again into Torbay. Towards the latter end of the month he ſailed from thence, and the ſecond of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a ſtout ſquadron for the Weſt-Indies: and as this was the principal buſineſs of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itſelf of the higheſt importance, the admiral detached a ſtrong ſquadron of Engliſh ſhips under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten ſail of Dutch men of war, beſides frigates, under rear-admiral Waeſſenaar, to ſee the Weſt-India ſquadron well into the ſea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean, and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free uſe of the Spaniſh harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of ſending a ſquadron early to the Weſt-Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its ſtrength: the admiral, after performing this, cruized according to his inſtructions for ſome time, and then returned with the largeſt ſhips into the Downs.

After this fleet was ſent to ſea, his majeſty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters-patent to the commiſſioners of the admiralty, and to appoint the right honourable Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high-admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The deſign of this promotion was to be rid of the diſadvantages attending a board: and this end it anſwered perfectly; for his lordſhip immediately ſent away captain Edmund Loades to Cadiz to bring home the ſea ſtores, and the merchants effects, before the war broke out, as alſo two hulks that had been left in that harbour, from the time of the laſt war, for the greater conveniency of careening our ſhips which remained in that port. This the captain with his ſmall ſquadron, conſiſting but of three frigates, effectually performed.

The war was now the great object of our councils as well as thoſe of France, though hitherto it was not declared, and negotiations were ſtill carried on in Holland as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of theſe differences, which was, however, the intention of neither.

The expectation of a rupture made our ſea officers exceedingly alert, and put them upon ſhewing their mettle ſometimes a little too much. For inſtance, the marquis of Caermarthen's yacht fired upon a French ſhip in the harbour of Rotterdam to oblige her to ſtrike, which ſhe did immediately. The commander of the yacht, not ſatisfied with this, ſent for the maſter of the French veſſel on board, and obliged him to pay twelve livres for the ſhot. This was complained of by count d'Avaux, the French miniſter, in very high terms; and yet it is very probable, that the States would have expreſſed their diſlike of it at another ſeaſon, but things were then in ſuch a ſituation, that it was not thought proper to animadvert on theſe accidents, whatever might be thought of them at another time.

In the midſt of theſe preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was the uniting the two Eaſt-India companies, which was done under an act of arbitration, wherein lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, were for the old company, and lord Halifax for the new. During ſeven years each company was to have an equal power in the adminiſtration of the fund and trade; and to that end twelve perſons were to be yearly appointed by the general courts of each company reſpectively, who were to be ſtyled MANAGERS OF THE UNITED TRADE TO INDIA; and after theſe ſeven years were expired, the old company were to ſurrender their charters, and the new company was thenceforward to change its ſtyle, and to be called THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS TRADING TO THE EAST-INDIES: and this agreement was the foundation of that company, which has ſubſiſted with ſo great credit to themſelves, and benefit to the nation ever ſince.

One of the laſt acts of king William's adminiſtration was a ſolemn meſſage to the lower houſe of parliament, in relation to an union between England and Scotland, in which he ſaid, "He ſhould eſteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, ſome happy expedient for making both "kingdoms one might take place, and therefore he was "extremely deſirous a treaty for this purpoſe might be ſet "on foot, which he therefore recommended in the moſt "earneſt manner to the houſe of commons." In compliance with this meſſage the houſe did appoint a day to conſider of the propoſition contained therein; but the death of the king prevented their coming to any reſolution.

Before this happened, however, they reſolved that forty thouſand men ſhould be granted for the ſervice of the fleet in

the enſuing year, and ſhewed ſuch an inclination to enter heartily into all the meaſures neceſſary to render the grand alliance effectual towards the ends for which it was made, that the French, who little expected that ſuch a ſpirit would be ſhewn in this parliament, were much ſurpriſed, as eaſily foreſeeing that the new war would diſtreſs them much more than the old had ever done, becauſe it was like to be better managed.

His extraordinary attention to buſineſs is thought to have haſtened the king's deceaſe, which happened on the 8th of March, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great ſteadineſs of mind, and ſhewed himſelf in his laſt moments as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. I ought now to ſay ſomewhat of this prince's character, and to ſum up all with a general view of the capital events in his reign; but as I have already treated very copiouſly of ſuch as have any affinity with the principal deſign of this work, and as the fame of king William III. ſtands in no need of my feeble aſſiſtance, I ſhall content myſelf with ſaying, that never any prince better underſtood the general intereſt of Europe, or purſued it with greater firmneſs, and that whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign, to the prejudice of our affairs, were not ſo much owing to any miſtakes in his conduct, as to the circumſtances of the times, our own unfortunate diviſions, and the fatal conſequences of both.

The only thing now left to be performed, before we proceed to another chapter, is the collecting, as far as the ſlender memoirs that have come to our hands will allow, ſome biographical account of the moſt eminent ſeamen who died in this reign; and in treating of theſe the reader is deſired to remember, that no party is eſpouſed; that every man is conſidered as a perſon of worth and honour ſo far as he purſued his principles, and was juſt to the prince he ſerved, and faithful to the intereſt of his country. By the help of this neceſſary and well-founded diſtinction, we ſhall be able to do ſtrict juſtice to all thoſe brave men who expoſed their lives in their country's ſervice at ſea, of what party ſoever they were, or were reputed; which, however, hath been ſeldom done in a work of this kind, where, generally ſpeaking, the heroes are all on one ſide, and there are none but indifferent people on the other: whereas, in truth there is no foundation for ſuch characters, honeſt and brave men being found alike on both ſides, though they have ſometimes had the misfortune to be hated and defamed by ſuch as have leſs regard to merit than opinion,

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and who thought it excuſeable to raiſe a clamour againſt a great man in an oppoſite intereſt, though they were ſenſible this clamour ſprung from prejudice, and not any love to juſtice.

## MEMOIRS of Sir JOHN BERRY, Knight, Rear-Admiral of England.

MR. JOHN BERRY's parents being poor, and he having nothing to recommend him but his ingenuity and courage, at the age of ſeventeen, went to Plymouth, where he bound himſelf apprentice to Mr. Robert Mering, a merchant in that town, and part-owner in ſeveral ſhips. He went to ſea in his ſervice, and was extremely unfortunate in ſetting out, being twice taken by the Spaniards, and ſuffering a long impriſonment, which, however, did him no great hurt in the main. On his return to England he found his maſter in very bad circumſtances; which was no prejudice to him; for, in a ſhort time after, Mr. Mering told him, that, having now no farther occaſion for his ſervice, he would, in reward of his paſt diligence, give him the remainder of his time, which he did freely.

Mr. Berry, thus at large and at liberty to act for himſelf, immediately came up to London, where, by the help of ſome friends, he was preferred to be boatſwain of a ketch belonging to the royal navy, called the Swallow, which, under the command of captain Inſam, was ordered to the Weſt-Indies in company with two of his majeſty's frigates, both of which were loſt in the gulph of Florida; but the Swallow, by cutting down her maſts, and heaving her guns overboard, as alſo her proviſions, got clear, and in the ſpace of ſixteen weeks, during which they had nothing to eat but the fiſh they caught, or to drink but rain-water, they arrived at Campeachy. There they furniſhed themſelves with proviſions, and then ſailed for Jamaica, where they arrived in three weeks.

Sir Thomas Muddiford, who was a native of Devonſhire as well as Mr. Berry, was then governor of that iſland, and he ordered the Swallow to be refitted, put eight guns on board her; and having intelligence that a pirate, who had taken one Mr. Peach bound from Southampton to Jamaica, and marooned him and all his crew, was ſtill in thoſe ſeas, he ordered the Swallow, now well victualled and manned, to put to ſea in queſt of her, and gave his countryman Berry the title of lieutenant.

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In three weeks after they ſailed from Jamaica, they found the pirate at anchor in a bay off the iſland of Hiſpaniola. He had about ſixty men and twenty guns, whereas the Swallow had but forty men and eight ſmall guns. Capt. Inſam, having conſidered the enemy's ſtrength and compared it with his own, called up all his men, and addreſſed them in theſe words: "Gentlemen, the blades we are to attack "are men at arms, old buccaneers, and ſuperior to us in "number and in the force of their ſhip, and therefore I "would have your opinion, whether"—"Sir," interrupted lieutenant Berry, "we are men at arms too, and, "which is more, honeſt men, and fight under the king's "commiſſion; and, if you have no ſtomach for fighting, "be pleaſed to walk down into your cabbin." The crew applauded this motion, and declared one and all for captain Berry, who undertook this affair with great diſadvantage.

The pirate rode at anchor to the windward, by which the Swallow was obliged to make two trips under her lee, in which ſhe received two broadſides, and two volleys of ſmall ſhot, without returning a gun. Mr. Berry then boarded her on the bow, pouring in his broadſide, which killed the pirate twenty-two men on the ſpot: they then fought their way to the main-maſt, where they called to the doctor and his mate to get over board, and hang by the rudder, which they did; and ſoon after the pirate was taken, having only ſeven men left, and thoſe all wounded, though they lived long enough to be hanged afterwards in Jamaica; and, which is ſtill more remarkable, there was no body killed on board the Swallow but the boatſwain's mate.

On their return to Jamaica captain Inſam confined his lieutenant, and brought him to a court-martial, where, on the evidence of the men, the court declared he had done his duty, ordered the captain to live peaceably with him in their voyage to England, which he did; and Mr. Berry, notwithſtanding what was paſt, behaved towards him with all imaginable modeſty and ſubmiſſion.

In a ſhort time after he came home the Dutch war broke out, and Mr. Berry had a ſloop given him, called the Maria, of fourteen guns, with the king's commiſſion. He held this ſmall command for about four months, in which ſpace he took thirty-two prizes, and, for his extraordinary diligence, had the command given him of the Coronation, a hired ſhip of war of fifty-ſix guns.

In this ſhip he was ſoon after ſent to the Weſt-Indies, where our colonies were in no ſmall danger, as having both

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the French and Dutch upon their hands. On his arrival at Barbadoes the governor bought ſome large merchant ſhips, converted them into men of war, and having made up nine ſail, including the Coronation, manned and put them under the command of commodore Berry. With this little fleet he ſailed for Nevis, in order to protect it from the French, who had already made themſelves maſters of St. Chriſtopher's, Antigua, and Mountſerat. He was ſcarce arrived before he had intelligence, that the French were preparing at St. Chriſtopher's a very great force, which was intended for the conqueſt of Nevis. They had twenty-two men of war and frigates, ſix large tranſport ſhips of their own, and four Dutch. With theſe they ſailed towards Nevis as to a certain victory.

Commodore Berry ſailed with his nine ſhips to meet them; and, as he turned the point of the iſland, one of his beſt ſhips blew up, which ſtruck his men with aſtoniſhment. "Now you have ſeen an Engliſh ſhip blow up," ſaid the commodore, "let us try if we can't blow up "Frenchmen. There they are, boys! and, if we "don't beat them, they will beat us." Having ſaid this, he immediately began the fight with the French admiral, and, after a briſk engagement of upwards of thirteen hours, he forced this mighty fleet to fly for ſhelter under the cannon of St. Chriſtopher's, whither he purſued them, ſent in a fire-ſhip, and burnt the French admiral: ſeeing her in flames, he ſaid to his ſeamen, "I told you in the morn-"ing, that we ſhould burn a Frenchman before night; "to-morrow we will try what we can do with the reſt." But, while he was refitting his ſhips, the enemy wiſely ſtole away, the French to Martinico, and the Dutch to Virginia. Sir John Harman being ſent with a ſquadron to relieve him, commodore Berry returned to England, and ſerved with great honour in the channel and in the Mediterranean.

In the ſecond Dutch war (as it was called, though properly ſpeaking it was the third) he had the command of the Reſolution, a ſeventy gun ſhip, in which he was preſent at the famous action in Southwold-bay on the twenty-eighth of May, 1672. In this battle, the captain obſerving that his royal highneſs the duke of York, then lord high admiral of England, was very hard preſſed, he left his ſtation, and came in to his relief, where the ſervice proved ſo hot, that in leſs than two hours he had no fewer than one hundred and twenty men killed, as many more wounded, and his ſhip ſcarce able to float: upon this he was towed

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out of the line, ſtopped his leaks, and fell into his place again in an hour, and there did ſuch ſervice, that when his majeſty came to meet the fleet, and dined on board the Royal Sovereign at the Buoy in the Nore, he, of his own motive, called for captain Berry, and having knighted him, ſaid very graciouſly, "As our thoughts have been now "upon honour, we will hereafter think of profit; for I "would not have ſo brave a man a poor knight."

In the year 1682 it was thought expedient to ſend the duke of York down to Scotland, and for this purpoſe the Glouceſter frigate, under the command of Sir John Berry, was ordered to be ready: and accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of April, the duke of York embarked on board that ſhip. In their paſſage Sir John obſerved on the third of May, when in the mouth of the Humber, as he apprehended, an error in the pilot's conduct, though he was looked upon as a man of great abilities in his employment. Of this he informed the duke, and deſired they might lie to, at leaſt for that night, which the pilot oppoſed; and, being a great favourite of the duke, his advice prevailed. But his royal highneſs was ſoon convinced of the ſuperiority of Sir John Berry's judgment, ſince, in three quarters of an hour afterwards, the ſhip was loſt, and about three hundred people in her, amongſt whom were ſome perſons of the firſt rank; and the duke himſelf narrowly eſcaped in the long-boat, Sir John Berry ſtanding with his ſword drawn in the ſtern of the boat to hinder people from crowding in, which undoubtedly ſaved the duke, ſince a very few more would have overſet the long-boat.

For the loſs of this ſhip Sir John, according to the rules of the navy, was tried by a court-martial; but it appeared clearly to have happened through another man's fault, he was not only acquitted, but ſtill continued in as great favour as ever both with the king and duke, who frequently conſulted him as to the management of the navy.

When a reſolution was taken in 1683 to blow up Tangier, and a conſiderable fleet was ſent thither under the command of lord Dartmouth, Sir John Berry was made choice of to be his vice-admiral, and had the ſole command of the fleet while his lordſhip was on ſhore directing the blowing up of the works. In this critical expedition Sir John gave ſuch remarkable teſtimonies of his courage and conduct, and took ſuch care in bringing off all the Engliſh and their effects, that, upon his return home, he was made a commiſſioner of the navy, in which poſt he continued to the day of his death.

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He was not, however, conſidered ſolely as a commiſſioner, and as a man no longer fit for active employment; for when it was known that the Dutch meditated an invaſion, and a fleet fitted out to defend our coaſts, Sir John Berry was appointed vice-admiral, and hoiſted his flag on board the Elizabeth, a third rate, the admiral, lord Dartmouth, being in the Reſolution, and the rear-admiral, lord Berkley of Stratton, firſt in the Montague, and then in the Edgar. After the landing of the prince of Orange, when lord Dartmouth thought fit to leave the fleet, the ſole command of it devolved on Sir John Berry, who held it until it was laid up.

The change of the government wrought none in the condition of our admiral. An experienced officer, and a man of honour, will be a welcome ſervant to every prince. King William was one who valued abilities, and underſtood them, and therefore he often ſent for Sir John Berry to confer with him on naval affairs; and once particularly the king engaged with him in ſo cloſe and earneſt a converſation, that it took up the whole night, and Sir John was not diſmiſſed the royal cloſet, until it was pretty far advanced in the morning. Yet this favour brought him no acceſſion either of poſt or profit; he kept what he had, and probably thought that ſufficient, being commiſſioner of the navy, governor of Deal-caſtle, and captain of an independant company.

He was ordered, in the beginning of the month of February, 1691, to Portſmouth, to pay off ſome ſhips there; and while he was employed in the diſcharge of this office on board one of them, he was ſuddenly taken ill, and thereupon carried on ſhore to Portſmouth, where, in three or four days, it was given out that he died of a fever; but, upon opening his body, it appeared clearly to the phyſicians and ſurgeons who were ſent, that he did not die a natural death, but that he had been diſpatched out of the world by poiſon, though by whom, or for what reaſon, never appeared, or at leaſt it was never made public.

His corpſe, according to his own direction, was carried from Portſmouth to London, and decently interred in the chancel of Stepney-church, where a noble monument is erected to his memory, all of white marble, adorned with his buſt in alabaſter.

## MEMOIRS of ARTHUR HERBERT, Earl of Torrington.

IT is the duty of hiſtorians to report things fairly, and to ſpeak of men impartially, without exaggerating their virtues, or extenuating their vices, by exhibiting their characters to poſterity in that light, in which, after the beſt inquiry they are able to make, they appear to themſelves. The latter were ſo inconſiderable when this work was firſt written, that it was thought more expedient not to attempt a life of this noble perſon, than to repeat a few facts and dates, ſo indifferently connected, as that it could not be preſumed they would give even the moſt indulgent peruſer any ſatisfaction.

He was the ſon of Sir Edward Herbert of London, knight, of the noble family of Herbert of Cherbury, a branch of that Pembroke, which ſuffering ſeverely for the loyalty of Sir Edward, obliged his ſons to think of making their fortunes by their induſtry and merit. Arthur the eldeſt, though he had a ſmall eſtate of his own, made the ſea his choice, as his younger brother Edward did the law; and both attained the higheſt ſtations, the latter becoming chief-juſtice of the king's-bench, and the former admiral of the fleet of England.

Our young ſeaman, immediately after the Reſtoration, was much taken notice of by his royal highneſs James duke of York, by whoſe favour he was very early promoted to the command of one of his ſhips of war; and, in the firſt Dutch war in the reign of Charles II. he commanded the Pembroke, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very high degree.

He continued in the Straits for about ſix weeks, till he had advice that rear-admiral Kempthorne was ſailed with his ſquadron for the Straits mouth, where he took care to join him with a ſmall fleet of ſixteen or ſeventeen merchantmen under his convoy, in order to proceed with the rear-admiral to England. They met with nothing extraordinary in their paſſage till about the middle of the month of May, when, being off the iſland of Portland, the Pembroke ran foul of the Fairfax in the night, and ſunk at once; but captain Herbert and moſt of his crew were happily ſaved, there being none loſt in the veſſel but a few ſick men, who were not able to help themſelves, and whom the ſuddenneſs of the accident, and the confuſion every body

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was in, hindered from being aſſiſted by others. After this narrow eſcape captain Herbert went on board another ſhip of the ſquadron, and arrived ſafely at Portſmouth.

It was not long before he had another ſhip given him, and both in that, and in the ſecond Dutch war, he behaved upon all occaſions with great ſpirit and reſolution, receiving ſeveral wounds, and loſing the ſight of one of his eyes in his country's ſervice; all which conſidered, muſt ſeem very ſtrange, that, when he fell afterwards under misfortunes, his courage ſhould be diſputed. In one of the laſt ſea-fights in the ſecond Dutch war, he had the command of the Cambridge, in which Sir Fretcheville Hollis had been killed in the battle of Solebay, and, as captain Herbert ſucceeded in his command, he was very near ſucceeding alſo to the ſame diſaſter, being deſperately wounded in the action, and his ſhip ſo diſabled, that together with the Reſolution, which was in a bad condition, ſhe was by prince Rupert ſent home to refit.

After that war was over, captain Herbert had leiſure to attend the court, and to ſolicit the rewards that were due to his ſervices, in which he met with all poſſible kindneſs from the duke of York, who, as he had been hitherto careful of his fortunes, thought himſelf obliged to aſſiſt him in his pretenſions; ſo that in the year 1680 or 1681 he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and from that time was conſidered as a perſon who had as much probability of riſing as any in the ſervice. It was not long before an occaſion offered which juſtified this conjecture; for it being found neceſſary to ſend a ſupply of troops and military ſtores to Tangier, then in our hands, as alſo a ſquadron to curb the inſolence of the Algerines, who, notwithſtanding the treaties that had been concluded but a few years before, began again to diſturb our commerce, it was reſolved, that the command of this armament ſhould be given to admiral Herbert, who was accordingly inſtructed to contribute as much as poſſible to the raiſing the ſiege of Tangier, and, when that was done, to uſe his beſt endeavours to bring the Algerines to a ſubmiſſion, and to a new treaty, upon better and more explicit terms than were contained in that they had lately broken, which they pretended to explain in ſuch a manner as to juſtify their piracies.

In 1682 rear-admiral Herbert ſailed into the Mediterranean with a ſtrong ſquadron, and a conſiderable number of tenders and ſtore ſhips, which arrived very ſafe under his convoy at Tangier. He found that fortreſs not a little ſtraitened by the Moors, by whom it was ſo cloſely blocked

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up, that nothing could enter it by land. Mr. Herbert not only relieved the garriſon by the ſeaſonable ſupply that he brought of proviſions and military ſtores, but reſolved alſo to reſtore his countrymen to liberty as well as plenty, by compelling the enemy to raiſe the blockade. He landed, with this view, as many ſeamen out of the fleet as he could poſſibly ſpare, formed them into a battalion, and by attacking the Moors on one ſide, while the garriſon made a briſk ſally, and drove them from moſt of their poſts, on the other, obliged them to leave the neighbourhood of the place, and to retire farther within land.

He executed the other part of his charge, with reſpect to the Algerines, with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs, deſtroyed ſome of their ſhips, and diſpoſed things in ſuch a manner to diſturb and diſtreſs that ſtate by ſea, as obliged the dey to ſummon a divan, in which it was reſolved to enter into an immediate negotiation with the Engliſh admiral: the terms were very ſpeedily ſettled, without any of thoſe ambiguities, which left them pretences for breaking their treaties when they pleaſed; and, the buſineſs of his expedition being happily over, he returned home ſafe, with the ſquadron under his command, towards the latter end of the ſame year.

Some time after this, but whether in the reign of king Charles II. or king James, I am not able to ſay, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral, and was as much eſteemed by the ſeamen, and in as high credit at court, as any officer in the ſervice. He was alſo appointed one of the commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high-admiral of England. The favours he had received from the duke of York gave him room to expect farther preferments upon the acceſſion of that prince to the throne; nor was he deceived in his expectations, ſince, in the beginning of the new reign, he was made vice-admiral of England, and maſter of the robes, there being at that time no man of his rank who was more heartily attached either to the government or to the perſon of that prince.

But when the ſcheme for repealing the teſt-act came under conſideration, and king James thought fit to cloſet ſuch of his officers in the army and fleet as had ſeats in the houſe of commons, it quickly appeared, that vice-admiral Herbert was none of thoſe complying ſpirits, who for the ſake of private profit would ſacrifice the intereſt of the public. His brother, the lord chief-juſtice Herbert, had expoſed himſelf to public odium by giving judgment in his court, in favour of the king's diſpenſing power, upon an action

action brought againſt Sir Edward Hales, who had accepted an employment, without qualifying himſelf for it by taking the oaths the law required; and, though this ſeemed in ſome meaſure to have done all that the king wanted, he ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of having the teſt-act repealed, which, amongſt other extraordinary conſequences, produced the diſgrace of vice-admiral Herbert, who to that hour had never done any thing to diſoblige the king, or had perceived the leaſt coldneſs in his majeſty towards him.

The ſmall appearance there was of his being able to live with honour or even with ſafety at home, and his inclination to follow many perſons of great reputation, who at that juncture choſe to retire abroad, induced him to withdraw to Holland, whither he was either accompanied or quickly followed by his brother colonel Charles Herbert, and by his couſin Henry Herbert, Eſq; whom king William afterwards created lord Herbert of Cherbury. Upon his arrival at the Hague the vice-admiral was exceedingly well received, and not long after taken into the ſervice of the States, which was a very prudent and, in its conſequences, beneficial ſtep, numbers of Engliſh ſeamen following, and entering for his ſake into the Dutch ſervice.

At the prince of Orange's court vice-admiral Herbert was very ſincerely welcomed; he was known to be a man of great weight and experience, one that perfectly underſtood the ſtate of the Engliſh fleet, and the temper and characters of the officers who commanded it; ſo that there is no colour of reaſon to wonder he was treated with very high reſpect, and received into the moſt entire confidence, more eſpecially as he took care to maintain his dignity by a very cautious and reſerved behaviour, contrary to that heat and vehemence expreſſed by ſome other perſons, who thought to make their court, by repreſenting an attempt upon England as a thing that might be eaſily accompliſhed; whereas the vice-admiral underſtood and ſpoke of it as an undertaking that required a very conſiderable ſtrength, exceeding diſcreet management, and much deliberation.

If the States-General and the prince of Orange gave him the title of lieutenant-general-admiral, and intruſted him with the ſupreme command of their fleet, there were many reaſons that made him the propereſt man for that command, ſuch as the nature of the deſign itſelf, his intereſt among the officers of the Engliſh navy, his perfect acquaintance with our coaſts, his being moſt likely to engage the governors of ſea-port towns to come in to the prince, and, above all, the neceſſity they were under

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of having ſome Engliſhman in a high poſt, to prevent the people from conſidering this as a hoſtile invaſion. Now, if we view this matter in theſe lights, it is no difficult thing to ſee, that, of all the Engliſh who were about his royal highneſs, vice-admiral Herbert was in every reſpect the fitteſt man to be intruſted with that command; and therefore, the States and the prince of Orange conferred the command upon him as a thing which they ſaw to be very expedient, or rather abſolutely neceſſary.

It was certainly a very extraordinary undertaking in all reſpects, and will appear ſo, if we reflect that a great army was to be embarked; that ſeven hundred tranſports were to be prepared for that embarkation; that proviſions, ammunition, and every thing requiſite for the ſervice as well of the army as of the fleet, was to be procured in a ſhort time, and with the utmoſt ſecrecy; all which was actually done by the moſt indefatigable diligence, it is plain therefore, that his ſkill in directing what was requiſite for the fleet was entire relied on; while they were engaged in making theſe preparations; to which they were two months conſtantly employed in giving all the neceſſary orders, which they did with ſo little noiſe, that nothing broke out all that time.

After ſuch an inſtance of his capacity and indefatigable care, they might well expect that the reſt of his conduct would be of a piece. But what ſeems farther to explain the real intention of the States and the prince of Orange in truſting vice-admiral Herbert, though a ſtranger, with ſo high a command, was, the publiſhing his letter to the commanders of the Engliſh fleet at the very ſame time with the prince of Orange's declaration; for, if they had not placed very ſtrong hopes upon that, without queſtion it had never been publiſhed at all, and, if they had ſuch hopes, this alone will ſufficiently account for the giving him the chief command under the prince of Orange, to whom, by the nature of his commiſſion, he was lieutenant-general by ſea. Neither were theſe hopes of influencing the Engliſh ſeamen ſlightly grounded, ſince the pamphlets wrote in thoſe times univerſally agree, that the ſeamen had a very general and warm averſion to popery, diſliked and deſpiſed ſuch of their officers as had embraced that religion, and were very prone in their cups to drink admiral Herbert's health; ſo that theſe were very ſtrong indications of their ill-will on one ſide, and their good-will on the other.

When every thing was ready, the troops were embarked with ſo much ſpeed and ſecrecy, that no advices could be given

given in England that could be of any uſe: but notwithſtanding this care, the fleet was obliged to return. They ſailed on the nineteenth of October, 1688, and they put back into port on the twenty-ſecond. This was a great diſappointment; and, without doubt, had things been managed by a prince of leſs firmneſs, or by an admiral of leſs experience, their expedition had been loſt. It is reported, that admiral Herbert adviſed putting off the buſineſs to that late ſeaſon of the year, becauſe he judged that the winds would be more favourable; that the king's fleet would be leſs able to act; and that, when the enterprize was ſo long delayed, it would be concluded in England to be given over.

It is very certain, that this unexpected check made many people mighty uneaſy, and occaſioned ſome very extraordinary propoſals to the prince. Amongſt the reſt one was, that admiral Herbert with a ſtout ſquadron ſhould proceed to the Engliſh coaſt, and fight the king's fleet, to which he was not at all averſe; but the weather rendered it impracticable. The prince of Orange, however, never altered his intention in the leaſt; but having given the neceſſary orders for repairing the ſhips, and refreſhing the troops, which was ſoon done, the fleet ſailed again upon the firſt of November, and arrived ſpeedily and ſafely on the Engliſh coaſt, where, by the ſkill and care of admiral Herbert, the troops were very ſoon landed, and, by his intelligence with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction in the neighbourhood, amply ſupplied with proviſions and other neceſſaries. In a very few days after, the good effect of the admiral's letter appeared by the coming in of ſeveral ſhips, the firſt of which was the Newcaſtle, lying at Plymouth, under the command of captain Churchill; and, the way being once broke, the ſeamen declared in general for the prince; from all which it fully appeared, how much the ſucceſs of this great affair was owing to the valour, vigilance, and prudence of this noble perſon.

On the 8th of March, 1688, king William granted a commiſſion for executing the office of lord high-admiral to the following perſons, *viz.* Arthur Herbert, Eſq; John, earl of Carbery, Sir Michael Wharton, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Chichely, knight, Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven, baronet, and William Sacheverel, Eſq; but the laſt declined accepting that poſt, declaring, that, as he underſtood nothing of maritime affairs, he could not accept the ſalary with a ſafe conſcience. As for the command of the fleet, that was intruſted with admiral Herbert from the beginning,

beginning, and he had likewiſe the honour of bringing over the new queen.

We have already given a large account of his behaviour in the buſineſs of the Bantry-bay, of the motives which induced him to fight the French fleet, and of the conſequences of that action, collected as well from the French as our hiſtorians: but, after all, perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee the account publiſhed by authority, drawn from the admiral's own letter from on board the Elizabeth, dated May the ſecond, 1689, and which imported,

"That admiral Herbert having refitted at Milford-Haven the damages which ſome of his ſhips had ſuſtained by ill weather on the coaſt of Ireland, intended to go directly for Breſt: but the wind coming eaſterly, which might bring the French fleet out, he ſtood, on the 24th paſt, over to Kingſale, which he judged the likelieſt way to meet them.

"That accordingly, on the 29th, our ſcouts made ſignal, that they diſcovered a fleet keeping their wind, which made us likewiſe keep our own all night, to hinder them from getting into Kingſale. The thirtieth they heard the enemy was gone into Baltimore, being forty-four ſail; whereupon ours bore away to that place, but found there was no ſign of them. That in the evening our ſcouts got ſight of them again to the weſtward of Cape-Clear: we ſteered after them, and found they were got into Bantry; we lay off the bay all night, and the next morning, by break of day, ſtood in, where we found them at anchor. That they got preſently under ſail, and bore down upon our fleet in a line compoſed of twenty-eight men of war, and five fire ſhips. That when they came within muſket ſhot of the Defiance, the headmoſt of our ſhips, the French admiral put out the ſignal for battle, which was begun by them, they firing their great and ſmall ſhot very furiouſly on the Defiance and the reſt, as we came in our line. That then we made ſeveral boards to gain the wind, or at leaſt to engage them cloſer; but, finding that way of working very diſadvantageous, admiral Herbert ſtood off to ſea, as well to have got our ſhips into a line, as to have gained the wind of the enemy, but found them ſo cautious in bearing down, that we could never get an opportunity of doing it; and in this poſture con-

" tinued battering upon a ſtretch until five in the after-
" noon, when the French admiral tacked from us, and
" ſtood away farther into the bay.

" That admiral Herbert's ſhip, and ſome of the reſt,
" being diſabled in their rigging, we could not follow
" them; but we continued ſome time after before the bay,
" and our admiral gave him a gun at parting. In this ac-
" tion captain Aylmer in the Portland, who came ſoon
" enough for the battle, with others of the ſquadron men-
" tioned, and ninety-four ſeamen, were killed, and about
" two hundred and fifty wounded, as appears by a ſurvey
" taken after the fight; and our ſhips received little da-
" mage except in their ſails and rigging.

" That as for our officers and ſeamen, the right muſt be
" done them, they behaved themſelves with all the courage
" and cheerfulneſs that could be expected from the braveſt
" men; and that, on the other ſide, without leſſening the
" enemy, it may be ſaid that they either wanted courage
" or ſkill to make uſe of the place, the wind, their fire-
" ſhips, and their number, being at leaſt double our force,
" they having eighteen ſhips, the leaſt of which was as
" big as the Elizabeth; and it ſo happened, at the time of
" the engagement, admiral Herbert had with him but
" eight third rates, ten fourth rates, one fifth rate, and
" two tenders. And that the fleet deſigned to rendezvous
" and refit at Scilly."

As to the perſonal behaviour of admiral Herbert in this action, it was altogether unexceptionable; he was in the hotteſt of the ſervice himſelf, had ſeveral of the largeſt of the enemy's ſhips upon him at a time, notwithſtanding which he continued to expoſe himſelf to encourage the ſeamen ſword in hand upon the quarter-deck, and to do all that lay in his power to continue the engagement, inſomuch that many thought, that, if the reſt of the officers had done their duty as well as he, they had given a better account of the French than they did; for which ſome officers were called to a court-martial, and broke; ſo much was the admiral a lover of diſcipline. On the fifteenth of May, when the king dined on board his ſhip, he was pleaſed to expreſs great ſatisfaction in his conduct, and declared his intention of creating him a peer, as he afterwards did, *viz.* on the twenty-ninth of the ſame month, by the title of Baron Herbert of Torbay, and Earl of Torrington. The houſe of commons alſo were pleaſed to give him thanks

thanks for the ſervice he had done the nation, in taking the firſt opportunity to fight the French in Bantry bay.

The reader will, without doubt, be pleaſed to ſee this matter ſet in the moſt authentic light from the journals of the houſe, in which it appears that Arthur Herbert, Eſq; then burgeſs for the town of Plymouth in the county of Devon, being in his place, had their thanks in conſequence of an order made the Saturday before, which are thus entered:

*Martis* 21° *die Maii, primo Willielmi et Mariæ.*

Mr. Speaker gave admiral Herbert the thanks of the houſe according to their order of Saturday laſt, to the effect as followeth, *viz.*

" Admiral HERBERT,

" This houſe hath taken notice of the great ſervice you " have performed in engaging the French fleet: they look " upon it as one of the braveſt actions done in this laſt age, " and expect it will raiſe the reputation of the Engliſh va- " lour to its ancient glory. I do therefore, by the com- " mand of this houſe, return you their hearty thanks for " this ſervice, and deſire that you will communicate the " like thanks, in their name, to the officers and ſeamen " that ſerved under your command, and to let them know " that this houſe will have a particular regard of their merits, " and take care, as much as in them lies, to give them all " due encouragement."

Whereupon Admiral HERBERT ſpoke to the effect as followeth:

" SIR,

" I am in ſome confuſion at this great and unexpect- " ed honour, and the more, becauſe I want words to ex- " preſs my ſenſe of it. The beſt return that I think my- " ſelf capable of making, is to aſſure this honourable " houſe, that, with my utmoſt hazard I will endeavour,

" by my future actions, to deſerve it, and will not fail " to obey their commands, in acquainting the officers and " ſeamen who were with me, of the favourable accep- " tation,. by this houſe, of their ſervice. And, ſince the " houſe have ſo favourable an opinion of their actions, " I would beg their leave to make an humble motion, " and I think it is a thing becoming the greatneſs of " this nation, and indeed has been the care of almoſt " all nations that have any commerce at ſea: it is, to " aſſign ſome place and revenue for the ſupport of ſuch " as are maimed in the ſervice and defence of their " country. There is no ſufficient proviſion made at pre- " ſent in this kingdom, and indeed it is too great a " charge for the crown. I therefore humbly move, it " may be ordered by this houſe, that an act may paſs, " that they may have a ſupport and ſubſiſtence, after " they have by wounds been made incapable of farther " ſervice."

Reſolved, That the houſe will take care to make a proviſion for ſuch ſeamen as are, or ſhall be wounded in their majeſties ſervice, and for the wives and children of ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſlain therein; and that a committee be appointed to conſider how the ſame may be done.

And it is referred to Admiral Herbert, Mr. Hales, Mr. Boſcawen, Mr. Aſhburnham, Sir William Williams, Mr. Garway, Mr. Elwel, Lord Cooke, Mr. Holles, Mr. Papillon, Mr. Gwyn, Lord Falkland, Lord Sherrard, Mr. Bickerſtaff, Mr. Henry Herbert, Mr. Edward Ruſſel, Mr. Bromly, Mr. Thomas Foley, Sir Duncan Colcheſter, Mr. Leveſon Gower, Mr. P. Foleys, Sir Henry Capell, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Mr. Sacheverell, Mr. Cooke, and Sir Thomas Littleton.

As he was at this time poſſeſſed of all that a man could well deſire, the eſteem of his prince, the favour of the people, and the love of the ſeamen, ſo it is allowed that he behaved in a manner every way worthy of his ſtation, living very magnificently when in town, and ſhewing a great reſpect for his officers when at ſea, which gained him a wonderful intereſt in the fleet; to this, though ſome have given a ſiniſter turn, as if it was the chief cauſe of his acquittal by the court-martial that tried him, yet impartial judges will hardly believe, that he could have gained ſuch

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an intereſt but by an extraordinary degree of merit, and by a readineſs to diſtinguiſh it in other men, for which, while it was not in ſome degree criminal to affirm it, he was generally famous in the navy. When he went down to take the command, in the ſpring of the year 1690, of the confederate fleet, his character ſtood as fair as any officer's could do; and even the Dutch in their relations allow, that his conduct was very great in ſhifting and avoiding an engagement in purſuance of the advice of a council of war, founded upon the enemy's great ſuperiority, till ſuch time as he received poſitive orders to fight; and then he ſhewed likewiſe great judgment in the diſpoſition he made for an engagement.

We have little to add to the account we have already given of the action off Beachy-head, on the 30th of June, except that in the battle there was not ſo much as one Engliſh man of war loſt, and but one of the Dutch; that, in the whole courſe of the retreat, the earl of Torrington gave his orders with great prudence, and in ſuch a manner as prevented the French from making any great advantage of what they called a victory, notwithſtanding the inequality of their fleets, and ſome unlucky accidents that happened in ſpite of all the precautions that could be taken. Neither was his lordſhip at all diſcompoſed, when, upon his being ſent for up to town, he found ſo general a clamour raiſed againſt him, but, on the contrary, gave a very clear account of matters before the council; inſiſting, that he had done all that was in his power to do, which made him eaſy in his mind as to the conſequences, being perſuaded, that of the two, it was much better of the two to ruin himſelf than to ruin the fleet, as he abſolutely muſt have done, if he had acted otherwiſe than he did.

All he could ſay, however, had little effect at that time; ſo that he was committed to the Tower, and commiſſioners were ſent down to inſpect into the condition of the fleet, and to make the neceſſary inquiries for framing a charge againſt him, it being held abſolutely requiſite to bring him to a trial, that the juſtice of the nation might not ſuffer in the opinion of her allies, the reſentment of the Dutch having riſen ſo high as to threaten pulling down the houſe of Lord Durſley, who then reſided at the Hague.

When the parliament met, October the ſecond, 1690, his majeſty was pleaſed to take notice in his ſpeech, in a very particular manner, of the diſaſter that had happened

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off Beachy-head; and the paragraph being but ſhort, we ſhall inſert it: "I cannot conclude without taking notice "alſo how much the honour of the nation has been expo-"ſed by the ill conduct of my fleet in the laſt ſummer's "engagement againſt the French, and I think myſelf ſo "much concerned to ſee it vindicated, that I cannot reſt "ſatisfied till an example has been made of ſuch as ſhall "be found faulty upon their examination and trial, which "was not practicable while the whole fleet was abroad, "but is now put into the proper way of being done as "ſoon as may be." But notwithſtanding this, the proceedings againſt the earl of Torrington were not very expeditious, and therefore he applied himſelf by way of petition to the houſe of peers, who took his caſe into conſideration; but, having fully debated it, left him to the ordinary proceedings, or, in other words, referred him to a court-martial.

Yet, in order to the conſtituting of ſuch a court, as we have elſewhere obſerved, there were ſome difficulties to be got over, and thoſe of ſuch a nature as demanded the attention of the legiſlature, in order to effect which, a bill was brought in for veſting in the commiſſioners of the admiralty the ſame power in regard to granting commiſſions, which was already veſted by law in the lord high admiral of England.

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that on the twentieth of January, 1689, the king had appointed a new board of admiralty, in which Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, was firſt lord inſtead of the earl of Torrington, and Sir Michael Wharton was left out. On the 5th of June, 1690, the board was again changed, and augmented from five to ſeven. Theſe were Thomas, earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, John earl of Carberry, Sir Thomas Lee, baronet, Sir John Lowther, baronet, Edward Ruſſel, Eſq; Sir Richard Onſlow, baronet, and Henry Prieſtman, Eſq; and to this board it was that the intended act gave the power of appointing court-martials for the trial of any officer of what rank ſoever, as a lord high admiral might do. When this bill came to be read a third time in the houſe of peers, it occaſioned very warm debates, many lords being of opinion, that it would have been better, if, inſtead of a new board, his majeſty had appointed a lord high admiral, in which caſe there would have been no need whatever of a new law; but at length, however, it was carried by a majority

jority of two only; upon which many of the lords entered their proteſts for the following reaſons:

"Becauſe this bill gives a power to commiſſioners of "the admiralty to execute a juriſdiction, which, by the "act of the thirteenth of Charles II. entitled, *An act for "eſtabliſhing articles and orders for the regulating and better "government of his majeſty's navy, ſhips of war, and forces by ſea*, we conceive they had not; whereby the earl "of Torrington may come to be tried for his life for "facts committed ſeveral months before this power was "given or deſired, we think it reaſonable that every man "ſhould be tried by that law that was known to be in "force when the crime was committed.

"It is by virtue of the ſaid act of the 13th of Charles "II. that the earl of Torrington was judged by this houſe "not to have the privilege of a peer of this realm for "any offences committed againſt the ſaid act; and there "is no other law, as we conceive, by which the ſaid "earl could have been debarred from enjoying the privilege of a peer of this realm; which act making no "mention of commiſſioners of the admiralty, but of a "lord high admiral only, by whoſe authority all the "powers given by that act are to be exerciſed, and "without whoſe conſent ſingly no ſentence of death "can be executed, we think it of dangerous conſequence to expound a law of this capital nature otherwiſe than the literal words do import; and as we conceive it without precedent to paſs even explanatory "laws, much leſs ſuch as have a retroſpect in them in "caſes of life and death, ſo we think it not at all "neceſſary to make ſuch a precedent at this time, there "being an undoubted legal way already eſtabliſhed to "bring this earl to a trial by a lord high admiral.

"Thirdly, the judges having unanimouſly declared, "that the law marine was no where particularized in "their books, whereby the power or juriſdiction of the "lord high admiral may be aſcertained, ſo that practice "is all that we know of it; we conceive it unprecedented, and of dangerous conſequence, that the juriſdiction exerciſed by the lord high admiral ſhould by a law "be declared to be in the commiſſioners of the admiralty,

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" ty, whereby an unknown, and therefore unlimited pow-
" er may be eſtabliſhed in them.
" Rivers, Huntington, Rocheſter, Weymouth,
" Stamford, Dartmouth, Oxford, Macclesfield, Tho-
" mas Roſſen, Crew, Bath, Granville, Herbert, Cra-
" ven, J. Exon, Bolton, J. Bridgewater."

As ſoon as the bill had paſſed both houſes, and had received the royal aſſent, the earl of Torrington was removed out of the Tower into the cuſtody of the marſhal of the admiralty, where he had not been long before he brought his caſe into the houſe of commons. This was done by a member's acquainting the houſe, that this noble peer was deſirous of being heard at their bar in reſpect to the matter for which he was in cuſtody. Upon this an order was made for his lordſhip's being brought thither the next day, the ſerjeant at arms was directed to ſerve the marſhal of the admiralty with a copy of it, which he did accordingly; and, November the twelfth, the houſe being informed that his lordſhip was in the lobby, directed him to be brought in by the ſerjeant with the mace, to a chair ſet for him within the bar, on the left hand of the houſe as he came in; and having ſat down thereon for ſome time covered, and the mace being laid upon the table, his lordſhip roſe, and ſtood at the back of the chair uncovered, and was heard before the houſe; after which his lordſhip withdrew, the mace attending him.

This is all we meet with in the journal; but a writer of thoſe times aſſures us, that his lordſhip found himſelf ſo much embarraſſed in the preſence of that aſſembly, as not to be able to expreſs himſelf as he intended; upon which he acquainted the commons, that, being accuſtomed rather to act than to ſpeak, he found himſelf at a loſs for words, and therefore deſired to make uſe of his papers, which was allowed him. He then took notice how early he had entered into his country's ſervice; how many years he had ſpent therein, and of his having ſpilled much blood, as well as been deprived of his eye, in their quarrel. He proceeded next to the loſs he had ſuſtained for ſupporting the Proteſtant religion, and the laws and liberties of England under King James II. Laſt of all, he ſpoke of the engagement with the French fleet off Beachy-head, in reſpect of which he excuſed his not fighting, from the want of intelligence, want of ammunition, ſhortneſs

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of wind, inequality of numbers, and, in ſupport of what he ſaid, produced ſome letters; but all this was of little or no uſe to his lordſhip. The houſe remitted him to that trial for which the late act had made way, and of which the higheſt expectations were raiſed at home and abroad, the king being reſolved not to embark for Holland till it was over.

Accordingly, Saturday the 6th of December, 1690, his lordſhip went down to Sheerneſs in his yacht, the court-martial ſitting there on board the Kent. On Monday, December 8, Sir Ralph Delaval, being in the chair as preſident, the commiſſion was opened and read, and other preliminaries adjuſted; after which the court adjourned to Wedneſday the 10th, when the witneſſes were heard on the part of the crown, as well Dutch as Engliſh; but, notwithſtanding the loudneſs of the common reports, there was very little appeared in proof, notwithſtanding the court took all the pains they could to ſift things to the bottom; his lordſhip then made his defence in the manner that has been before mentioned; inſiſted largely on the ſuperiority of the French fleet; on the ſhifting of the wind, which put it out of his power to ſuccour the Dutch; on the care taken of ſecuring a retreat, and the ſmall advantage that the enemy reaped from their ſo much boaſted ſucceſs in this action, which had drawn upon their admiral, Count Tourville, as many cenſures as upon himſelf, and with pretty much the ſame reaſon. After mature conſideration, both of the charge, of the defence, and of the evidence offered, the court, *nemine contradicente*, acquitted him wholly of any imputation whatever, from his conduct on that occaſion. To which, when required to ſign it, they moſt ſteadily adhered. It is ſaid, that a certain Dutch rear-admiral, who was preſent, expreſſed his reſentment very warmly, and it is certain the proceedings were quickly after printed in Dutch, with ſome animadverſions.

On Thurſday, December the eleventh, the earl of Torrington returned to town in his barge, with the union flag flying, as bearing ſtill the king's commiſſion of admiral and commander in chief. He returned to his own houſe, where he received the compliments of his friends, and the news, which could not ſurprize him much, that his commiſſion was ſuperſeded. He was almoſt the only victim in that reign, for he never received any mark of favour, much leſs enjoyed any command afterwards. He came, however,

ever, in a few days, to the houſe of peers, where he conſtantly attended for above twenty years after, without altering his conduct in the leaſt, which is a manifeſt proof that he was not governed by caprice but by principle. He was always on the ſide of the crown, and very rarely in any oppoſition to its miniſters; ſometimes, however, he was, and then he commonly proteſted, that the reaſons of his oppoſition might appear, and that the world might not aſcribe his diſagreement with men in power to prejudice or ſpleen. In matters that related to the navy, he was generally moſt forward, and, in reſpect to them, the houſe heard him with much reſpect and attention, and upon ſuch occaſions he ſhewed himſelf commonly a friend to ſtrict diſcipline, and a frugal management in the navy.

He raiſed, while in employment, a conſiderable fortune, upon which he lived in a manner becoming his rank, during the remainder of his life. His lordſhip was twice married, but never had any children; and at length, after having ſpent the latter part of his life in as much privacy and quiet as he had done the former ſcenes of it in action, he breathed his laſt, April the thirteenth, 1716, in a good old age, leaving the bulk of his eſtate to the right honourable Henry, earl of Lincoln, merely out of reſpect to that noble perſon's ſteady adherence to the ſame cauſe, which the earl of Torrington ſupported during his whole life. Theſe particulars, which had hitherto lain ſcattered in a variety of authors, we have, with the utmoſt diligence, gathered and digeſted according to the natural order of time, that the memory of ſo brave a man might not be altogether buried in oblivion, or that clamour, which the beſt judges thought without foundation, be as fatal to his fame after death, as while living it was to his power.

Theſe, however ſcanty, are all the memorials that we have been able to diſcover from books or information, as to the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in his reign, except it be a very few dates in reſpect to the following illuſtrious perſons.

John Lord Berkley of Stratton was the ſon of Sir John Berkley, the faithful ſervant of King Charles I. and King Charles II. by whom, during his exile, he was created baron of Stratton, in the county of Somerſet, and younger brother to Charles Lord Berkley of Stratton, who died at ſea in 1682. This noble lord was rear-admiral at the time of the Revolution, groom of the ſtole, and firſt gentleman

tleman of the bed-chamber to Prince George of Denmark; and, as we have ſeen, often admiral of the fleet in the reign of King William, and colonel of the ſecond regiment of marines; of all which employments he was poſſeſſed when he died, February 27, 1696-7, leaving behind him no iſſue male, ſo that the title devolved on his younger brother William, father to the preſent worthy nobleman John Lord Berkley of Strattan.

The honourable Edward Neville, Eſq; was the ſecond ſon of George Lord Abergavenny, and notwithſtanding his high birth, arrived at his ſtation in the navy by pure dint of merit. He died on board the Lincoln the twelfth of September, 1701, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age, as his ſquadron made the land of Virginia. and left behind him a ſon, the late Lord Abergavenny, who deceaſed at Bath, the twenty-firſt of September, 1744, and a daughter.

End of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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